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OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
FOR THE SECOND HALF-YEAR OF 1916



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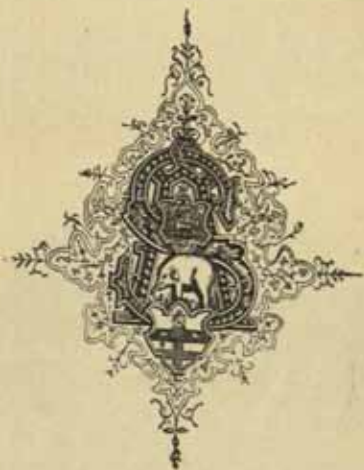
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

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ERRATA, APRIL, 1915, ART. XV

- Page 259, line 9 : for *epēšu* read *šakānu*.
 „ 260, l. 6 : for *geš* read *qēš*.
 „ 264, l. 5 : for Sum. *z* || *d̄, d̄* read Sum. *z* || Georg. *d, d̄*.
 „ 264, l. 15 : for *zu = know = θ* read *zu = know*
 = Georg. *θ*.
 „ 268, l. 12 : for *t̄minda* read *t̄minda*.
 „ 268, l. 20 : for *o-grad-e* read *o-dvad-e*.
 „ 269, l. 21 : for *t̄xeri* read *(m)̄t̄xeri*.
 „ 270, omit l. 13.
 „ 271, omit l. 7.
 „ 279, No. 11, l. 3 : for *šahātu* read *šahātu*.
 „ 280, No. 13, l. 2 : for *nahū* read *nabū*.
 „ 283, omit No. 21.
 „ 283, No. 22, l. 1 : for *dur* read *dar*.
 „ 283, No. 22, l. 4 : for  read .
 „ 285, No. 28, insert a comma between the
 cuneiforms.
 „ 285, No. 30, l. 5 : for *κφ* read *κφ*.
 „ 285, No. 30, l. 7 : for *κφ(n)-a* read *κφ(n)-a*.
 „ 288, No. 38, ll. 5, 6 : for *qūa-* read *qva-*.

JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

1916

I

SUMERIAN AND GEORGIAN: A STUDY IN COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY

By M. TSERETHELI

PART II (*continued.*)

(*Concluded from 1915, p. 283.*)

E

39. *en* 𒂗 = incantation. Br. 10857 = *šiptu*. Georg. 𒂗-𒂗 *en-a* = tongue, word; Laz. 𒂗-𒂗 *nen-a* = tongue, word; Min. 𒂗-𒂗 *nin-a* = tongue, word; Sv. 𒂗-𒂗 *nin* = tongue, word.

40. *enem* 𒂗-𒂗 = word = *amātu*. Georg. the root is the same; 𒂗-𒂗 *en-a* = word, tongue. See *inim* = word, tongue.

41. *eme* 𒂗-𒂗 = tongue, speech. Br. 835 = *lišānu*; Meiss. 522 = *lišānu*. Again, the same root. Georg. 𒂗-𒂗 *en-a* = tongue, word, speech (Sum. *m* > *n* || Georg. *n*).

42. *er*, *eri* 𒂗-𒂗 = to beget, *eru* = woman, male. Br. 956 = *ardu*; Meiss. 584, 586. Georg. 𒂗-𒂗 *ur-a* =

having sexual power, not castrated (said of a horse, etc.). See *ur*.

43. *eri* 𒂍 = city. Br. 892 = *alu*. Georg. ერი *eri* = nation, people. In Old Georgian ერი *eri* = hosts, army, laity. See *uru*.

G

44. *ga* 𒂍 = house. Br. 5416 = *bētu*; Meiss. 5738 = *bitu*. This Sumerian word may be connected (1) with *gal* = be, exist, dwell. In this case cf. Georg. root გლ *gl*; Min.-Laz. გრ *gr*; Sv. გრ *gr*. Georg. სა-გლ-ი *sa-gl-i*; Min. ო-გორ-ი *o-gor-i*; Laz. = id.; Sv. გორ *gor* = house. In Georgian we have an abbreviated root გ(ი) *g(i)* for house; და ვითარ მიიწივნეს სამეფოს ჰრომს სა-ბი-დ დედავაცისა *da viṭar miitivnes sameḫos hroms sa-qi-d dedaxaṭisa* = and when they arrived at the house of the woman in the Roman Empire; სიხარულით შეიკებო და შეიწყნარა სა-ბი-დ თვისად *siḡaruliṭ ṣeikbo da ṣeiknara sa-qi-d ṭvisad* = joyfully and kindly she received her (St. Nino) in her house (Georg. Chron., QMV., pp. 62, 63). (2) The Sum. *ga* may be also connected with *aga*, *ge* = make, build, with which the Georgian გ-ება *g-eba* = make, build, is connected. Indeed, we have in Svanian a word for house აგი *agi* (> აგი *argi*?) = house, which seems to be of the root გ *g* = to build. (Note Haldian *argištiš* = *argišti* = the head of the house = chief, king (?). (Marr, private communication of Mr. Beridze.)

45. *gal* -𐎡𐎴 = exist, have, be, dwell, etc. Br. 2238 = *bašú*; Meiss. 1265 = *bašú*. Georg. roots *ბელ* *ql*, *ბრ* *qr*, *ქრ* *qr*, which seems to have had originally the meaning of living, existing, dwelling, etc. Thence Georg. *სა-ბელ-ი* *sa-ql-i* = house (anything destined to live in); Min.-Laz. *ო-ბორ-ი* *o-qr-i* = house (anything destined to live in); Sv. *ქორ* *qor* = house (anything destined to live in).

46. *gal* -𐎡𐎴 = river (Prince). Br. 2244 = *náru*. Georg. *ღელ-ე* *ġel-e* = a small river, a stream; Laz. *ღდელ-ი* *ġal-i* = a small river, a stream. (If Sum. *gal* = hand (Prince), cf. Georg. *ხელ-ი* *ġel-i* = hand, Tubal-Cainian *kal* (< *qal*). See Marr, Bull. Acad. Imp. Sci. St. Pétersbourg, 1911, ii.)

47. *gal-la* 𐎡𐎴 𐎠𐎵 = *urú* = pudenda. Br. 10928 = *urú* *ša zinništi*; 10923 = *bizzuru*; Meiss. 8382 = *bizzuru*, etc. This word seems to be connected with *gal* = to exist, to bring into existence; Der. *galu* = man, human being. But it may be also from an independent root. At any rate, we have two Georgian words to compare with:

(1) Georg. *ყელ-ე* *kel-e* = membrum virile (instead of *urú* *ša zinništi*); Min. *ყოლ-ე* *kol-e* = membrum virile; Sv. *ყომ* *kom* = membrum virile. (2) Georg. *ქალ-ი* *qal-i* = woman. That in Sumerian there was really a word *gal*, *kal*, meaning woman is proved directly by Br. 10948 = 𐎡𐎴 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 (*f*)*kal-tur* = *batúltu* = exactly Georg. *ქალ-წი* *qal-tul-i* = a virgin. See also Meiss. 4422 = 𐎡𐎴 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 *kal-tur* = *batúltu*. The primitive meaning of these Georgian *ql* > *kl* > *ql* must have been sexual reproduction, and perhaps here is the explanation of the Mingrelian determinative to indicate the origin

of a female; *ბე qe* postfixed to the family name of Mingrelians means Miss So-and-so (cf. also Min. *ბუა-ლა qua-la* (?) = to bear a child). In Haldian we have *qini, qe*, to indicate the origin of males (perhaps also of females); *Menuahiniše, Menuahe* = son of Menuas. In Georg. *ბი qi* indicates the belonging to a nation; *მეს-ბი mes-qi* = a Mesqian; *კოლ-ბი kol-qi* = a Kolqian, etc. But Professor Marr thinks that this *qi* is a sign of the plural as the Svanian *q* (3 pers. plur. verb.).

48. *gal* 𒂗𒂗 = plunder, ruin, destroy; root *gil*. Br. 6202 = *naḫāru*. Georg. *კლ-ვა kl-va* = kill, destroy. Min.-Laz. *ყვილ-უა qvil-ua* = kill, destroy. See *gil*.

49. *gam* 𒂗 = begetter; root *gim, gam* = create. Georg. roots *ქმ qm, ყვ kḥ* = doing, making. See *dam*. Br. 4037 = *alidu*. Georg. *ყმ-ა km-a* = young man.

50. *gam* 𒂗 = be prostrate, bow down. Br. 7317 = *ḫadādu*; Meiss, 5348 = *kanāšu (gurru)*; *gam* = *gur* (Fossey, Hilpr. Anniv. Vol.). (1) Georg. *ღუნ-ვა ḡun-va* (Sum. *m* || Georg. *n*) = to bow down; Laz. *ღულ-ა ḡul-a* = bend down. (2) Georg. *ხრ-ა ḫr-a* = to bow down.

51. *gan* 𒂗𒂗 = totality, much. Meiss. 2692 = *ḫullatu (gana)*; Sv. *გუნუ, გუნ gunu, gun* = too much, very; Min. *გვალ gval* = total.

52. *gan(a)* 𒂗𒂗 = field. Br. 3177 = *iḫlu*; Meiss. 2009 = *eḫlu*. Georg. *ყან-ა kan-a* = field, cultivated field; Laz. *ყონ-ა kon-a* = field, cultivated field. Georg. *ქვე-ყან-ა qve-kan-a* = earth, world. (Sum. *ḫi(n)* + *gan* = Georg. *qve-kan-a*.) See *ḫi(n)* = earth.

53. *gar* 𐎶 = make, bring into existence. Br. 11957 = *bašá*, 11958 = *epéšu*, 11978 = *šakánu*. Georg. *ბურ* *qur* = make, to hammer; *ბურ-ო* *qur-o* = craftsman. Laz. *ბენ* *qen* = to make, to build; *ო-ბენ-აფუ* *o-qen-afu* = to make, to build; Sv. *ლი-ყერ* *li-ker* = to make, to do.

54. *gar* 𐎶 = bread, food. Br. 11954 = *akálu*; Laz. *დარ-ი* *dyar-i* > *ჭარ-ი* *dar-i* = food, bread; Sv. *დირ* *diar* = bread.

55. *gaz* 𐎠𐎵 = slay, also crush, grind, smite. Br. 4719 = *dáxu*; Meiss. 3276 = *hipá*. Georg. *ბოც-ვა* *qob'-va* = to slay, to destroy, also to clean (anything from dust, etc.). Cf. Laz. *ბოს* *qos* = to clean (a fruit from peel, etc.); also Laz. *kaz*, *ǵaz*, *qaz* = to smooth with an axe, to polish. See *ǵaš*, *ǵiš*, *ǵuš*.

56. *gi*, *ge* 𐎠𐎶 = be new, new. Br. 4583 = *eššu*. According to Langdon this root may contain a lost consonant. Indeed, we have in Georgian the word *ა-ხალ-ი* *a-qal-i* = new, the root *ql*. But we have also Sv. *მა-ხ-ე* *ma-q-e* = new, the root *q* (*q* + *i*). Thus Sum. *gi* = *g* + *l*, or + ?

57. *gi* 𐎠𐎶𐎵 = take away, lift up, remove (Prince). Br. 6310 = *exému*; Meiss. 1377 = *exému*. Georg. root *ღ* *ǵ*, probably shortened *ǵn*. Georg. *ღ-ება* *ǵ-eba* = to take; *მო-ღ-ება* *mo-ǵ-eba* = to bring; *ღა-ღ-ება* *ta-ǵ-eba* = to take away; Laz.-Min. *ღ* *ǵ* = to take away. To the full *gin* correspond exactly the Georg. *ქონ* *qon* = to have; *ყვან* *qvan* = to have (said of living beings), and also *ბუნ* *qun* = to bring; *მო-ი-ბუნ-ეს* *mo-i-qun-es*

= they brought; *ლა-ი-ყვან-ეს* *la-i- kvan-es* = they led away. Laz.-Min. *ღუნ* *ġun* = to have. Sv. *ღვან* *ōvan* = to have. It is very probable that the original meaning of the Georg. *ġ* (> *ġn*, etc.) was some sort of "movement"—"going" or something else (Sum. *gin* = go in a circle, go)—and the meanings of "taking" and "having" are derivative. (I think that Georg. *მი-ვი-ს* *mi-vi-s* = I have, is likewise derived from the *ul* = to go, the form *mi-vi-s* literally meaning "it is going for me".)

58. *gid* 𐎡𐎣 = be long, long side, flank. Br. 7511 = *araku*; 7512 = *arku*. (1) Georg. *გ(რ)ძ-ელ-ი* *g(r)ḏ-el-i* = long; Laz. *გუ(ნ)ძ-ე* > *გუ(ნ)ჟ-ე* *gu(n)ḏ-e* > *gu(n)ḏ-e* = long; Sv. *გოდ-ი* *god-i* = long(?). (I think this Sv. *god* is also connected with Sum. *sud* = far away. See *sud*.) (2) Georg. *კიდ-ე* *kid-e* = side, shore; *კედ-არ-ი* *ked-ar-i* = side. (Note also Georg. *კედელი* *kedeli* = Min. *კიდალა* *kidala* = wall, but is this *ked* > *kid* the root of these words or are they connected rather with Assyrian *kutallu* = wall?). It may well be that *gid* = long and *gid* = side, are independent roots, as Georg. *გა* > *გა* = long, and *kid* > *ked* = side, seem to be. See *gud* = be long.

59. *gid* 𐎡𐎣 = seize, bind. Br. 7533 = *ṣabātu*. Georg. roots *კიდ* *kid* > *ჭიდ* *ṭid*. Georg. *მო-კიდ-ება* *mo-kid-eba*, *მო-ჭიდ-ება* *mo-ṭid-eba* = to touch, to seize; *და-კიდ-ება* *da-kid-eba* = to hang, to suspend, *ჭიდ-ა-ობა* *ṭid-a-oba* = wrestling, etc. (root *kid* > *ṭid* = to put in contact two things; that is the idea expressed by this root).

60. *gid* 𒄀 = cut off. See *gud* and *kud*. Georg. კოდ-ვა *kod-va* = to cut; კვეთ-ა *kveth-a* = to cut, etc.

61. *gin* 𒄁 = create, beget. Georg. roots ქმ *qm*; ყვ *kφ*. See *dam*, *dim*, *gam*.

62. *gin* 𒄁 = stand, establish. Br. 4884 = *kānu* (be faithful, true, etc.). Georg. ყენ-ება *ken-eba* = to place, to establish. Also Sv. root გ(ნ) *g(n)*: ლი-გნ-ე *li-gn-e* = to stand; ხვ-ა-გ *qv-a-g* = I stand; ლი-გემ *li-gem* = to establish. This *gin* seems to be connected with *gin* = inhabit a place.

63. *gin* 𒄁 = go in a circle, go, transport, carry. Br. 4871 = *alāku*. Georg. roots ღ, ღნ *ǵ, ǵn*, etc. See *gi* = take away.

64. *gin* 𒄁 = maid; *gen* = nabnitu, amtu; root *gin*. Georg. roots: ქმ *qm*, ყვ *kφ*. See *dam*, *dim*, *gam*, *gin*. Cf. Georg. ყმ-ა *km-a* = young man, knight; also ყმ-ა *kma* = serf; ყ(რ)მ-ა *k(r)m-a* = child (son).

65. *gin* 𒄁, 𒄁 = inhabit a place, land; also *gun* = land. Variant of *ki(n)* = earth. Br. 9627 = *ašru*, 9631 = *iršitu*, 9636 = *mātu*; Meiss. 7300 = *iršitu*, 7304 = *mātu*, 5354 = *dadmū*. Georg. ქვე-ე > ქვე-ე *qv-e* > *qū-e* = below on the earth; ქვე-ყანა *qve-kana* (Sum. *ki* + *gana*) = earth, world; Min. ქიყანა *qikana* = earth, world; Laz. ქეონა *qyona* = light, in the sense of the "world"; Georg. ქვა *qva*, Laz. ქვე-ა *qū-a* = stone (originally "earth", "clay"); Sv. გიმ *gin* = earth. Perhaps also Georg. აქ = ა + ქ *a + q* = here (on this ground?), and იქ = ი + ქ *i + q* = there (on yon ground?).

and many words from this root *q* belong to Sum. *gin* = Georg. *qv* = Sv. *gim*.

66. *gil* 𐎶 = hew, carve. Br. 10194 = *našāru*; Meiss. 815 = *halāku* = escape, perish (𐎶𐎶𐎵). Georg. root კრ-ვა *kl-va* = to kill, to destroy. Laz. ყვილ (ო-ყვილ-უ) *kvil* (*o-kvil-u*) = to slay, to destroy, to annihilate. See *gal* = plunder, slay.

67. *gir* 𐎶𐎶 = to assemble, to bind. Br. 10199 𐎶 = *puhḫuru*. Br. 4316 = *kasû*; Meiss. 2851 = *kasû*. Georg. roots კრ *kr*, ბრ *qr*, ყრ *kr*. Georg. კრ-ება *kr-eba* = to gather, the assembly; შე-ყრ-ა *še-kr-a* = to gather, to assemble; კრ-ვა *kr-va* = to bind; Laz. კორ > კირ *kor* > *kir* = to bind, to attach. Then Georg. ბორ-ა *qor-a* = the heap (of wood, etc.). Sv. ლა-ბორ *lu-qor* = assembly, meeting, etc.

68. *giš* 𐎶 = wood, tree. Br. 5700 = *esu*; Meiss. 4003 = *issu*. Georg. ხე *qe* > **qes* (see N. Marr, "A query on the word 'Chelebi' (Kurdish)": *Zapiski Vostochnavo Otdelenia Imp. Russk. Archeol. Obshchestva*, t. xx, St. Petersburg, 1911); Min.-Laz. ჯდა *da* (> **daš*?) = wood, tree; also Georg. ძე-ლი *de-li* = wood.¹

69. *giš* 𐎶, 𐎶𐎶 = beget, male; *gaš* = lofty hero, heroine, etc.; var. *muš*, *uš*. Br. 5702 = *idlu*; 5707 = *zikaru*. Georg. კაცი *kaθ-i* = man; Min. კოჩ-ი *koθ-i* = man; Laz. კოჩ-ი > გოჩ-ი *koθ-i* > *goθ-i* = man; Sv. ჯან *tāš* = male, husband (see Marr, *Bull. Acad. Imp. St. Pétersb.*,

¹ I do not agree with Professor Marr's *še-š-a* = lignum, derived from **qes*. It is better to derive *še-š-a* > Min.-Laz. *di-šq-a*, *di-šx-a* from the root Georg. *š* > Min.-Laz. *šq* > *šx*. We have indeed the Svanian word without the prefix Georg. *še* (**se* > *si*) = Min. *di* = Sv. *ta*; *zeq* = wood, lignum. Perhaps the root *š* > *šq* > *šx* = *θq* > *θq* > *šq* = to burn, thus *še-š-a* = *di-šxa* = what is to be burned?

i, 1912). Also Georg. ყვერ-ი *qver-i* = testicle; Min. ყვაჲ-ი *qvad-i* = testicle; Laz. ყვაჲ-ი > ვვაჲ-ი *qvad-i* > *qvad-i* = testicle. Then Sv. ღვაჲ-ი *gvaj-i* = son (male); Georg. ვაჲ-ი *vaj-i* = son (male); but for this see *muš*, *uš*.

70. *giš* 𒂗 = hear, understanding; also perhaps "ear" (?). Br. 5721 = *uznu*, 5727 = *šemá*; Meiss. 4026 = *uznu*, 4027 = *hassu*, 4028 = *hasisu*. Georg. ყურ-ი *kur-i* = ear; Min.-Laz. ყუჲ-ი *qud-i* = ear; Georg. ყურ-ებდა *kur-eba* = to hear, to see, to observe.

71. *giš* 𒂗 = *dešsu* (see Fossey, Hilpr. Anniv. Vol.) = heaven. Br. 5705 = *šamá*. Sv. ღებ *deθ* = heaven (?). All those *giš*-words are expressed by the same cuneiform sign (or signs), also for phonetic reasons. Sum. *giš* = male = Georg. კაθ = man, *giš* = wood = *qes* = wood, tree, *giš* = understanding, hear = *kur* = ear, hear, and *giš* = heaven = *deθ* = heaven are absolutely independent roots in Sumerian and in Georgian alike, and the theories identifying *giš* = wood, strength, sexual strength, man, etc., must be considered as entirely erroneous.

72. *gu* 𒂗 = speak, voice, speech. Br. 531 = *qibá*, 546 = *šasá*, 519 = *apálu*. Georg.-Min. ქჲ > (ზ)ქჲ *qu* > (r)*qu* = to speak, to say, to name; Georg. ჰ-ქჲ-ა *h-qu-a* (instead of *h-(r)qu-a*) = he told, he said (frequently in the *Georgian Chronicle*, Q.M.V.); ჰ-ქჲ-ი-ა *h-qvi-a* = he (it, she) is named, etc.

73. *gešten* 𒂗 = wine. Br. 5006 = *karánu*. Georg. ყურბენ-ი *kurđen-i* = grapes; Min.-Laz. = grapes; Sv. ყურბენ *kurđen* = grapes. It seems that *gešten* and *kurđen-i* are the same words, but (1) in Georgian

kurden-i has the meaning of "grapes" and no longer of "wine" (ლვინო *gvino* = wine); (2) we do not know the meanings of the Georg. *kur* and *den*. The explanation of Sum. *gešten* as *geš* (კაშ) = liquor + *ten* (ტინ) = life, or *ten* (ტინ) = strong, is also not absolutely true. In favour of "liquor" + "strong" we have Georg. root *dl* > *dn* = strong, strength, but what is Georg. *kur*? No *kur* (Sum. *kaš*) word has survived in Georgian, as far as I know, with the meaning of "liquor".

74. *gud* 𒄀𒄁 = be long, full-grown. Br. 4704 = *elú*; Meiss. 3261. Georg. root გბ, გჟ, გდ (?) *gd*, *gd*, *dd* (?). See *gid* = be long. Langdon derives *gud* = ox from this root, but it is very doubtful. The ideas of "being long" and "full-grown" and of "ox" are too distinct. (Perhaps to Sum. *gud* (𒄀𒄁 = *alpu*) correspond the Georgian and Armenian გუთანი (= გუთან-ი ?) *guthani* (*guth-an-i* ?) = team (of oxen) for labouring the land, plough (?).

75. *gud* 𒄀𒄁 = neck (Langdon *gu-da ma-al* = *ša ina kiššadi šaknat*). Georg. ქედ-ი *qed-i* = neck, thence "summit of a mountain".

76. *gud* 𒄀𒄁 = cut off, etc. Georg. კოდ-ვა *kod-va*, კვეთ-ა *kveth-a* = to cut, etc. See *gid*, *kud* = to cut, etc.

77. *gul* 𒄀𒄁 = hew, destroy. Georg. კლ-ვა *kl-va* = to kill, etc. See *gal*, *gil* = to kill, etc.

78. *gum* 𒄀𒄁 = bow down. Georg. ღუნ *gun*, Laz. ღულ *gul* = bow down. See *gam* = bow down.

79. *gun* 𒄀𒄁 = totality, total, collection. Br. 3220 = *napharu*; Meiss. 2029 = *biltu*, 2033 = *napharu* (*gu*). Min. გულ *gval* = total, totality; Sv. გუნ, გუნუ *gun*, *gunu* = very, too much. See *gan* = very, too much. This root hardly can be connected with *gin* = go in a circle, carry. (*Gun* = *biltu* may be also an independent

root; cf. Sv. გვამ-ი *gvam-i* = heavy; Georg. მ-ძიმ-ე *m-dim-e* = heavy (?).

80. *gun* 𐎧𐎺 = mighty, great (another independent *gun*?). Br. 7379 = *dannu, rabû*. Georg. ღონ-ე *gon-e* = might, force, strength.

81. *guš-kin* 𐎧𐎺𐎠𐎫 = gold. Br. 9898 = *hurāsu*. Georg. ოქრო *oqro* = gold; Min. ოꜣო *orqo* = gold; Sv. ვოქრო *voqr* = gold; Armenian *osqi* = gold. The roots **γor* + *qo* > **γoš* + *qo* (*r* + *š*, *s*), then *oš* + *qo* > *os* + *qo*, and even *vos* + *qo* > *vor* + *qo*.

G

82. *ga* 𐎧𐎺 = abundance. Br. 8623 = *ma'du*, 8626 = *ma'dātu*. (1) Georg. უ-ბევ-ი *u-ǵv-i* = abundant, much; ბევ-ი *ǵv-av-i* = heap, abundance; Sv. ბევად *ǵvay* = much. Georg. sign of the plural ბ(ი) *ǵ(i)*. (2) Georg. ბო *ǵo* = affirmative particle "yes"; კი, ქე, ქვე *ki, qe, qve* = emphatic particles; Laz.-Min. ქო, ჟი *qo, qi* = emphatic particles. (See Grammar.) (3) *ga* = *gen*: Sv. გუნ *gun* = very, too much, etc. Now, those Georg. roots in (1), (2), (3) have nothing to do with each other, and therefore their connexion with the Sum. *ga* is doubtful. But perhaps the Sum. *ga* = abundance and *ga, ge*, etc. = conditional and optative particles are also not connected. Indeed, how the particle *ge(n)* = be abundant can express the optative and conditional meaning of the verb is not at all clear. See *gen*.

83. *gab* 𐎧𐎺𐎠 = shameful, wicked. Br. 10173 = *bi'su*, 10174 = *bu'sānu*; Meiss. 7651 = *bi'su*, 7652 = *bu'sānu*. Laz. ბავ-ი *ǵav-i* = bad, wicked.

84. *ḡad* 𐎶𐎶 = bright, to blaze. Meiss. 5747 = *ellu*. Georg. roots ღღ > ღჟ *ḡd* > *ḡj* (perhaps also *ḡs*, *ḡš*: *ḡas-ḡas-i* = be bright, clean; *kaš-kaš-i* = be bright, shining); ღად-ღად-ი *ḡad-ḡad-i* = be bright, pure; ღაჟ-ღაჟ-ი *ḡaj-ḡaj-i*. Also the root 𐎶𐎶 *qθ* (> ღღ *ḡd*); 𐎶𐎶-𐎶𐎶-ი *qaθ-qaθ-i* = be bright, shine, etc. Cf. also Min.-Laz. root ხჩ *qθ* (> Georg. ხც *qθ*); Laz. ხჩ-ე > ქჩ-ე *qθ-e* > *qθ-e* = white; Min. ხჩ-ე *qθ-e* = white; Georg. ხუც *quθ* = be old, old (white-haired, white-bearded; Marr). The same word Sum. *ḡud*: I think this word is connected with *ḡuš* = red (*d* || *š*).

85. *ḡar* 𐎶𐎶 = ox. Br. 5735 = *alpu*. Georg. ხარ-ი *ḡar-i* = ox; Min.-Laz. ხოჯ-ი *ḡod-i* = ox; Sv. ხან *ḡan* = ox.

86. *ḡaš* 𐎶𐎶 = axe (*ḡiš* = to demolish). Br. 382 = *šubāru*, 383 = *šebīru*, 384 = *šebīru*; Meiss. 280 = *hamāšu*, 287 = *hašāšu*, etc. The root connected with *gaz*. Georg. ხოც-ვა *ḡoθ-va* = to destroy, to make to disappear, to demolish; Laz. ხოს *ḡas* = to clean, etc.; ყაზ *kaš*, ღაზ *ḡaz*, ხაზ *ḡaz* = to smooth with an axe, to polish, etc. See *ḡiš*, *ḡuš*.

87. *ḡen* 𐎶𐎶 = be abundant; *ḡan*, *ḡu* = much; *u-ḡa* = riches. Br. 4049 = *ḡegallu*; Meiss. 2709 = *ḡegallu*. Georg. roots: ხვ *ḡv*, გვალ *ḡval*, გუნ *ḡun* = much, abundant, etc. See *ḡa*, *ḡan*, *ḡun* (?).

88. *ḡir* 𐎶𐎶 = to outline, define, capture. Br. 8825 = *ešēru*, etc. Georg. roots: კრ *kr*; Laz. კორ, კირ *kor*, *kir* = to bind; Georg. ყრ *kr* = to assemble; 3(ბ)-ყრ-ობა *p(b)-kr-oba* = to capture, to seize, to make prisoner.

Perhaps also Laz. ღარ *gar* = to draw lines (?) (Sum. *gar* = design, plan, from *gir* = to outline—Langdon). See *gir* = to assemble, to bind.

89. *giš* > *guš* 𐎶 = crush, break, annihilation. Georg. ხოც *qoθ*, etc. See *gaš*, *gaz*.

90. *giš* > *guš* 𐎵 = be red, red. Meiss. 5747, 5764. Georg. roots: ლე *gj*, ხს *qs*, ხე *qθ* > ხც *qθ* = bright, shining, white, etc. See *jud* = bright, shining, white, etc. Here belong also, I think, the Georg. roots გუზ (გზ) *guz* (*gz*) and *კუს **kus* (ვეს *ves*): გზ(ნ)-ება *gz(n)-eba* = to make fire, to burn, to be burned; გუზ-გუზ-ი *guz-guz-i* = the burning of fire; მუ-გუზ-ალ-ი *mu-guz-al-i* = Sv. მუ-ღვავ *mu-ǵvaz* = torch, a burning piece of wood; Laz. ვო-გზ-ამ *vo-gz-am* = I burn, I light the fire; Georg. ვეს-ი *ves-i* = steel (to light tinder), verbally ვეს-ვა *ves-va* = make fire with a steel.

91. *gul* 𐎶𐎵 = (1) to do violence, annihilate, desolation; (2) act wickedly, evil. Br. 9505 = *lapātu*, 9506 = *šalpātu*, etc.; Meiss. 7204 = *lapātu*, 7208, etc. Georg. roots: (1) *kl-va*, Laz.-Min. *kvil* = to slay, to annihilate (see *gil*); (2) Sv. ხოლ-ა *qol-a* = bad, evil. Are Sum. *gul* = destroy, and *gul* = evil, independent roots as Georg. *kl* and Sv. *qol* seem to be?

92. *gul* 𐎶𐎶 = gladness, be joyful. Br. 10884 = *hadú*, 10885 = *hadiš* (Sum. *gul-li-eš*), 10886 = *hidātu*. Georg. ხალ-ის-ი *qal-is-i* = gladness, joy; ლ-ხინ-ი (or ლხინ-ი > *ლჳინ-ი ?) *l-qin-i* (or *lqi-ni* > **qli-ni* ?) = Sv. ხინ *qin* = joy, gladness, thence "banquet". Laz.

root *ბეღ* *qel* = be contented, be joyful. Georg. root *ბარ* *qar* comes also under this heading: *სი-ბარ-ულ-ი* *si-qar-ul-i* = joy, gladness.

I

93. *ib* *𒂗* = region. Br. 10488 = *tupuxtu* (*ibbi*). Georg. *უბ-ე* *ub-e* = valley; cf. *ab* = recess, hole. Georg. *უბ-ე* *ub-e* = depth, thence "valley". See *ab*, *ub* = depth, thence "valley".

94. *ibbi* *𒂗𒂗* = speak. Meiss. 3373 = *ḫibá*. Georg. *სა-უბ-არ-ი* *sa-ub-ar-i* = speaking, conversation; *უბ(ნ)-ობა* *ub(n)-oba* = to speak (?). See *bi* = to speak (?).

95. *ibbi* *𒂗𒂗* = to rage; *ib* = anger, angry. Br. 4954 = *agágu*; Meiss. 3370 = *agágu*. Georg. *ავ-ი* *av-i* = wicked, angry, raging; Laz. *ავ-ი* *av-i* = wild beast. (?)

96. *id* *𒂗𒂗* = river. Br. 11647 = *ndru*; Meiss. 8961 = *hiritu* (?). Georg. roots: *დ(ი)* *d(i)*, *დ(ი)*, *დ(ი)* *di(n)*, *de(n)* = to go, to flow; *მ-დინ-არ-ე* *m-din-ar-e* = river. Sum. *id* is connected with *di*, *du* = go. See *di*, *du* = go.

97. *inim* *𒂗𒂗* = word. Br. 508 = (*inim*) *𒂗𒂗* = 518 = *amātu*. Georg. *ენ-ა* *en-a* = tongue, speech, word; Laz. *ნენ-ა* *nen-a* = tongue, word; Min. *ნინ-ა* *nin-a* = tongue, word; Sv. *ნინ* *nin* = tongue, word. See *eme*, *enem* = tongue, word.

98. *ir* *𒂗𒂗* = go. Br. 5380 = *aláku*. Meiss. 3710 = *aláku* (?) (*eri*?). Georg. *რე-ბა* (rather *რ-ე-ბა*) *re-ba* (*r-eba*) = to go. See *ara*.

99. *ir* 𒌦 = beget, plant, husband the earth. Br. 5383 = *erēšu*; Meiss. 3726 *erēšu*. Georg. ურ-ა *ur-a* = having sexual power; ერ-ი *er-i* = people, nation, laity, hosts, army. Also ურვ-ება *urv-eba* = to take care of, to administer, to cultivate. But *ir* = *erēšu* and *urveba* = to take care of, may be also connected with *ir* = to go, since we have in Georgian მო-ვლ-ა *mo-vl-a* = to take care of, from the root *vl* = to go, to walk (round); მო-უ-არ-ა *mo-u-ar-a* = he took care of (him, her, it). See *eri*; *ur* = till the land.

100. *itu* 𒌦 = month; root *tu* (?). Br. 967 = *arhu*. Georg. თვე, თთვე *θve, θθve* = month, derived from მ-თვა-რე *m-θva-re* = moon; root *θu*. Min.-Laz. თუთ-ა *θuθ-a* = moon, month; Sv. დო-შდ-ულ *do-šd-ul*; თევ *θev* = moon, month. (Has this root some relation with Sum. *tu* 𒌦? Cf. Georg. roots *θ, θe > θo > θu > θv* expressing the ideas of "light" or of "perceiving the light".)

101. *izi* 𒌦 = fire. Br. 4584; Meiss. 3083 = *išātu*. Georg. ცი-ა *θi-a* = fire; 𒌦-ა *iv-a* = to burn; Min. 𒌦-ა *tu-a* = to burn, etc. Probably Sum. *izi* is derived from the root *z + g*, Georg. ცხ *θq*, Min. 𒌦 *θq*. See *a-zag, saq, zag*.

K

102. *ka* 𒌦 = gate. Br. 3883 = *bābu*. Georg. კარ-ი *kar-i* = door, gate. Sum. *ka* may be a shortened *kan*. Therefore it may be rather that Georg. *kar-i* = door, *gan-i* = side, *gan* = from, *gar-da* = besides, *gar-e* = outside, also Min.-Laz. *gal-e* = outside, Sv. *qa, qan* = from,

are connected with this Sumerian root *ka(n)* = outside, and not with *bar* = side. See *bar* = side.

103. *kađ* 𒊕𒀭 = pond, excavation (root *kađ* = cut). Meiss. 5108 𒊕𒀭 𒄩 = *nán timri*. Georg. კოდ-ი *kod-i* = a trough, a vessel (a measure for dry substances). Also from კოდ-ვა *kod-va* = to cut, to excavate.

104. *kađ* 𒊕𒀭 = bind, wrap. Br. 1366 𒊕𒀭 = *kašáru*; Meiss. 5096 (𒊕𒀭 or *kađ* 104) = *kašáru*. Georg. roots კიდ *kid*, ჭიდ *tid* = seize, touch. See *gid* = seize, *kid* = seize.

105. *kal* 𒊕𒄩, 𒊕𒄩 = attendant, servant (Langdon *kallu*). Meiss. 8383 𒊕𒄩 = *kallu* (?). Georg. ხლო-ება *ql-eba* = to be near, thence "to serve", "to attend"; მ-ხლო-ება-ელი *m-ql-eb-el-i* = servant, attendant. If this root is connected with *gal* = exist, have (*galu* = man), from which Sum. *ga* = house seems to be derived, then cf. also Georg. მ-სა-ბ-ურ-ი *m-sa-ğ-ur-i* (the root *ğ* > *ql* = house) = servant, literally "domestique" (French).

106. *kan* 𒊕 = field, abode (connected with *kin* = to inhabit (?)). Georg. ყან-ა *kan-a* = field, cultivated field; Laz. ყონ-ა *kon-a* = field, cultivated field; Georg. ქვე-ყან-ა *qve-kan-a* = earth, world (two words of the same root). See *gan* = field. Also Georg. root ყენ *ken* = to place, to establish (Sum. *gin* = be firm and *gin* = inhabit a place, connected with each other (?)). See *kin* = to inhabit.

107. *kaš* 𒊕𒄩 = route, to run. Br. 4457 = *harránu* (*kaškal*); Meiss. 3273 𒊕𒄩 *gaz* = *aláku* (?). Georg. roots გზ *gz*, ქვ *qθ*; გზ-ა *gz-a* = route, road, way. ქვ *qθ*, with different verbal prepositions, denotes the movement

of persons and things: $\text{ga-q}\bar{\theta}\text{-ev-a}$ = to run away, to run; $\text{mo-q}\bar{\theta}\text{-ev-a}$ = to come, to come back, etc.

108. keš, keš-da 𒊕𒌷 = bind. Br. 4331 = *rakāsu*. Georg. კიծ-ვა $\text{ki}\bar{\theta}\text{-va}$ = to bind (Marr, t. iii, 20, 38. Professor Marr thinks that კიծ-ვა $\text{ki}\bar{\theta}\text{-va}$ is an Armenian word. If so, it is certainly borrowed in Armenian from some language of the Georgian group); კოტ-ვა $\text{ko}\bar{\tau}\text{-va}$ = to bind.


109. kid 𒊕𒌷𒍪 = search, dig. Meiss. 5087 = *harāsu*. Georg. root კოდ kod = excavate, cut. See *kud*. Also kid 𒊕𒌷𒍪 Br. 1413 = *karāsu*; Meiss. 831 = *karāsu*.


110. kid 𒊕𒌷 = bind, seize (weave). Br. 7533 = *šabātu*, etc. Georg. root კიდ > ჭიდ kid > ṭid = touch, seize. See *kad* = *kašāru*, *gid* = *šabātu*.



111. kil, kel 𒊕𒌷 𒌷𒍪 = maiden. Georg. ქალ-ი qal-i = woman. Br. 9831 = *ardatu*. Also Br. 9832 𒊕𒌷 𒌷𒍪 𒊕𒌷 = *batūltu* (Sum. *ki-el-tur* is the only possible reading of it). Georg. ქალ-წულ-ი qal-tul-i = *batūltu* ("a virgin"). See *gal-la* = *urū*. Prince's "woman" + 𒌷𒍪 "fullness" seems to me impossible. I think that the sign 𒌷 had not in vain the value *qal* together with *sal, šal*. It is highly probable that *qal* meant in Sumerian "woman" = Georg. *qal-i* = woman. *Šal, šal* meant also "woman", perhaps just in the sense of Georg. *ḥol-i* = woman, wife, French "épouse". See *šal, šal* = woman.

112. ki, kin 𒊕𒌷 = to inhabit, habitation, habitable earth, earth, place. Br. 9836 = *iršitu* (ki-a); Meiss. 7454 (ki-a) = *šaptiš*. Georg. ქვე qve = below, on the earth (cf. Sum. *gu* = *mātu*); ქვე-ყან-ა qve-kan-a = earth,

universe, world; Sv. გიმ *gim* = earth; ლი-გემ *li-gem* = to place, etc. See *gin* = to place, etc., *gan* = field, *kan* = field, etc.

113. *kilib*, *kili*  = totality, all. Meiss. 7884 = *kissatu* (*kili*). Perhaps this root has some connexion with Georg. ყველ-ა *qvel-a* (I think independent from Min. *gval* and Sv. *gun*) = all; ყოველ-ი *qovel-i* = each. But this Georg. root may be also very easy a Semitic loan-word, *kalû*.

114. *kiš*  = hog. Br. 11937 = *piazu*. Georg. გოჭ-ი *got-i* = hog, connected with ღორ-ი *gor-i*; Laz.-Min. ღეჯე-ი *ged-i* = pig, swine; Sv. ღვეჭ-ი *gvet-i* = hog.

115. *kud*  = cut, break, hole, rent. *kud* = trough, etc. Meiss. 265 = *alu* = vase, 326 = *karāšu* = dig, 307 = *niksu* (*giš-kud*), 306 = *ni'ru*, 294 = *kišsu* = all weapons for "cutting", "slaying". Also *kud* = *dānu* = to judge, etc. Georg. roots კოდ-ვა *kod-va* = to cut, to excavate; კოდ-ი *kod-i* = a trough, a vessel hollowed out, chiefly of wood, also employed as a measure of dry substances; კოდ-ვა *kod-va* means also "castrate"; კვეთ-ა *qvet-a*, Min. კვათ-უა *qvab-ua* = to cut, to cut through; კვეთ-ა *qvet-a* = to sentence (to judge); თუბრე ბედი აზომ *thvare bedi azom* *thurme mi-qvet-s*, *gmerθsa raja vkadro* = otherwise, since I am so doomed by Fate, what can I embolden myself to say to God? (Rusth. 839, 4); შეკვეთ-ა *še-qvet-a* = to order, to command. Besides, I think that different phonetic values of  *kud*, as *kut*, *kut*, *kut*, expressed different shades of some original *kud* = cut: Georg. კუჭ-ვა *kut-va* = to cut into pieces;

კუჭ-ვა *kuṭ-va* (?) = to cut (in the centre; this word may be also connected with კუჭ-ი *kuṭ-i* = stomach, what is inside (?)); კვეც-ვა *qveṭ-va* = to cut into bits; ხვედ-რი *qved-ri* = the part, apportion, lot. Many verbs derived from this root, *qved* > *qud*, which has the meaning of "portioning", "separating", "allotting". I think that the Georg. კუდ *kud* (სი-კუდ-ილ-ი *si-kud-il-i*) = death should come under this heading. See *gid*, *gud*, etc.

116. *kun* 𐎧𐎺𐎠 = tail. Br. 2038 = *zibbatu*; Meiss. 1184 = *zibbatu*. Georg. კუდ-ი *kud-i* = tail; Min.-Laz. კუდ-ელ-ი *kud-el-i* = tail; Sv. ჰა-კვედ *ha-kved* = tail. I think this word is connected with კუნ **kun* = end (?): უ-კუნ-ი *u-kun-i* = eternal (= without end (?)); სა-უ-კუნ-ო *sa-u-kun-o* = eternity (უ-კუნ-ი *u-kun-i* also = darkness, dark place).

117. *kur* 𐎧𐎺𐎠 = mountain, land. Br. 7396 = *šadū*. Georg. გორ-ი, გორ-ა *gor-i*, *gor-a* = mountain, hill; Min. გოლ-ა *gol-a* = mountain, hill.

118. *kur* 𐎧𐎺𐎠 = glow, shine, burn, bake. Br. 9451 = *surrupu*. Georg. roots ხურ-ება *qur-eba* = to heat. Perhaps კვარ-ი *kvar-i* = torch (a piece of pine-wood covered with pitch, employed as a candle). Sv. მურ-ე *mu-qur-e* = glitter, lustre.

119. *kur* 𐎧𐎺𐎠 = to eat. Br. 882 = *akālu* (*ku*). Laz. გდარ-ი > გდარ-ი *gyar-i* > *dar-i* = bread, food; Sv. დიარ-ი *diar-i* = bread; *kur* 𐎧𐎺𐎠 = food. See *gar* = food.

120. *kuš* 𐎧𐎺𐎠 = be dejected, weak, sigh, ponder deeply. Georg. roots: (1) ქოშ *qoš* > ქლოშ *qloš*:

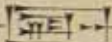
ქმ(ინი) > ქლომ(ინი) *qoš(ini) > qloš(ini)* = to pant, to breathe deeply (when tired); Georg. კვნ-ეს-ა *kvn-es-a* = to moan may come here, since we have Laz. root კუს *kus* = to moan. Br. 6383 = *anāhu*. (2) If Sum. *kus* really means "angry", "sad" (Prince), it may be compared with Georg. ქუმ-ი *quš-i* = angry, sad, also ღუმ *ğus*: მო-ღუმ-ელ-ი *mo-ğus-ul-i* = morose. (3) Also if *kus* = rest ever existed in Sumerian, it may be compared with Georg. roots ყუჩ > ყუჟ *kuθ > kuj* = be quiet, be still, etc. Br. 6387 = *nāhu*.

L


121. *lag, laq* 𒂗 = to go, to place. Br. 4935 = *alāku*, 4937 = *kānu*, 4939 = *nazāzu*; Meiss. 3365 = *arādu* (?). Perhaps *lag* = *kānu*, *nazāzu* and *lag* = (go) *alāku* are independent roots. Georg. (1) root ლახ *laq*: გადა-ლახ-ვა *gada-laq-va* = to cross, to traverse, probably with the original meaning of "treading upon" (with feet?). Hence perhaps in Sumerian the sign 𒂗. Indeed, in Georg. ლახ-ვა *laq-va* means "to beat". Laz. ლაგ *lag* = to beat ("treading" upon the vanquished man). (2) root ლაგ *lag* = to place (employed principally when the direct object is in plural); ა-ლაგ-ი *a-lag-i* = place, spot.

122. *lal* 𒂗, 𒂗 = be lacking, take away, etc. Br. 10097 = *mašû*; Meiss. 7590 = *mašû*. Georg. ლაღლ-ვა *lal-va* = take away, steal, steal away (intransitive), to do violence, etc. (Rusth. 209, 4; 1035, 2).

123. *lal* 𒂗, 𒂗 = suspend, hang, weigh. Br. 10110 = *šaḫālu*, 10132 = *šaḫālu*; Meiss. 7629 = *šaḫālu*, 7606

Meissner gives also  (?) 1835 = *tahazu*;

Br. 2804 = *tahazu*. Georg. ომ-ი *om-i* = battle, war.


130. *mud*  = bear, beget, mulieris pudenda.

Br. 2273 = *aládu*, 2275 = *bišru*; Meiss. 1293 = *baná ša*


aládi. Georg. მუც-ელ-ი *mut-el-i* = mulieris pudenda;





Sv. ბუდუმ *budum*, ფუტუ *putu* = mulieris pudenda.

(Perhaps Georg.-Min. ბად *bad* = bear a child, should also come here.)


131. *mug*  = organ of begetting, womb; *mug* = begetter (father, mother). Meiss. 56 = *bišsuru*. CT. xxv,

8, 6. Georg. მუც-ელ-ი *muš-el-i* = womb.

132. *mu(n)*  = name = *šumu*. The same root as *me*, *eme*, *enem*, *inim*, etc. = tongue, word. Georg. ენ-ა *en-a* = tongue, word; Min. ნინ-ა *nin-a* = tongue, word.

133. *mun*    = that which burns; *munu* = flame, scorpion, *mun* = salt, acid. Br. 2765 = *tabtu*; Meiss. 260, 707 ( *mu(n)* ?) = *išātu*; also Br. 9695 = *munu* = *himtitu*. Georg. roots : მ + ნ

m + n; მ + რ *m + r*: (1) Min. მინ-უა *min-ua* = burn, burn the hair of an animal, etc. (2) Georg. მარ-ილ-ი *mar-il-i* = salt; მორ-ი-ელ-ი *mor-i-el-i* = scorpion; Sv. მერ *mer* = bee. Also Georg. მურ-ი *mur-i* = smoke, flame (in Rusthaveli). Is Sum. *mur* = boiled, roasted, treated by fire, connected with *mun* = burn, and with Georg. მურ *mur*, and generally with the Georg. root *m + r*?

134. *muš*  var. *meš*, *miš*, and originally *giš* = male. Br. 1237 = *zīkaru*; Meiss. 697 = *edlu (mu(š)?)*. Georg. ვაჟ-ი *vaj-i* = male, son; Sv. ღვაჟ-ი *ǵvaj-i* = male,

son; also Georg. ყვერ-ი *ķver-i* = Min.-Laz. ყვაჲ-ი *ķvad-i* = testicle, belong here. (It is interesting to note that, if we imagine the ES. form of *ges[tin]* **muš* (?), it has some equivalent in the Georg. word ვახ-ი *vaz-i* = vine. Sv. ვახ *vaz* = vine.) See *giš* = male.

135. *muš* 𐎶-𐎶𐎶 = serpent. Br. 7639 = *širu*; Meiss. 5630 𐎶-𐎶𐎶 𐎶 𐎶𐎶-𐎶𐎶 *muš-a-ab-ba* = *bašmu*. Georg. ვეშაპ-ი *vešap-i* = dragon (Meiss. 5630); Sv. ვეჟა *vid* = serpent; ვეჟებ *videb* = dragon, serpent. See *ušum* = dragon, serpent.

N

136. *nam* 𐎠-𐎠𐎶 = decision, fate. Connected with *inim* = word. Georg. *en-a* = tongue, word, etc. From *nim* = utter decision. (The same Georgian root.)

137. *nu* 𐎵 = negative particle "no", "not". Br. 1962 = *lú, ul*. Georg.-Min. ნუ *nu* = no, not.

P

138. *pad* 𐎶𐎶 = break into pieces. Meiss. 7522 = *kasápu*, 7523 = *kusápu*. Georg. ფეთ-ვა > ფლეტ-ვა *peθ-va* > *pleθ-va* = to break into pieces; also the root *ფოტ- **pot*; ნა-ფოტ-ი *na-pot-i* = a stick (something cut off from a tree, etc.).

139. *pad* 𐎶-𐎶𐎶 = to name, choose, swear by a name. Br. 9417 = *tamú*. Georg. ფიც-ი *phiθ-i* = to swear; Min. ფუფ-ი *fuθ-i* = to swear.

140. *pap* 𐎶 = male, father, dignitary, high-priest. Br. 1141 = *abu* (*pap*?); Meiss. 645 = *abu*, 647 = *ašaridu*, 648 = *bélu*. Georg. მამა *mama* = father; ბაბუა *babua* = grandfather; პაპ-ა *pap-a* = grandfather; Min. ბაბ-ა

bab-a = father; პაპ-ა *papa* = priest; Laz. პაპუ *papu*, პაპული *papuli* = grandfather, dignitary, even "king".

141. *par* 𒍪 = to spread, to spread a net. Br. 5534 = *šuparruru*. Georg. ფარ-ება *far-eba* = to cover, to spread. (Perhaps also the roots ფინ, ფენ *fin, fen* = to spread?)

142. *peš, piš* 𒍪, 𒍪, 𒍪 = conceive, be abundant; abundant, wide; be pregnant; to breathe, live, breath of life; womb, inward parts; liver, thoughts.

(1) 𒍪: Br. 6936 = *rapāšu*, 6932 = *libbu*, 6931 = *kabattu*, 6933 = *mamlu*; Meiss. 4927 = *mamlu*, 4929 = *rapāšu*.

(2) 𒍪: Br. 8100 = *alādu*, 8101 = *erū*; Meiss. 6065 = *alādu*, 6066 = *erū*, 6067 = *bišsuru*.

(3) 𒍪: Meiss. 5090 = *napāšu*, 5091 = *nipšu*.

I think those *peš*-words are from different roots (at least some of them). Cf. Georg. roots: (1) ვს *vs*, Min.-Laz. ფშ *φś*; Georg. სა-ვს-ე *sa-vs-e* = full, abundant; Min. ო-ფშ-ა *o-φś-a* = full, abundant; Laz. ე-ფშ-ერ-ი *e-φś-er-i* = full, abundant. (2) Georg. ფ + შ *φ + ś*: ფშ-ი, ფშ-ვი *φś-i φś-vi* = inward parts, womb. (3) ფ + ჟ [ვ(ღვ) + ძ?] *φ + j. [v(ǵv) + d ?]*: ფიჟ-ვი *φij-vi* = lungs; [ღვი(ზ)ძ-ლი *ǵvi(r)d-li*, Sv. ყვიჟ-ე *kvij-e* = liver (?)]. (4) Georg. ფშ, ფშვ *φś, φśv*: ფშვ-ენა *φśr-ena* = to breathe.

K

143. *kal-la* 𒊕 -𒊕 = pudendum feminæ. Br. 10927 = *urū*; Meiss. 8382 = *bišsuru*. Georg. ქალ-ი *qal-i* = woman. See *gal-la* = woman, and *kel* = maiden.

144. *rum* 𒌶𒌵 = grind. Br. 4713 = *hašálu*; Meiss. 3269 = *hašálu*. Georg. roots: *ქ* > *ქვ* > *ფქ*; *ქვ* > *ქუ* *qb* > *qφ* > *φq*; *qv* > *qu*. Georg. *ქ-ვა* (*ფქ-ვა*) *qb-va* (*φq-va*) = to grind; *წის-ქვ-ილ-ი* *tis-qv-il-i* = mill; *ქ-ილ-ი* > *ქვ-ილ-ი* > *ფქვ-ილ-ი* *qb-il-i* > *qφ-il-i* > *φqv-il-i* = meal; also *და-ქ-ულ-ი* *da-qb-ul-i* = meal; Laz. *მ-ს-ქიბ-უ* *m-s-qib-u* = mill; Sv. *ლე-ქვე-ერ* *le-qve-er* = mill; Laz. *ქუ-ერ-ი* *qu-er-i* = meal; Sv. *ლი-გვ-ეჲ* *li-gv-eh* (?) = meal.

R

145. *ra* 𒊺 = to go. Georg. *რ-ება* *r-eba* = to go. Hence *რუ* *ru* = a canal. See *ara*.

146. *ru* 𒊺 = one. Georg. *ერ-თი* *er-thi* = one. Variant of *aš* (Georg. **es(š)θ-i*). See *aš* = one.

147. *rig* 𒊺𒌶 = lie, be placed, place. Langdon = *ramá*. Georg. (1) *რი-ვა* *ry-va* = to plant. Also (2) *რიგ-ი* *rig-i* = order, placed in order, row, style, etc.; *გა-რიგ-ება* *ga-rig-eba* = to arrange, to settle, etc. It is not certain whether *ry* = to plant and *rig* = order, etc., are of the same root.

148. *rig* 𒊺𒌶 = overwhelm, seize, from *rag* = break, overwhelm. Br. 2576 = *šalálu*, 2591 = *raḥášu*, 2594 = *laḫádu*; Meiss. 1701 = *maḥášu* (?), 1709 = *šalálu*. Georg. roots: (1) *რღვ-ევა* *rǵv-eva* = loosen, demolish, disorganize, etc.; (2) *რეგ-ვა* *reg-va* = to break, to demolish, etc.; (3) Laz. *რაგ-ი* *rag-i* = snare, trap (?). Are these Georg. words of the same root?

S, Š

149. *sag* 𒊕𒊕 = head, front. \sqrt{sig} . Br. 3513 = *ṣaxadu*, 3522 = *rešu*, 3509 = *ašaridu*, 3523 = *reštu*, 3517 = *maḥru*, 3515 = *ṣarnu*, 3520 = *pānu*, etc.; Meiss. 2234 = *ašaridu*, 2280 = *maḥru*, 2285 = *pānu*, 2276 = *zimu*, etc. *Sag* means also "ridge", "hill", "back of a man's body", "person", referring to slaves (in Georgian referring to animals), "high", "first", etc. Georg. roots ცხ > ჯხ $\theta q > d q$; ძღ > ძხ $d j > d q$; სხ $s q > თხ \theta q$; სჟ > ზჟ $s x > z g$; წყ $t x$; წ(ი) $i(i)$; წჟ $i v$, etc. Georg. ციხ-ე $\theta i q-e$, Min. ჯიხ-ა $d i q-a$ = fortress (i.e. building on the top of a mountain or hill). Cf. Br. 3523 = *reštu* = top, peak, summit of something (tower, mountain, building, etc., see Muss-Arnolt's Dictionary). Sv. ზუგ *zug* = hill; Min. სუჟ-ი *suk-i* = hill; Georg. ძღო-ლა $d j o-l a$ = to lead, to go before; წა-გვი-ძეგ $t a-g v i-d e q$! = lead us!; წინა-მ-ძღო-ლი $t i n a-m-d j o-l i$ = leader, i.e. one who goes before, in front; სახ-ე $s a q-e$ = face (does სხე-ულ-ი $s q e-u l-i$ = body belong also here?); თხე-მ-ი $\theta q e-m-i$ = head, top; Sv. თხ-იმ $\theta q v-i m$ = head (Georg. თა-ვი $\theta a-v i$, Min. დუღ-ი $d u d-i$, Laz. თი θi = head may also derive from some $s g > \theta q$ root (?)); Georg. კონ-ცხ-ი $k o n-\theta q-i$ = prominence (of a rock, etc.), cape; ცხ-იწ-ი $\theta q v-i r-i$ = nose; ცხ $\theta q v$ = top of a hill; აღმართა კერპი დიდი ცხ-ისა ზედა $a j m a r \theta a k e r p i d i d i \theta q v-i s a z e d a$ = [he] erected a great idol on the top [of a hill] (Th. Jordania, *Chronicles*, i, p. 13, Tiflis, 1893); Laz. წოხ-ლე $i o q-l e$ = before; (perhaps Georg.

შუ(ბ?)-ლი *šu(b?)-li* = forehead, Sv. სვე(ბ?)-ინ *sgve(b?)-in* = before, სვე(ბ?)-ინ *sgve(b?)-in* = forehead, front belong here); Georg. ბო(რ)-ცვი *bo(r)-θv-i* = hill; შუ(რ)-გი *zu(r)-gi* = back; დაწყება *da-ik-eba* = to begin; წ-ი-ნ *t-in* = before; წვერ-ი *tv-er-i* = point, German "Spitze", etc. See *sig* = rush forward.

150. *šag* 𐎶-𐎶𐎶 = gift (root *sig* = to give). Br. 5655 = *šuráxu* (. . . *g*); Meiss. 3992 = *širxu*. Georg. roots ც, თ, ჩ, ზ (*θ*, *θ* + **γ*), ჩქ *θq*, perhaps also ჭ *t(?)* (*t* + **γ*): Georg. მი-ც-ება *mi-θ-ema*, Min. მე-ჩ-ამა *me-θ-ama* = to give; Georg. ჩუქ-ება *θuq-eba* = to give a gift; სა-ჩუქ-არ-ი *sa-θuq-ar-i* = a gift; perhaps also ნი-ჭ-ი *ni-t-i* = a gift. See *sig* = to give.

151. *šag* 𐎶-𐎶, 𐎶-𐎶𐎶 = be sound, pure; to purify, pure, good. Br. 7290 = *damáxu*, 7291 = *damxu*, 7292 = *dumxu*; Meiss. 5273 = *dumxu*, 5275 = *lábū*. I think it is connected with *sig* = be bright and *dug* > *zag* > *zib* = good, be good. Georg. roots: (1) ჯობ *dob*, Min. ჯგ *dq*; Min. ჯგ-ირ-ი *dq-ir-i* = good; Georg. მ-ჯობ-ი *m-dob-i* = better; Min. ჯეგ-ე *deg-e* = pure, saint, holy. (2) Georg. წმ *tm*, წყ *ik*; Georg. წმ-ი(ნ)-და *tm-i(n)-da(?)* = holy, pure; Sv. წყ-ილ-იან(?) *ik-il-ian(?)* = holy, saint. (3) ცხ *θq*, ჩხ *θq* connected with Sum. *a-zag* and *sig* = be bright: Georg. რე-ცხ-ა *re-θq-a* = to wash (make pure); Laz. ო-ჩხ-ე *o-θq-u* = to wash. See *sig* = to be bright and *šig* = to be pure.


152. *šab* > *šag* 𐎶𐎶 = heart, centre. Br. 7987 = *širbu*, 7988 = *libbu*; Meiss. 5976 = *irru*, 5978 = *širbitu*. Georg.


roots შ > შქ > სგ \acute{s} > $\acute{s}q$ > sg : Georg. შუ-ა = middle, centre; Laz. შქ-ენ $\acute{s}q-en$, ც-შქ-ენა = middle, centre, central; Min. შქ-ა $\acute{s}q-a$ = centre, central, middle; Sv. ლი-სგ-ა $li-sg-a$ = into; ი-სგ-ა $i-sg-a$ = inside; Georg. ში, შიგ $\acute{s}i, \acute{s}ig$ = in, into; Min. შ(ბ) $\acute{s}a(\acute{q})$ = in, into; Laz. შა $\acute{s}a$ = in, into, etc. (Is Sum. $\acute{s}u$ post-position connected with $\acute{s}ag$? See Grammar.)


153. $\acute{s}ag$ 𐎶𐎶𐎶 = flood, from $\acute{s}eg$ 𐎶-𐎶 = rain. Br. 7990 = $m\acute{i}lu$, from 𐎶-𐎶 Br. 11399 = $zan\acute{a}nu$, 11400 = $zunu$; Meiss. 8745 = $zan\acute{a}nu$, 8746 = $zunu$. Georg. roots სს > თს $\acute{s}q$ > $\theta\acute{q}$; წყ $\acute{i}k$, etc.: Georg. სს-მა $\acute{s}q-ma$ = to pour out; თს-ევა $\theta\acute{q}-eva$ = to pour out; წყ-აღ-ი $\acute{i}k-al-i$ = water, etc. See $\acute{s}eg$ = rain.


154. $sa\acute{y}$ > $za\acute{y}$ 𐎶𐎶𐎶 = to burn. Br. 4577, Sa ii, 31 (?). Georg. roots ცს > ჩს > შს $\theta\acute{q}$ > $\theta\acute{q}$ > $\acute{s}q$, etc.: Georg. ცე-ცხ-ლი $\theta e-\theta\acute{q}-li$ (* $se-\theta\acute{q}-li$) = fire; Min. ღა-ჩს-ი $da-\theta\acute{q}-ir-i$ = fire; Laz. ღა-ჩს-ურ-ი $da-\theta\acute{q}-ur-i$ = fire; Sv. ღო-შს-ი = to burn; Georg. ნა-სშ-ი-ი > ნა-შს-ი-ი $na-\acute{q}\acute{s}-ir-i$ > $na-\acute{s}q-ir-i$ = coal, charcoal (what is burnt); Min.-Laz. ნო-შქ-ერ-ი $no-\acute{s}q-er-i$ = coal, charcoal (what is burnt); Georg. ცხ-ელ-ი $\theta\acute{q}-el-i$ = hot; სი-ცხ-ე $si-\theta\acute{q}-e$ = heat. Perhaps also Georg. შე-შ-ა $\acute{s}e-\acute{s}-a$, Min.-Laz. დი-შჟ-ა $di-\acute{s}x-a$, Sv. 𐌵𐌺 zeq = wood, firewood (what is to be burnt ?) belong here (?). See $a-zag$.




155. sal , 𐎶𐎶 𐎶-𐎶 = woman. Br. 10920 = $zinni\acute{s}tu$. Georg. ცო-ლი $\theta ol-i$ = wife; Min. ჩი-ი $\theta ir-i$ = wife;

Laz. ჩიღი-ი *čil-i* = wife; Sv. ლი-ცვილ-ე *li-čvil-e* = to marry a husband (to be a wife). I think also that Min.-Laz. ჩურ-ი *čur-i* = pudendum muliebre is of this root. Also Sv. ზურ-ალ *zur-al* = woman; Laz. ზურ-ა *zur-a* = female; Georg. ა-სულ-ი *a-sul-i* = daughter, lady, Miss; Min. ო-სურ-ი *o-sur-i* = woman; Laz. ო-სურ-ი *o-sur-i* = girl; Min. ცირ-ა *čir-a* = girl, etc., probably belong here. Moreover, the sign  has the value *gal*, which is undoubtedly Georg. ქალ-ი *qal-i* = woman. See *qalla*. Note also that Haldian *šilai-e* (?), which Assyriologists at first translated as "sister", means probably "wife" (= Laz. *čil-i*), as Mr. Belek afterwards recognized.

156. *šar*  = write, writing. Br. 4336 = *sašáru*. Georg. წერ-ა *ter-a* = to write; Laz.-Min. ო(ნ)-ჭარ-უ *o(n)-čar-u*, ჭარ-უა *čar-ua* = to write.

157. *šar*  = totality. Georg. სულ, სრულ (= სრულ-ი or ს(რ)ულ-ი?) *sul, srul (sr-ul or s(r)ul?)* = altogether, derived from სრულ-ი or ს(რ)ულ-ი *sr-ul-i* or *s(r)ul-i* = total, complete; Sv. სურ-უ *sur-u* = too much. Br. 8221 = *kiššatu*, 8222 = *kullatu*. Cf. also Sum. *šar* = be abundant (*naḥášu*) and Sv. სურ-უ *sur-u* = too much.

158. *sig*  = be high, *sug* = high. Br. 4424 = *šaḫá*. Georgian roots given in *sag* = head. See also *sig* = rush forward.

159. *sig*  = give. Br. 4418 = *nadánu (si, sim?)*. Georg. roots: (1) ჩუქ *čuq*: ჩუქ-ება *čuq-eba* = to give a gift; (2)  >  θ > θ : მი-ცემა *mi-č-ema*, Min.

მე-მ-ამა *me-θ-ama* = to give (the root may be also $\theta + m$ = Sum. *zem* = to give); (3) ზღუ *zǝu* ზღუ-ევა *zǝv-eva* = to give, to pay; ზღუ-ენი > ძღუ-ენი *zǝv-eni* > *dǝv-eni* = gift, present. See *sag* = gift, *zem* = to give.

160. *sig* 𐎶 = be bright, shine forth. Br. 7011 = *banû*; also Meiss. (𐎶) 2156 = *nûru*, 2159 = *namâru*, 2161 = *napâhu*. Georg. roots: სს *sǝ*, წყ *ik* > ჭყ *ik*, etc. Georg. სს-ივი *sǝ-iv-i* = ray (of the sun, etc.); ბ(რ)-წყ-ენა *b(r)ik-ena* = to shine; ბ(რ)-ჭყ-ენა *b(r)ikv-ena* = to shine. Connected probably with *a-zag* and *šag* = be pure, Georg. $\theta\acute{q}$ > $\theta\grave{q}$ > \acute{q} = fire, burn, and *db* > *dǝ* = good; also *im* (Sv. *ik*) = pure, holy, etc. See *a-zag*, *saǝ*, *šag*, *šig*, with those meanings.

161. *sig* 𐎶 = be low, weak, sink into inactivity; *šag*, *sig* = low; *sig* = *šuharruru* = fall into misery; *sig* = *mâzu* = fail; *sig* = *adâru* = be dark, in gloom; *sig* = *ašâsu* = be distressed, etc. Then active: *sig* = *šâpu* = tread upon; *sig* = *hašâlu* = thresh; *sig* = *nadû* = throw; *sig* = *katnu* = small; *sig* = *šaḫummu* = miserable; *sig* = *šuharratu* = misery; *sig* = hunger, weakness, etc. Br. 11869 = *enêšu*, 11870 = *enšu*, 11873 = *šapliš*; Meiss. 9132 = *enêšu*, 9133 = *enšu*, 9137 = *šaplu*, etc. I think all those *sig*-words are not of the same root. We have here at least three independent roots: (1) *sig* connected with *zem* = cast down, which seems to be related with *sig* > *zem* = to give; (2) *sig* connected with *sig* > *zig* = *aḫâzu*, *tamâhu*, *šabâtu*, which seems to be related with *dib* > *zib* = seize; (3) *sig* = *katnu* = Georg. root ციქ *θiq* (?). Indeed: (a) The Georg. root θ > θ (or $\theta + m$ > $\theta + m$) = give, expresses at the same time the notions of "falling", "being low", "sinking into inactivity", "throwing", "bringing low", "thrashing", "hurling",

also "beating", etc. Georg. ცემ-ა *them-a* = to beat; და-ცემ-ა *da-them-a* = to fall; და-ცემ-ულ-ი *da-them-ul-i* = brought low, distressed, decayed, etc.; ცემ-ა *them-a* = to throw, to cast down; ს-ცა ქვეყანასა ზედა *s-ša qveḱanasa zeda* = he has thrashed it (him, her) on the ground; და-ცემ-ულ-ი *da-them-ul-i* = low, even. (Perhaps also in Georg. და-ნა-(რ)ცხ-ება *da-na-(r)θq-eba* = to cast down, we have the full root *θq* of *θ*.) Thus it seems that the notions "low", "to be low", etc., are derivative. The original idea expressed by *sig* was probably some way of "interacting", "acting", or "communication" of persons and things. Thence also *sig* = to give. (b) The Georg. roots: ცვ, წყ, წხ *tx, tḱ, tḱ* express the same idea as *sig* = seize, and *dig* > *zib* = seize, and thence "be afflicted", "sorrow", etc. Georg. ცვენა *tx-ena* = to be hurt, to hurt, afflict, etc.; წყენა *tḱ-ena* = to be distressed, afflicted, etc.; Laz. წკუ(ნ)-ი *tku(n)-i* = pain; Georg. წუხ-ილი *tuḱ-il-i* = sorrow, to be in sorrow, etc.; Georg. მ-წუხ-რი *m-tuḱ-ri* = evening, darkness (*sig* = *adāru, ašāšu*). In the words წყვდიად-ი *tḱvdi-ad-i* = darkness, and და-მ-წყვდ-ევა *da-m-tḱvde-va* = to imprison, to shut up (*dig* = seize, Georg. *tḱevna* = seize, capture), the root is *tḱ*, but it is difficult to explain *tḱvd* > *tḱud*. (c) The Georg. roots წ(ი, ა) *t(i, a)* > Laz. ცქ *θq* express the idea of "smallness" and scarcity. Georg. პა-წი-ა, პა-წა *pa-ti-a, pa-ta* = little, small; Laz. ცქ-ა *θiq-a* = small, little, not much;

ციქ-ობა *θiq-oba* = hunger, scarcity (*sig* = *katnu*, *sig* = *umpatu*, etc.). (It is not improbable that Sum. *sig* = *narātu*, *rābu* = give way to fear, tremble. Meiss. 1930 (*sid* > *sig* ?) = *harlašu* is an independent root connected with Georg. ში-ში *ši-ši*, Min. შქ-ურ-ი *šq-ur-i* = fear.) See *šeg* = misery.

162. *sig* 𐎶 = plunge forward, rush; *sig* = *karṇu* = horn; *sig* = blow; *sig* = *šāru* = wind, storm, etc. Br. 3388 = *karṇu*, 3397 = *naḫābu*, 3416 = *zāxu*; Meiss. 2198 = *karṇu*, etc. I think we have here different independent roots. The root *sig* = plunge forward, horn, etc., is connected probably with *sag* = head, front. Cf. Georgian roots given under *sag*, and particularly წი-ნ *ti-n* = before; Laz. წი-ნ-ლე *toq-le* = before, etc. Georg. წუ-ელ *tuq-el* = last night (before the present day ?) may belong here; წ-ევა *t-eva* = draw (forward); წვერი *tv-er-i* = point, something pointed, beard; მო-წ-ევა *mo-t-eva* = come, advance (connected with *dib* > *dig* = come, advance). *sig* = *zāxu* = blow, may be connected with *sig* = (be low ?) > *zem* = cast down (*ergo* with *sig* = to give ?); Georg. *θ* (+*m*), *θq*: ს-ცხ-ო *s-θq-o* = he has given him a blow, he has beaten him. *sig* = *šāru* = wind, may be connected with *šeg* = rain; Georg. *sq* > *šq*: ქარი-შხ-ალ-ი *qari-šq-ali* = storm (wind + rain ?). See *sag* = head; *sig* = below; *šeg* = rain.

163. *sig* 𐎶𐎶 = wool, fleece, woollen garment. Original meaning "carding comb" (Langdon). Br. 10781 = *šipatu*, 10785 = *lubuštu*; Meiss. 8246 = *sissiktu*, 8249 = *šipatu*, etc. Georg. roots: ცხ *θq* (perhaps also ჯგ *dq* and ჩხ *θq*); the following examples show that in Georgian the idea of anything "bristled", "dented", etc., is expressed

by the root $\text{ცხ } \text{čq}$, etc. Probably such was the case originally also with this Sum. *sig*. Georg. ვა(ზ)-ცხ-ნა *va(r)-čq-na* = to comb; სა-ვა(ზ)-ცხ-ელ-ი *sa-va(r)-čq-el-i* = a comb; Sv. ლა-ცხ-ნ-ირ *la-čq-n-ir* = a comb; Georg. ფა(ზ)-ცხ-ი *fa(r)-čq-i*, ფო-ცხ-ი *fo-čq-i* = harrow; ფა-ცხ-ა *fa-čq-a* = a plaited hut; ბ(ზ)-ჩხ-ილ-ი *b(r)-čq-il-i* < ბ(ზ)-ცხ-ილ-ი *b(r)-čq-ili* = finger-nail, etc. (Note also Georg. ჭაგ-ი *čag-i* = thorn-bush, ჭაგ-არ-ი *čag-ar-i* = hair (of swine, etc.), bristle. Perhaps also Georg. ჩოხ-ა *čox-a* = a sort of woollen coat which people wear in Georgia and in the mountains of the Caucasus(?).)

164. *sig* 𒂗 = be pure, gracious. Br. 9445 = *damáxu*, 9446 = *damxu*, 9447 = *dumxu*; Meiss. 7153 = *damxu*. Georg. roots $\text{db} > \text{dg}$, $\text{tk} (> \text{tm})$, etc. See *šag* = gracious, pure. For *šig* = *apáxu*, *damáxu* we have Georg. წყ-აღ-ობა *čq-al-oba* = grace, შე-წყ-აღ-ება *še-čq-al-ebu* = be gracious, favourable (can this *sig*, *tk* may be connected with წყ-აღ-ი *čq-al-i* = water, Sum. *šeg* = rain?). It is improbable that Sum. *šeg* = *migru*, *šeg* = *šemá*, *šeg* = *pašadu* have any connexion with this root. See below.

165. *sig* 𒂗 = oversee, rule, plan, wisdom. Br. 3394 = *mérišu*; Meiss. 2152 = *mérišu*. Georg. ჭკუ-ა *čku-a* = intelligence, wisdom, wit; Sv. ლი-ჭკუ-არი *li-čkv-ari* = to think. Connected with Sum. *dug* = to speak, meditate, and not with *dug* = good, with which is connected *šag* = gracious and *šig* = be gracious. I think *šeg* = *pašadu* and *šeg* = *šemá* belong neither to *šig* = be gracious nor to *zig* = rush forward, but to *sig* = *dabábu* = *dug* = *dabábu*.

See *dug* = speak; *seg* = *semú*, Br. 7477 (𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *še-ga* = *semú*), Meiss. 5470 (𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *še-ga* = *semu*). Cf. Georg. ვ-უ-ი *v-u-tk-i* = I know; Laz. root ჰი(ნ) *hi(n)* = to know, to hear, etc. (The Georgian word მ-ი-ესი *m-tk-esi* = shepherd may belong here, but also to *sag* = head or *sig* = plunge forward: the root *tk* may, indeed, contain the idea of "leading" and "giving heed", but those two *tk* are independent.) *seg* = *magáru*, Br. 7475, Meiss. 5469 = *migru* belongs rather here than to *šig* = be gracious. Cf. Georg. წყ(ნ)-არ-ი *tk(n)-ar-i* = quiet, obedient (also ჭკუ-იანი *tku-iani* = with reason, obedient). *seg* = to permit, *seg* = to accept a prayer (Langdon); cf. Georg. შე-წყ(ნ)-არ-ება *še-tk(n)-ar-eba* = to accept (to accept a prayer), to permit.

166. *sig* 𐎶 = be full, to fill. Br. 3393 = *malú*, 3408 = *šapáku* ("to pour out," "to heap up"); Meiss. 2189 = *šenu*. Georg. roots: (1) ს-მ *sq-ma* = pour out = *sig* = *šapáku*. (2) წყ-ობა *tk-oba* = to place, to store, to heap up. (3) წყ-ვა *tk-va* = to measure (liquids and dry substances). (4) ს-მ *sq-ma* = *sig* = *nažázu* = to place, to fix, to put, etc. Those different Georgian roots may correspond to this *sig* = be full, etc., since each Georgian root quoted above = Sum. *sig*, expressing different shades of meanings of some original *sig* = be full or rather "pour out", or of some other more primitive idea. It is difficult to determine whether ს-მ *sq-ma* = pour out and ს-მ *sq-ma* = to place are independent roots or not. Nor can we say with certainty whether წყ-ობა *tk-oba* = to store, to heap up, is connected with *sq-ma* = to place. წყ-ვა *tk-va* = to measure may be an independent root and belong to *sug* = increase.

167. *sig* 𐎶𐎶𐎶 = seize (*zig* = seize). Br. 3724 = *aházu*. Connected with *dib* > *dig* = seize, also with *tig* = take, etc. Georg. roots ტყ *tík*, etc. See *dib*, *tig* = take, etc.

168. *sig* 𐎶𐎶𐎶 = fix; *nazázu*. Georg. სხ-მა *sq-ma* = to place, to put, to put upon (Marr, t. iv, p. 209). Meiss. 2432 = *nazázu*.

169. *šeg* 𐎶-𐎶 = to rain, to water. Br. 11399 = *zanánu*; Meiss. 8745 = *zanánu*. Georg. roots სხ *sq*; წყ *tík* > წჳ *tík*; წყ *tu* > ჭყ *tu*; თხ *θq*; ჩხ *θq*; უხ *sq*; ჩჳ *θq*, etc. Georg. სხ-მა *sq-ma* = pour out; თხ-ევა *θq-eva* = pour out, to shed; წყ-აღ-ი *tík-al-i* = water; Laz.-Min. წჳ-არ-ი *tík-ar-i* = water; Sv. ლი-ც *li-θ* = water (**li-θ* + γ); Georg. წვი-მა *tvi-ma* = rain; Laz.-Min. ჭვი-მა, ჭი-მა *tvi-ma*, *ti-ma* = rain; Sv. უჩხ-ა *u-θq-a* = rain; Georg. უხე-ფი *sq-ephí* = sprinkle; ჩჳე-ფი *θqe-phi* = the spouting of the water; მ-სხვერ-პლი *m-sqver-pli* = offering, victim (from სხურ-ება *squr-eba* (root *sq* = to sprinkle, but what is *pl*, the second part of the word?)); კუ(რ)-თხ-ევა *ku(r)-θq-eva* = benediction სი-სხ-ლი *si-sq-li* = blood (what is shed); Laz. დი-ცხ-ი-რ-ი *di-θq-ir-i* = blood; Sv. ზი-სხ *zi-sq* = blood; Georg. სი-თხ-ე *si-θq-e* = liquid, liquidity; თხ-ელ-ი *θq-el-i* = fluid, thin, etc. Then the roots for expressing the sound of falling water or rain, etc.: უხე-ი-ლ-ი *sqh-il-i* = the sound of falling rain, hail, etc.; უხრ-ი-აღ-ი > ჩხრ-ი-აღ-ი *sqh-ial-i* > *θqri-al-i* = the sound of a flowing stream, etc.; ქარი-უხ-აღ-ი *qari-sq-al-i* (wind + rain) = storm, etc.

170. *seg* 𐎶 = fat. Meiss. 8208 𐎶𐎶 𐎶 = *marú*; (*uduše(g)*) = fat mutton (Th. Dandin, SAK, frequently). Also Meiss. 6423 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶 = *marú*. Georg. roots სს > სჳ > სქ > ჩს *sq* > *sk* > *sq* > *θq*: Georg. სქ-ელ-ი, სჳ-ელ-ი *sq-el-i*, *sk-el-i* = thick; სს-ი-ილი *sqv-il-i* = thick; მ-სუქ-ან-ი *m-suq-an-i* = fat; Laz. ჩსუ *θqu* = thick; Sv. სჳ-ელ *sk-el* = thick; ჩქ-ან *θq-an* = fat.

171. *sid* (> *sig*?) 𐎶𐎶 (𐎶𐎶) = to appease, to be appeased, etc. Meiss. 1933 = *náhu*, 1934 = *níhtu*, 1935 = *pašáhu*; Br. 3062 = *pašáhu*. Georg. ცხ(ზ)-ი-მა *θq(r)-oma* = to be appeased, to diminish (said of the moon).

172. *seg* 𐎶𐎶-𐎶𐎶 = misery. Br. 899 = *šaxummatu*; Meiss. 547 = *šaxummatu*. Georg. roots ცჳ, წყ, წს *tk*, *tk*, *tq*; also ც(+მ) *θ(+m)*, etc. See *sig* = below, etc.

173. *sikša*, *šexa* 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 = goat, ram. Br. 10901 = *atúdu* (Meiss. 8375 has *muxa* (!) = *atúdu*). See also Fossey, *Syllabaire Cuneiforme*, 476, 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 = *sikša*, *šexa*. Georg. თხ-ა *θq-a* = goat; Sv. დახ-ულ *daq-ul* = goat; Laz. თხ-ა *θq-a* = goat; Georg.-Laz. თოხ-ლი *θoq-li* = a little goat. Also Georg.-Laz. თიხ-ან-ი *θix-an-i* = a kid of goat; Georg. also *θix-an-i* = a kid of goat. I do not think that Sum. *sikša* has anything to do with *six* = to blow away, root *sig* = plunge forward (Langdon).

174. *sil* 𐎶𐎶 = sever, cut, decide. Br. 387 = *šalātu*. Georg. words ცლ-ა *θl-a* = to separate, to take away, to empty; ცელ-ვა *θel-va* = mowing; ცელ-ი *θel-i* = scythe. Laz.-Min. ჩლო *θl*: Laz. თხ-ჩალო-უ *on-θal-u* = mowing. (Georg. თლო-ა *θl-a* (*θ < θ*) = to cut out, to

polish, may belong here. Also, if Sum. *sal* = woman belongs here, Georg. ცოლ-ი *θol-i*, Laz. ჩილ-ი *θil-i* = wife, may be connected with the root *θl* = to separate; we have, indeed, in Georg. ცალ-ი *θal-i* = half, one entire half of a whole or of something double; Sv. ცალ *θal* = comrade, companion. But for this word see also Sum. *tal* = twin, comrade.) Georg. წილ-ი *til-i* = part, lot; ნა-წილ-ი *na-til-i* = part, apportioned part, etc.; Laz. წილ *til* = to gather fruit, to harvest (Sum. *šelu* = harvest, Langdon); Georg. წვალ-ება *ival-eba* = to torture (= to cut through the body); გან-წვალ-ება *gan-ival-eba* = to separate; და გან-წვალ-ა ღმერთმან შოზის ნათლისა და შოზის ბნელისა *da gan-ival-a ḡmerṡman šoris nathlisa da šoris bnelisa* = And God divided between light and darkness (Gen. i, 4); მ-წვალ-ებ-ლობა *m-ival-eb-loba* = heresy (= division, separation) (Georg. ცუელ-ი *θul-i* = a large axe and წელ-დი *tal-di* = a small axe may belong also here).

175. *šin* 𐎶𐎵 = gleam, be clean. Br. 252 = *ibbu*. Georg. ჩვენ-ება *θven-eba* = to show, to cause to appear, the apparition; ჩინ-ება *θin-eba* = to be apparent; ჩინ-ებ-ულ-ი *θin-eb-ul-i* = excellent, prominent, etc. (The primitive meaning of the root *θin*, *θven* was probably "to perceive the light", etc.) Another root შვენ *šven*, შნ *šn*: შვენ-ება *šven-eba* = to be beautiful, beauty; შვენ-იერ-ი *šven-ier-i* = beautiful; შნ-ო *šn-o* = beauty, elegance. See *šun* = beauty, elegance.

176. *sir* (šir) - $\langle \text{Š} \rangle$ = shine, light, brightness. Br. 1650 = *náru*; Meiss. 925 = *náru* (= *nurum*). Also Br. 1652 = *samaš*. Georg. roots: (1) $\text{ზ} + \text{რ}$; $\text{შ} + \text{რ}$ *z + r*; *d + r*: Georg. *მ-ზერ-ა* *m-zer-a* = to see, to look, to contemplate; Min. *ძირ-აფა* *dir-aφa* = to see, to look, to contemplate; Laz. *ო-ძირ-უ* *o-dir-u* = to see, to look, to contemplate. (2) Georg. *მ-ზე* *m-ze* = sun; Min. *ბ-ჟა* *b-ja* = sun, but Laz. *ბ-ჟა* and also *ბ-ჟორ-ა* (root *j + r*?) *b-ja* and *b-jor-a* = sun; Sv. *მუ-ჟ* *mu-j*, *მი-ჟ* *mi-j* = sun. Also Georg. *ზე* *ze* = above, upon; Min. *ჟი* *ji* = above, upon; Laz. *ჟი* *ji*, *ჟი-ლე* *ji-le*, *ჟი(ნ)* *ji(n)* = above, upon; Sv. *ჟი-ბე* *ji-be* = upper; *ჟი* *ji* = on, upon; Sv. *ლე-ჟ* *le-j* = east; *ჟა-ბე* *ja-be* = eastern. (But are Georg. *m-zer-a* = to look, and *m-ze* = sun, of the same root *z + r*?)

177. *sir* $\langle \text{S} \rangle$ = (1) reduce to extremities, be in misery, affliction; (2) bind (*sur*, *šur* = misery, distress, is evidently of the same root). Georg. root *ჭირ* *tir*, *ჭერ* *ter*: *ჭირ-ვა* *tir-va* = to hold, *ჭერ-ა* *ter-a* = to catch, to bind; hence *ჭირ-ი* *tir-i* = affliction, misery, plague, and many other words. It is interesting that the meanings of Sumerian *keš*, *kešda* are expressed in Georgian by the root *ჭირ* *tir*, *ჭერ* *ter*: Sum. *kešda* = restrain = Georg. *ჭერ-ა* *ter-a* = restrain; Sum. *kešda* = to choose, arrange: *galu má-gur-bi ka-mu-na-kešda* = he appointed sailors; Georg. *მუშათა და-ჭერ-ა* *mušaba da-ter-a*, to appoint, to engage workmen; Sum. *enim-bi ka-e-da-kešda* = he arranged the affairs with him; Georg. *საქმის*

დაჭერა *saqm̃is da-ter-a* = to arrange an affair with anybody, to deal with anybody; Sum. *κ̃issa* = buttress; Georg. ჭერ-ი *ter-i* = ceiling (that which sustains), etc. See Br. 4317 = *kašáru*, 4348 = *zarábu*.

178. *šu* 𐎶 = hand = *κ̃átu*. Sv. ში *ši*, შუბ *šun* = "hand".

179. (*s*)*sub* 𐎶𐎶 (1) to hurl down, crushed, fallen in misery, prostration; (2) to incline oneself, bow, worship, subject, one who is obedient, etc. Br. 1432 = *maκ̃átu*, 1434 = *nadú*, 1433 = *miκ̃tu*. Undoubtedly connected with *sig* = to be low. Georg. root 𐏃(+მ) *θ(+m)*: და-ცე-მა *da-θe-ma* = to fall. See *sig* = to be low. (I do not think that *sub* = shepherd, should come here; *sub* = *sib* (> *sig* ?) is rather connected with *sig* = oversee, rule, or *sag* = head, *sig* = be prominent. The primitive meaning of *sib* = *sub* = shepherd, must have been, therefore, "ruler" or "leader". Cf. Georg. მ-წყ-ებ-ი *m-t̃k-es-i* = shepherd, the same root *t̃k* connected with *sag* = head, or *sig* = oversee, rule.)

180. *sub* 𐎶-𐎶𐎶 = pure, clean, bright. Meiss. 9016 = *banú*. Georg. roots: წყ *t̃k*, წმ *tm*, also ჭგ *dg*, etc. See *sig* = be pure.

181. *sud* 𐎶-𐎶𐎶 = far away, long. Presumably connected with *gid*, *gud*. Br. 7603 = *rúxu*; Meiss. 5116 = *rúxu*. Sv. ჯვედ-ი *dved-ia* = far away; ჯოღ-ი *dod-i* = long. See *gid*, *gud* = long.

182. *sud* (*sug*) 𐎶-𐎶𐎶 = light, brightness. Br. 7631 = *náru*; Meiss. 5617 = *náru* Georg. შუქ-ი *šug-i* = ray (of sun, etc.). See *sig* = be bright.

183. *sug* 𐎶 = food. Br. 9929 = *kurmatu*; Meiss 7524 = *kurummatu*. (1) Georg. root ჭ *t* (or *t* + *m*), Min.-Laz. ჭკ *tκ* (or *tκ* + *m*): Georg. ჭამ-ა *lam-a* = to eat; Laz. ო-ჭკომ-უ *o-κom-u* = to eat; Min. ჭკუმ-უა = to eat. But Georg. მ-ჭა-დი *m-ta-di* = maize bread (primitively probably "bread", "food"); Laz. ჭკუ-დი *tκu-di*, Min. ჭკი-დი *tκi-di* = maize bread. (2) The root Georg. შ *š* > Laz. შკ *šk*: Georg. სი-მ-შ-ილი *si-m-š-il-i* = hunger, from მ-ში-ა *m-ši-a* = I am hungry, I will eat; Laz. ბ-შკორ-უმ *b-škor-um* = I am hungry, I will eat. (3) The root ძღ *dğ*: ძღ-ომა *dğ-oma* = to be satiated.

184. *sug* 𐎶-III = hurl down. Br. 7605 = *sapānu*; Meiss. 5586; also perhaps Meiss. 7853, Br. 10309 = *sušá*, and Meiss. 7852 = *šeru* (the sign 𐎶) = plain, though Meiss. 7852 = *šeru* = *sug* may be also "back". (1) Georg. გუ(რ)ი- *zu(r)g-i* = back, connected with Sum. *sag* = head, *sig* = be prominent. (2) Georg. root ძ (+ *m*): Georg. და-ცემ-ული (ადგილი) *da-θem-uli (adgili)* = plain, even. See *sig* = to be low, *zem* = cast down, *šub* = to hurl down.

185. *sug* 𐎶-III = high, foremost. Br. 7606 = *šaḫú*. See Georg. roots under *sag* = head, etc.

186. *sug* 𐎶-III = to water, sprinkle. Br. 7602 = *erēšu*, 7608 = *zarāḫu*; Meiss. 5569 = *erēšu*, 5605 = *zarāḫu*. Georg. roots წყ *tš*, სხ *sq*: (რ)წყ-ვა *(r)tš-va* = to water; სხუ(რ)-ება *squ(r)-eba* = to sprinkle. This *sug* may be of the same root as *sug* = water-basin (see below *sug* = water-basin). See *šeg* = rain, *šag* = flood.

187. *sug* 𒍪 = water-basin, fish-pond. Georg. ზღვა-
zǧv-a = sea; Min.-Laz. ზუგ-ა *zuǧ-a* = sea; Sv. ძუღ-ვა
 or ძუღ-ა (?) *đuǧ-va* or *đuǧv-a* (?) = sea. (Compared
 also by A. Trombetti, *L'Unità d'origine del linguaggio*.)
 This Georg. root *zǧu* may be connected with ზღვა-ზრი
zǧv-ari = boundary; ზღუ-დე *zǧu-de* = enclosure;
 Min. ძგა *dg-a* = side; Sum. *zag* = side, boundary. But
 it is not absolutely certain. Georg. *zǧv-a* = sea, may be
 also of the root წყ(-აღ-ი) *tš(-al-i)* (= water), and in
 this case Sum. *sug* = water-basin, and *sug* = to water,
 may be of the same origin (?). See, at any rate, *seg* = rain,
šag = flood, and *zag* = side, boundary. See Br. 10906 =
suxxu; Meiss. 7843 = *apsu*.

188. *sug* 𒍪-III = increase, to pay interest, to pay taxes.
 Perhaps Br. 166 = *erēbu* and Meiss. 5575 = *handbu ša še'i*.
 (1) It may be connected with *sig* = to give; cf. Georg.
 ზღვ-ევა *zǧv-eva* = to pay (what is due); ძღვ-ენი,
 ზღვ-ენი *đǧv-eni*, *zǧv-eni* = gift, present. (2) It may
 be connected also with Georg. ვა-სჴ-ი > ვა-სხ-ი
va-ǵš-i > *va-šǵ-i* (Arm. Վաղի) = usury; ვა-სხ-ი *va-sǵ-i*
 = loan; სე-სხ-ი *se-sǵ-i* = loan, borrowing. (3) Sum.
sug (> *sud*) is probably connected with *šid* (> *šig* ?) =
 number, count, cf. therefore Georg. რი-ცხ-ვი *ri-čǵ-vi*
 = number; Min. მუ-სხ-ი *mu-sǵ-i* = how many, how
 much; მუ *mu* = what + *სხ-ი **sǵ-i* (?) = number (?).

189. *sug* 𒍪-III = be full. Meiss. 5587 = *šenu*, also
 5611. Georg. roots სხ *sǵ*, წყ *tš*. See *sig* = to fill.

gveliviθ i-tur-ebian = like a serpent they writhe. But Georg. *tur* does not mean "to mix", it means "to draw a liquid" (Prince, *sur* = to draw a liquid), and if Sum. *gešten* = Georg. *kurdeni* = grapes, Sum. *galu gešten sur-ra* may be translated "man who draws the juice from grapes" (?), instead of "mixer of wines". But our hypothesis cannot be justified since we have *sur* = *mazá*. Moreover, this Georg. *tur* is connected with another Sum. *sur*. See, immediately following, *sur* = to be poured out.

197. *sur* = (1) to be poured out, (2) rain. Br. 2976 = *natbaku*; Meiss. 1875 = *zanánu*, also 1891. Georg. *სურ-ვა* *tur-va* = to draw a liquid; *სურ-სურ-ი* *tur-tur-i* = to be poured out. (Perhaps also Georg. *ვარ-ი* *θvar-i* = drop, belongs here.)

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198. *tab* = double, twin, companion. Br. 3775 = *tappu*, 3770 = *šavú*; Meiss. 2453 = *mášu*, 2463 = *šina*, 2464 = *tu'ámu*, 2451 = *kilallán*, 2449 = *athú*. Georg. *ტუბ-ი* *t kub-i* = twin, double; Laz. *ტუბ-ი* *t kub-i*, *ტუბ-ი* *tub-i* = twin, double, etc. (Professor Marr thinks that this word goes back to the general "Japhetic" root **t_hum-i*, connected with Arabic *تم*, Hebrew *תָּמַ*, etc., but such a Semitic root does not exist at all. See *Zapiski Vostoch. Otdel. Imper. Russk. Archæol. Obsheh.*, t. xx.) (?)

199. *tab* = blaze, burn. Br. 3763 = *hamátu*, 3772 = *šarápu*. Georg. roots *თბ*, *ტბ*: Georg. *თბ-ილ-ი* *θb-il-i* = warm; Laz. *ტუბ* *tub* = heat, bake; Sv. *ტებ-დი* *teb-di* = warm, etc.

200. *tag* = touch, take. Br. 3797 = *lapátu*; Meiss. 2766 = *tamáhu (tab)*; connected with *dib* > *dig* =

seize. Georg. roots ტყ *tḱ*, თბ *θḱ*: ტყვე *tḱve* = prisoner; თბ-მა *θḱ-ma* = to engird, also "to beat"; also (რ)ტყ-მა (*r*)*tḱ-ma*, to engird, to encircle, "to beat." See *dib* > *dig* = seize, also *tig* = to touch.

201. *tag* 𐎠𐎵 = split, smash. Br. 3768 (𐎠𐎵) = *sapānu* (*tab*) = smite, break up. Georg. ტყ-ვა *teḱ-va* = split, break up; Min. ტაბ-უა *taḱ-ua* = split, break up.

202. *tag* 𐎠𐎵𐎶 = terror, be terrified, tremble with fear. Br. 6110 (𐎠𐎵𐎶) = *ḱalādu*, 6168 = *palāhu*; Meiss. 2996 = *galādu* (?). Georg. თაბ-თაბ-ი *θaḱ-θaḱ-i* = tremble with fear; ტაბ-ტაბ-ი *ṭaḱ-ṭaḱ-i* = tremble with fear; also ბაგ-ბაგ-ი *ḱag-ḱag-i*, ძიგ-ძიგ-ი *ḱig-ḱig-i* = tremble. (Langdon, *tub* = quake with fear; cf. Georg. თამ-თამ-ი *ṭam-ṭam-i* = tremble ?)

203. *tal* 𐎠𐎶 = wailing, cry, lament. Br. 20 = *ixillu*; Meiss. 7 = *rigmu*; also Br. 10069 (𐎠𐎶) *ixillu*; Meiss. 7585 (𐎠𐎶) = *ixillu*. Georg. ტირ-ილ-ი *tir-il-i* = crying, weeping, wailing, lamenting.

204. *tal* 𐎠𐎶 = twin, comrade. Br. 23 = *mitharu*; Meiss. 6 = *mihistu*. Br. 25 = *tallu*. Georg. words: (1) ტოლ-ი *tol-i* = equal, comrade, corresponding to; (2) დარ-ი *dar-i* (?) = corresponding to, equal, comparable; (3) ცალ-ი *ṭal-i* = $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{2}{3}$ = 1; Sv. ცალ *ṭal* = comrade. But they may belong also to Sum. *sil* = cut off (or perhaps Sum. *s* || *t*: *tul* > *sil* ?). See *dal* = to correspond to.

205. *tar* 𐎠𐎶𐎵 = (1) sever, cut, (2) decide, determine. Br. 373 = *parā'u*; Meiss. 315 = *paṭāru*, etc. Georg. ტარ-ა *tr-a* (Sv.-Min. ტვრ *ṭvr*) = cut, sever. Georg. გადა-ტარ-ა *gada-tr-a*, საქმისა *sagmisa*, სამარ-

თლისა *samarθlisa* = to cut + the affair = to decide, or to cut + the justice = to sentence, etc.

206. *tig, teg* 𐎶𐎵 = (1) touch, take, receive, accept, etc., (2) bind, wrap. Meiss. 2049 (𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *tig-ag-a*) = *liḫá*. The same Georgian roots as in *dib > dig, tag*: ტყ *tḱ*, თხ *θḱ*, etc. Note სა-(რ)-ტყ-ელ-ი *sa(r)-tḱ-el-i* = girdle: ტყ-ავ-ი *tḱ-av-i*; Min. ტყ-ებ-ი *tḱ-eb-i* = skin (that which holds, covers the body); მა-ტყ-ლი *ma-tḱ-li* = wool (that which covers the body). Evidently here should come *teg* = to bind, to weave, and *túg* = garment. See this *tug*.

207. *teg* 𐎶𐎵 = to repose, abide, rest. Georg. root დგ *dg*: დგ-ომა *dg-oma* = to stand, to repose, to abide; ა-დგ-ილ-ი *a-dg-il-i* = place. Connected with *sig* = *nazāzu* (*s* || *d, t*) (*?*). See *tug* = to repose.

208. *tig* 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 = die. Georg. roots ტყ *tḱ*, წყ *tḱ*, ტკ *tḱ*. See *dib > dig* = seize (*dig* = *mātu*).

209. *til* 𐎶𐎵 = be complete, cease, totality. Br. 1499 = *gamāru*, 1512 = *ḫatū*; Meiss. 968 = *gamāru*. Georg. მ-თელ-ი *m-θel-i* = entire, total, complete; Laz. მ-თელ-ი *m-θel-i*, თელ-ი *θel-i* = entire, total, all. With this root is connected

210. *til* 𐎶𐎵 = live, exist, live in good health. Br. 1697 = *balātu* (also Br. 1494 = *balātu*); Meiss. 957 = *bašú*. *tal* = humanity, belongs to this root and means "all" (living beings, men) (*tal* = *balātu*). Georg. მ-თელ-ი *m-θel-i* means, indeed, "healthy," "living in good health." In Sumerian also we have

211. *til* 𒄠 = live in good health. Meiss. 2471 = *damáxu*. Georg. სი-მ-თეღ-ე *si-m-thel-e* = living in good health (= integrity of existence, of health).

212. *til* 𒄠𒄠 𒄠𒄠 = wailing, to wail. Meiss. 8 (—) = *tanuxatu*, 5106 = *šišitu*. Georg. ტირ-ილ-ი *tir-il-i* = wailing, weeping, etc. See *tal* = wailing.

213. *tin* 𒄠 = be powerful, possess mastery. Br. 9857 = *zikaru*. Georg. roots ძლ *dl*, ძნ *dn*: ძალ-ა *dal-a* = force, strength, power; ძლ-იერ-ი *dl-ier-i* = strong, powerful; ძნ-ი-ად *dn-i-ad* = vigorously, powerfully, very. (Perhaps Sum. $\dot{s} \parallel t$: *šul* > *tin*, *tun*? Sum. *šul* = also "mighty".)

214. *tir* 𒄠𒄠𒄠 = tree, forest. Br. 7661 = *šištu*; Meiss. 5635 = *kirú*. Georg. (1) ტევრ-ი *tevr-i* = forest, or (2) მ-ტილ-ი *m-til-i* = garden, orchard(?).

215. *tug* 𒄠 = obtain, possess. Br. 11239 = *rašú*, 11237 = *išu*; Meiss. 8624 = *mašáru*, 8626 = *rašú*. The same Georg. roots as in *tig*, *dig* = touch, seize. See these *tig*, *dig*.

216. *tug* (*tub*) 𒄠 = to repose, etc. Br. 10540 = *nahú*. Georg. დგ-ომა *dg-oma* = stand, etc. See *teg* = to repose, *dag* = *nazázu*. (Also *sig* = *nazázu*.)

217. *tug* 𒄠 = cloth made of fibres, flax, hemp. Br. 10513 = *šubátu*, 10512 = *lubuštu* (*tub*), etc. Meiss. 8007 = *nalbašu*, etc. Georgian: The same roots as in *tig* = touch, take, etc. ტყ-ავ-ი *tk-av-i* = skin. Primitively Sum. *tug* was probably also a raw skin of some beast, *tk-av-i*, as in Georgia this same *tkavi* means a garment doubled or lined with wool or skin. See *tig* = touch, bind.

218. *tul* 𒄠 = small, little. Br. 4083 = *šaháru*, 4084 = *šahru*, 4085 = *šihru*; Meiss. 2724 = *šihhíru*; var. of

tur. Laz. წულ-უ *tul-u* = small, little. Hence Georg. წულ-ი *tul-i* = child (son, daughter). See *tur* = little, small.

219. *tum* 𒄀 = to carry, take, bring. Br. 4880 = *babālu*; Meiss. 3331 = *babālu*, etc. Georg. root ტან *tan*: მო-ტან-ა *mo-tan-a* = to bring; წა-ტან-ა *ta-tan-a* = to carry away, to take with.

220. *tun* 𒄀𒄁 = to conquer, slaughter; *ni(g)-tun* = violence. Br. 2697 = *ḫatū*; Meiss. 1767 = *kaṃāru*, 1768 = *taḫtu*. Georg. roots ძლ *dl*, ძნ *dn*: ძლ-ევა *dl-eva* = to overpower, to conquer; ძნ-ელ-ი *dn-el-i* = difficult; ძალ-ა *dal-a* = violence, strength, etc. See *tin* = be powerful. (Cf. *šul* = mighty.)

221. *tun* 𒄀𒄂 = cavity, hole. Meiss. 9159 = *ḫubtu*, 9162 = *makaltu*, 9178 = *šaptu*. Georg. ჭო-თან-ი *qo-ṭan-i* = pot. Laz. ჭვა-თან-ი *qva-ṭan-i* = pot, a clay vessel. Sv. თუნ-უ *ṭun-u* = pot, a clay vessel. Also Georg. თონ-ე *ṭon-e* = underground oven. See *dun* = cavity, *udun* = cellar.

222. *tur* 𒄀𒄃 = to enter. Br. 1072. Georg. roots ძრ *ḍr*, ძვრ *ḍvr* (* ძურ) (**ḍur*) = to move: მო-ძრა-ობა *mo-ḍra-oba* = movement; ძრ-ვა *ḍr-va* = to move, to cause to move; ძრ-ობა *ḍr-oma* = to enter, to penetrate, etc. (?).

223. *tur* 𒄀𒄄 = sickness, sick. Br. 1074 = *marṣu*, 1075 = *murṣu*. Sum. *tur* = *s(š)ur*, root *sir* = reduce to extremities (?). Then cf. Georg. ჭირ-ი *ṭir-i* = sickness, plague, misery (?).

224. *tur* 𐎶𐎵 = small, little. See *tul* = small, little. Georg. 𐏃𐏂𐏁-ი *tul-i* = child; Laz. 𐏃𐏂𐏁-უ *tul-u* = small, little. Perhaps Georg. 𐏃-ცირ-ე *m-tir-e* (= perhaps Assyrian *šihru*?) = small, little, and 𐏃-ცარ-ა *pa-tar-a* = small, little, belong also here (?). Meiss. 9161 (𐎶𐎵𐎶) *tun* = *māru* probably belongs here.

U

225. *u* 𐎶 = ten. Meiss. 6560 = *ešerit*; Br. 8677. Georg. ა-თი *a-θi* = ten; Laz. ვი-თი *vi-θi*, ვი *vi* = ten, etc. See Grammar and Vocabulary *a* = ten. (The origin of *u* from *uku* or *ušu* is not certain.)

226. *ub*, *up*, *upu* 𐎶𐎵 = cavity, hole. Meiss. 7803 = *šuplu*, 7807 = *šuttatu*, 7792 = *huppu*, etc. Georg. უბ-ე *ub-e* = depth, valley; უპ-ე *up-e* = eyelid. See *ab*, *ib*.

227. *ub* 𐎶𐎵 = region. Br. 5786 = *tupku*, 5782 = *κibratu*. Georg. უბ-ე *ub-e* = depth, deep corner, hence valley. Interesting is that the Georg. ხევ-ი *hev-i* = valley, and also "region". Moreover, the sign 𐎶𐎵 has also the value *ar*, *ara*, and Georg. არ-ე *ar-e* = exactly "region" (perhaps Sum. *ara* = go?). Perhaps also Br. 5781 (*ar*) = *κarmu*, Meiss. 4100 (*ar*) = *κarmu* = ruin, ruined land, *arable land* (?).

228. *ud* 𐎶𐎶 = daylight, day; *ud-de*, *ud-da* = then; *ud* = when. Br. 7798 = *urru*, 7913 = *šumma*, 7914 = *āmu*, *urru*; Meiss. 5906 = *banū*, 5908 = *šumma*, etc. (1) It is evident that Sum. 𐎶𐎶 *è* = 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 *ašū* = to go out, to rise, is not in vain expressed by the ideogram 𐎶𐎶𐎶 UD. DU. We have, indeed, Sum. *du* = to go. UD. DU seems to be a primitive verb for "rising", at any rate, independent from *è*, and connected with *du* = to go.

Sum. *ud-da* = then, and *ud* = when, seem to be connected with the idea of "going", "coming", and are therefore probably connected with *du* = to go. Indeed, we have Georg. root ვიდ *vid* = to go, and ვიდ-რე *vid-re* = until, ოდ-ეს *od-es* = when, evidently connected with *vid* and with Sum. *du* = to go, and *ud* = when. (2) It is also remarkable that the values of *tu*, *ut*, etc., correspond phonetically to the Georgian words of the roots თ (ო, უ, ვ) *θ* (*o, u, v*): თვა-ლი > თო-ლი *θva-li* > *θo-li* = eye; მ-თვა-რე *m-θva-re* = moon; Laz. თე *θe* = light, etc., the original idea of which is "light". Perhaps *di-e* = *nabātu* is not connected with the root *dib*, but with some Sum. *tu* or *ut*. Also Sum. *ud* = daylight, day, may be an independent root from *ug* = light, heat, fierce heat. Note also that Assyrian *šumma* conditional = Georg. თუ *θu* = if = Sum. *ud-da*, etc. (See Grammar.) See *de* = shine.

229. *udun* 𒌶 = cellar, underground storeroom, oven; var. of *udul* = water-vessel, jar. Georg. თონ-ე *θon-e* = a clay oven for baking bread (mostly underground). Br. 8854 = *utūnu*; Meiss. 6615 = *utūnu*. See *tun*, *dun* = cavity, hole.

230. *umun* 𒌶 = lord. Br. 8659 (*u, umun, un*) = *bēlu*; Meiss. 8690 = *iššakku* (*umun*). Georg. მნ-ე *mn-e* = governor, lord (Marr, t. iv, 77, 3, 1). But this *mn-e* may be also *m-n-e* the (decayed?) root being *n*. In this case it may be connected with Sum. *en* = lord, *né* = strength, or *nin* = lord (?).

231. *unu* 𒌶 = abode, great house. Br. 6712 = *šubtu*. Georg. ვან-ი *van-i* = abode; სა-ვან-ე *sa-van-e* = abode, a place for dwelling; ბუნ-აგ-ი *bun-ag-i* = abode of a beast, abode; მენ-ა *men-a* = abode (Sh. Rusth., 682).

Min. ო-მან-ე *o-man-e* = abode (of a beast), etc. Perhaps also Georgian (and Armenian) ბან-აკ-ი *ban-ak-i* = camp, and Georg. ბან-ი *ban-i* = terrace, flat top of the house; უ-ბან-ი *u-ban-i* = quarter (of a village, city, etc.).

232. *ur* 𒌦 = sexual strength, organ of sex, male, maid, etc. Meiss. 8634 = *idlu*, 8639 = *buš(l)tu*, 8640 = *buš(l)tu*. Georg. root ურ *ur*, expressing the idea of sexual strength, etc. See *eri*, etc.

233. *ur* 𒍪 = till the land, husband the land, make fruitful with water-machines. Br. 1023 = *eréšû*. Georg. root ურ *ur*: და-ურ-ე-ბა *da-ur-e-ba* = to take care of, to administer, to govern, to do business; მე-ურ-ნე *me-ur-ne* = husbandman, cultivator, business-man, undertaker (entrepreneur); მო-ურ-ავ-ი *mo-ur-av-i* = administrator of estates.

234. *ur* 𒍪 = to bristle, to harrow (bore with a pointed instrument, etc.). Br. 11897 = *mašáru*. Perhaps this is the original root for *ur* = till the land? (or perhaps *ara* = *ur* = go; Georg. მო-ვლ-ა *mo-vl-a* = go round, take care of?). Georg. ურ-ე-ბა *ur-e-ba* = to arrange business, to cultivate. Connected with *ur* = till the land (?). I think this *ur* is also connected with *ur* = to protect (Georg. *ur* = take care of).

235. *ur* 𒍪 = go, advance. Br. 11890 = *hamámu*, 11894 = *bá'u*; Meiss. 9151 = *bá'u*. Georg. სი-არ-ულ-ი *si-ar-ul-i* = to go; ვლ-ა *vl-a* (**ul-a*) = to go. See *ara*.

236. *ur(u)* 𒍪 = city. Georg. ერ-ი *er-i* = people, nation. See *eri* = people, nation.

237. *ur* 𒌦 = one. Meiss. 8637 = *išten*. Georg. ერ-თი *er-θi* = one. See *aš* = one.

238. *uš* 𒍪 = male (Prince). Georg. ვაჟი *vaj-i* = son, male. See *giš*, *muš* = son, male.

239. *ušum* 𒍪 𒍪 = monster, dragon. Br. 98 = *bašmu*. Georg. ვეშაპი *vešap-i* = dragon. See *muš* = serpent.

240. *uz* 𒍪 𒍪 = she-goat. Br. 3707 = *enzu*; Meiss.

2402. It is interesting to note that in Georg. ვაც-ი *vaθ-i*, means "he-goat" and not "she-goat", and yet it is tempting to identify Sum. *uz* with Georg. *vaθ-i*.

241. *uzu* 𒍪 𒍪 = flesh. Br. 4559 = *širu*; Meiss. 3071 = *šēru*. If this word is connected with *su* = body, then it may be also connected with Georg. ა-სო *a-so* (?) = member of the body. But it is more probable that

Sum. *uzu* is Georg. ხორცი *ḫorθ-i* > **ḫorθ-i* > **qorθ-i* = flesh. The presence of *r* in the middle of *qorθ-i* is an habitual phenomenon in Georgian in many words as ფეხ-ი *ferq-i*, instead of ფეხ-ი *feq-i* = leg, foot; ბრწეხ-ი *brθqil-i*, instead of ბრწეხ-ი *brθqil-i* = finger-nail, etc. But whether Sumerian has lost *q* at the beginning of *uzu* or Georgian acquired it in *qorθ-i* is difficult to decide. Moreover, in Haldian we have also *qusu* 𒍪 𒍪 = flesh, with this *q*.

242. *uzu* 𒍪 𒍪 = seer. Br. 4666 = *barā*; Meiss. 3206. Georg. მი-სან-ი *mi-san-i* = seer; also Georg. ცოდ-ნა *θod-na* = knowledge, ვი-ც-ი *vi-θ-i* = I know, მ-ცოდ-ნე *m-θod-ne* = knower. See *zu* = to know.

Z

243. *zag* 𒆳 = knee. Br. 6470 = *birku*; Meiss. 4613 = *birku*. Georg. ჩოკ *θoq* = kneel; Sv. ჩვექ *θveq* = knee. See *dug* = knee.

244. *zag* 𒆳 = good. Meiss. 4617 = *tābu*. Georg. ჯობ *dob* = better; Min. ჯგ *dḡ* = good. See *dug* = good, *zib* = be good.

245. *zag* 𒆳 = front, top, head, face, back, beginning. Br. 6468 = *ašaridu*, 6490 = *rēšu*, 6492 = *šēru*, etc.; Meiss. 4608 = *ašarēdu*, 4622 = *šēru*, 4625 = *rēšu*, etc. Georg. roots: ს + ს *s + ḡ* = face; ზ + ზ *z + ḡ* = back; თ + ს *θ + ḡ* = head; წ + ყ *i + ḡ* = beginning; მ + ლ *d + ḡ* = lead, etc. See *sag* = head, *sig* = plunge forward.

246. *Zug* 𒆳 = side, boundary. Br. 6476 = *idu*, 6480 = *ittu*, 6465 = *aḫi*. Meiss. 4594 = *idu*, 4596 = *aḫu*, 4610 *itū*, 4620 = *pātu*. Georg. ზღვ-არ-ი *zḡv-ar-i* = boundary; სა-ზღვ-არ-ი *sa-zḡv-ar-i* = boundary, frontier; ზღუ-დე *zḡu-de* = walls, enclosure; Sv. ზღვი-დ *zḡvi-d* = boundary; Min. ძგა *dḡa* = side; Georg. ზღვ-ა *zḡv-a* may be connected with this root, but also with *sug* = water-basin.

247. *zag* 𒆳 = rush. Br. 6495; Meiss. 4616 = *zāxu*. Georg. roots under *sag* = head. See *zig* = rush.

248. *zag* 𒆳 = sanctuary (*usag*, *usug*). Meiss. 4606 = *aširtu*, 4607 = *iširtu*. Georg. წმ *tm*, წყ *tḡ*; perhaps also ჯგ *dḡ* = pure, holy. See *šag* = gracious, *šig* = be gracious.

249. *zag* 𒆳 = right hand. Georg. roots ჯვ *dḡv*, ძვ *dḡ*: Georg. მარ-ჯვენა *ma(r)-dḡv-ena* = right side,

right hand; Min. $\text{ma}(\text{r})\text{-}\dot{\text{d}}\text{gv}\text{-ani}$ = right side, right hand; Sv. $\text{le}(\text{r})\text{-sgv}\text{-en}$ = right hand, etc. I think this *zag* is rather connected with *zag* = side, than with *zig* = be favourable. Indeed, we have in Georg. $\text{ma}(\text{r})\text{-}\dot{\text{t}}\dot{\text{q}}\text{-ena}$ = left hand, left side, with the root $\dot{\text{t}}\dot{\text{q}}$ very similar to $\dot{\text{d}}\text{v}$, $\dot{\text{d}}\text{g}$. Probably some primitive Georg. $\dot{\text{t}}$, $\dot{\text{d}}$. . . + $\dot{\text{q}}$, g . . . expressed the idea of "side" like Min. $\dot{\text{d}}\text{g}\text{-a}$ = side, and two opposed ideas, "left" and "right", had been afterwards expressed by the differentiated roots $\dot{\text{t}}\dot{\text{q}}$ and $\dot{\text{d}}\text{g}$. Br. 6520 = *emittu*; Meiss. 4602 = *imittu*.

250. *zag* 𐎶𐎵𐎶 = to roast, burn. See *saġ* and *a-zag*; also *izi* = fire. Georg. roots $\dot{\text{t}}\dot{\text{q}}$, $\text{h}\dot{\text{t}}$, $\text{h}\dot{\text{t}}$ $\dot{\text{t}}\dot{\text{q}}$, $\text{h}\dot{\text{t}}$ $\dot{\text{t}}\dot{\text{q}}$ = fire, burn, hot, etc.

251. *zem* 𐎶𐎶𐎶 = to give. Br. 4418 = *nadānu*. Georg. roots: $\dot{\text{t}}\dot{\text{q}}$, $\dot{\text{t}}\dot{\text{q}}$ $\dot{\text{t}}\dot{\text{m}}$; $\text{h}\dot{\text{t}}$, $\text{h}\dot{\text{t}}$ $\dot{\text{t}}\dot{\text{m}}$. See *sig* = to give.

252. *zem* 𐎶𐎶𐎶 = cast down. Br. 4417 = *nadā*. Georg. roots $\dot{\text{t}}\dot{\text{q}}$, $\dot{\text{t}}\dot{\text{q}}$ $\dot{\text{t}}\dot{\text{m}}$, perhaps also $\dot{\text{t}}\dot{\text{q}}$. See *sig* = to be low (*sig* = to give, is connected probably with *sig* = to be low, and *zem* = to give, with *zem* = cast down).

253. *zem* 𐎶𐎶𐎶 = to build; root *dim*, *dim*. Meiss. 2959 = *šakānu* (?). Georg. roots $\dot{\text{t}}\dot{\text{q}}$ qm , $\text{y}\dot{\text{q}}$ $\text{q}\dot{\text{f}}$ = to create, to make; Sv. $\text{li-}\dot{\text{t}}\dot{\text{v}}\text{-e}$, $\text{li-}\dot{\text{t}}\dot{\text{v}}\text{-e}$ = do, make.

254. *zib* 𐎶𐎶𐎶 = be good. Br. 2337 = *tābu*. See *zag*, *dug* = good. Georg. $\dot{\text{d}}\text{b}$, $\dot{\text{d}}\text{g}$.

255. *zib* 𐎶𐎶𐎶 = (1) to suppress, speak in suppressed tone, humiliation, sorrow; (2) darkness, evening. Br. 4689 = *šimtu*; Meiss. 6114 (𐎶𐎶) = *šimtu*. Georg. roots $\text{t}\dot{\text{q}}$, $\text{f}\dot{\text{q}}$ $\text{t}\dot{\text{q}}$, $\text{f}\dot{\text{q}}$ $\text{t}\dot{\text{q}}$; connected with *dib* > *dig* = seize, and I think also with *sig* = seize. Note Georg.

წუხ-ილ-ი *tuq-il-i* = sorrow; მ-წუხ-რი *m-tuq-ri* = evening.

256. *zig* -𐎵𐎠 = rush, press against, restrain. Meiss. 1323 = *tehu*; Br. 2335 = *tebû* ("approach"). Georg. root წი, წჳ *ti, tv* = draw, advance, etc. See *sig* = plunge forward.

257. *zig* -𐎵𐎠 = principle of life, soul. Br. 2322 = *napištu*; Meiss. 1347 = *šiknat napišti*. Georg. roots ცხ *čq*, ჩხ *čq*, ჳ *zg*: Georg. ცხოველ-ი *čqov-el-i* = animal, living; სიცოცხლე *si-čq-čq-le* = life; hence, I think, ცხენ-ი *čq-en-i* = horse; ცხენ-ი *čq-v-ar-i* = sheep; Min. უხურ-ი *šq-ur-i*; Laz. ჩხურ-ი *čq-ur-i* = sheep, etc.; Sv. ლი-ზგ-ე *li-zg-e* = to live. This root *zig* = *napištu* seems not to be connected with *zig* = rush.¹

258. *zu* -𐎵𐎠 = to know. Br. 130 = *idû*, 131 = *lamâdu*. (1) Georg. root ც, ც + ნ, ც + ლ *č, č + n, č + d*: ვიც-ი *vi-č-i* = I know; ცნობა *čn-oba* = to know, to recognize; ცოდ-ნა *čod-na* = to know (also გან-ცდა *gan-čd-a* = to see, to undergo, etc.). Laz. root ჩინ *čin* = to know, to be acquainted. The Laz. root ჩჳ *čq*, ჩჳინ *čqin*, also Min. ჩჳ *čq*, correspond to the Georg. ც *č*, and the Laz. ჩინ *čin* to the Georg. ცნ *čn*. But in Georgian we have also (2) წყ *čq*: უწყ-ება *u-čq-eba* = to know, knowledge, which is connected with Sum. *šeg* = give heed, hear (Laz. *čqin* = to know, give heed, hear), and perhaps with *sig* = wisdom and *dug* = meditate; Georg. ჭკუ-ა *čku-a* = wit, wisdom; Sv. *li-čkv-ari* = to

¹ For *zig* = be full, *zig* = shine, *zig* = be high, *zig* = seize, *zig* = place, see *sig*, *šig* with the same meanings.

think, etc. Note also Sv. ლი-ცუხ *li-θuq* = to know. Evidently all those Georgian roots θ ($> \theta$), $\theta + n$ ($> \theta + n$), θq , θk , θg , etc., are connected one with another. The case may have been the same with Sum. *sig*, *dug*, and *zu*, which express the ideas of "wit", "meditating", "knowing". Therefore it is not improbable that the full form of Sum. *zu* = to know was *zu + *g* or *zu + *d* (?). Note Sum. *u-zu* = seer = Georg. მი-სან-ი *mi-san-i* ($\text{ს} < \text{ც} \text{ } s < \theta$) = seer.

259. *zur* 𐎵 = prayer, petition, worship, offering. Meiss. 6825 = *sullu*, 6826 = *suppu*. Georg. წირვა = to sacrifice, to offer; Sv. ლი-მ-ზურ-ი *li-m-zur-i* = to pray; ლა-მ-ზურ *la-m-zur* = mercy, blessing; მე-ზრა *me-zr-a* = church. Note also Georg. მწირ-ი *m-tir-i* = a monk (praying in solitude); წირვა *tir-va* = the Holy Service; Sv. ნამ-ზურ-უნ *nam-zur-un* = offering. I think this *zur* is not the same as

260. *zur* 𐎵 = desire, wish (?). Meiss. 6823 = *nuhhu^u*, 6828 = *suhhu*. Georg. სურ-ვ-ილ-ი *sur-v-il-i* = desire, wish; მ-სურ-ს *m-sur-s* = I desire, I wish.

Here I close my study. This is the first systematic comparison of Sumerian with the languages of the Georgian group. The errors which probably occur in great number in this paper were inevitable, chiefly because not only Sumerian, but even Georgian itself and still more Mingrelian, Lazian, Svanian, and other Caucasian languages are very far from being fully investigated. In Petrograd there are two Georgian scholars, Professors N. Marr and A. Tzagareli, and their works, especially those of the former, are a veritable treasure of Georgian

philology. But in Europe, excepting M. F. Brosset and Miss Marjory Wardrop, there was no specialist scholar of Georgian during the whole period of development of Oriental studies, and even now, among the living scholars, the number of specialists in Georgian is very restricted, and, excepting H. Schuchardt, J. O. Wardrop, Fr. Conybeare, and H. Bourgeois, their knowledge of Georgian is also of a very doubtful value. And yet the languages of the Georgian group are very necessary and in some cases even indispensable for students of the Christian literature of the Orient, and especially for Assyriologists. But precisely those Assyriologists who compare the old non-Aryan and non-Semitic languages of the Cuneiform Inscriptions with Georgian treat this latter as if it were a Chuvashian or Mordvinian language and use it for the purposes of their comparisons without a deep knowledge of it. Even the great Assyriologists such as Fr. Lenormant, A. H. Sayce, Fr. Hommel, who compared Georgian with Haldian, Neo-Susian, etc., did not possess a true knowledge of Georgian. As to the younger Assyriologists, e.g. J. Hüsing, F. Bork, etc., their knowledge of Georgian is not serious, even doubtful, as Professor Djavakhoff has clearly pointed out (see *Journal of the Ministry of the Public Instruction*, 1908, in Russian). In such conditions naturally the hypothesis concerning the relation of Georgian with the non-Aryan and non-Semitic languages of the Cuneiform Inscriptions was and continues to be without any scientific result, and Professor F. H. Weissbach was quite right in wholly mistrusting some alleged discoveries in the domain of Suso-Georgian comparisons.

For the definite triumph of this hypothesis deep knowledge and further investigation of all the languages of the Georgian group are indispensable. It is only after this preliminary study and investigation of Georgian that its comparison with Haldian, Susian, Mitannian, Sumerian, etc., can bear fruit. It would have been impossible to

understand and investigate Assyrian with the success which Assyriologists achieved if those Assyriologists had not been at the same time eminent scholars in the Semitic languages. Even more, acumen and depth of knowledge of the languages of the Georgian group must be higher for a Georgian scholar and Assyriologist when he compares the languages of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of non-Aryan and non-Semitic origin with Georgian, for, certainly, it is more difficult to understand the structure of Georgian and to determine the roots of its complicated words and then to compare them with the structure and roots of the languages of the Cuneiform Inscriptions, than to accomplish the same task in the domain of comparison of Assyrian with Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, etc. Unfortunately, the wonderful affinity which all Semitic languages show with each other does not characterize Georgian and the ancient languages of Western Asia.

Professor N. Marr has already made a great step in investigating Georgian and other languages of that group, though his theory of the genetic relation of the languages of the "Japhetic" group (Georgian, Mingrelian, Lazian, Svanian, Haldian, Neo-Susian, etc.) to the Semitic seems to me erroneous. He has also determined with great success the "Japhetic" elements in Armenian, which is a mixed language of Indo-European and "Japhetic". Long ago Gatteyras noticed the same phenomenon in Armenian. Now the learning and skill of modern European scholars are necessary if those scientists attribute some serious value to *their own* hypothesis of the relation of Georgian to the above-mentioned languages, if they really believe that the Georgian and the "Japhetic" side of Armenian contain the key for determining the character of the oldest languages of Western Asia. It is only after such serious linguistic comparisons that the great questions of the earliest ethnography and history of Western Asia can also be definitely resolved. For it

seems that the father of Assyriology enunciated a great truth when stating in his remarkable "Notes on the Early History of Babylonia" (JRAS. 1855, vol. xv, pt. ii): "The modern Armenian has been subjected to a much greater degree of Aryan influence, but even there the Scythic [= 'Japhetic', M. T.] element is perceptible, while the modern Georgian is probably the direct representative of the ancient Scythic" (p. 234). To this "Scythic" race belonged also the Sumerian nation, according to the late Sir Henry Rawlinson.

II

THE RASHAHAT-I-'AINAL-HAYAT

(TRICKLINGS FROM THE FOUNTAIN OF LIFE)

By H. BEVERIDGE

THE *Rashahāt* is a Persian MS. dealing with the Naqshbandi *Khwājās* of Central Asia, and specially with the Samārkand saint Naṣīru-d-dīn 'Ubaid Ullah, commonly known by the epithets Ḥaẓrat Īshān and *Khwāja Ahrār*. The work is to some extent an introduction to Mr. Shaw's paper on the *Khwājās* which Mr. Ney Elias published in a Supplement to the JASB. for 1897. That paper treats of a much later period in the history of the *Khwājās* than does the *Rashahāt*, but they agree in tracing their descent from Imām J'afir Ṣādiq and from Ḥusain the grandson of Muḥammad.¹

The word *Rashahāt* is a chronogram and yields the date A.H. 909 (1503-4), but the MS. contains one or two later dates. Thus Dr. Ethé points out that the I.O. MS. No. 633 has a chronogram which yields 912, and on p. 325 of I.O. MS. No. 634 I find two deaths recorded as occurring in 914. The author of the *Rashahāt* was 'Alī s. Ḥusain al-Wā'iz al-Kāshifi al Ṣāfi,² so that his father was the well-known writer of the *Anwār Suhailī*

¹ In Rehatsek's Catalogue of the Mullā Firāz Library, p. 230, a MS. called *Lataifu-l-Zarāif*, or "Anecdotes of Wits", is entered, and is there attributed to Ḥusain Wā'iz. But it seems more probable, from the date on it, that it is the work of his son 'Alī. 'Alī is mentioned in the *Habib-Siyar*, Bombay ed., ii, 341, where there is also an account of his father the Preacher. 'Alī is there called Fakhr-u-d-dīn 'Alī, and it is stated that in A.H. 929 (A.D. 1523) he was acting as Preacher, in succession apparently to his father, who had died in A.H. 910 (A.D. 1504-5). 'Alī, says the *Habib*, was the author of poems on Maḥmūd of Ghazni and Ayāz and Laila and Majnūn.

² This seems to be 'Alī's poetical cognomen. His full name was Fakhr-u-d-dīn 'Alī.

(Lights of Canopus). In a passage at p. 299^b of No. 634 the son refers to his father's writings and to Khwājā Ahrār's acquaintance with them. See also 256^b. The son seems to have inherited his father's liking for composing lengthy books, for No. 634 is a volume nearly 12 inches long and containing 346 folios. 'Ali (who is stated by Dr. Ethé to have died in A.H. 939, or A.D. 1532-3) was a disciple of Khwājā Ahrār, and the chief object of his book was to give a biography of the saint and to record his sayings and his miracles. He is a credulous and heavy writer, but he is laborious and truthful, and he had unique opportunities of which he has taken full advantage.¹ His first meeting with the saint was in the end of A.H. 889 (December, 1484). He met him again in March, 1488, and heard much from him about the Naqshbandī Order, and thought of writing on the subject, but various interruptions prevented him from doing this until sixteen years later (A.H. 909 or 1504).

He divides his book into a discourse (*maqāla*), three parts (*maqṣad*), and a conclusion (*khātama*). Each part, or *maqṣad*, is subdivided into three chapters (*faṣl*), and these are still further divided into numerous *rashḥa* or "outpourings".

There is a copy of the work in the British Museum MS. No. 212, and there are three copies in the Indian Office Library. I have examined the B.M. copy, but I have chiefly consulted the I.O. copy 634, which seems an excellent manuscript and is very legibly written. A note at the end of it says that the owner, Mir Aḥmad s. 'Abdu-r-Razzāq, collated it with the original (that is, the author's) MS. at Siwistān, on Friday, 7th Rajab, 1041 (January 19, 1632). Siwistān is, I think, the town of

¹ The number of copies of the work in existence shows that it was popular. It was also twice translated into Turkish, and the Persian text has been lithographed at Lucknow by the Newal Kishore Press in 1897.

Sehwān in Sind, I.G. xxii, 162, and Elliot, i, 386, n. 5. On a flyleaf at the end there is a quatrain by Bābā Tālib Kashmīrī (Blochmann, 607), and on another leaf at the beginning there is a statement that one Muḥ. Ism'ā'il s. Mir Muḥ. Loghmān was the owner of the MS. Probably this was the Mir Loghmān Majdavī (?) of the notice in the *Khazīna Asfiyā*, i, 636.

Much of the *Rashahāt* is taken up with Khwājā Ahrār's table-talk, and does not seem to be interesting, for it is almost entirely confined to points of Muhammadan theology. Some other biographies are also lengthy. For example, there is a long account¹ of the poet Jāmi, who was a friend and admirer of the saint, and dedicated a poem to him, the *Sabahāt-al-Abrār*, which Dr. Rieu translates by "The Rosary of the Righteous".

By far the most generally interesting part of the *Rashahāt* is the account of the saint's dealings with Sultans, and especially of his great feat in stopping three of them from fighting with one another. This account begins at p. 286 of No. 634 of the I.O. Library. It occurs in the first chapter or *faṣl* of the third *maqṣad*.

The author begins his account of the Khwājās with a genealogical table. It is a spiritual genealogy, and starts with Khwājā Ahrār's—or, as he generally styles him, Hazrat Īshān's—investiture by Yāqūb Charkhī,² who was a native of Charkh in the district of Ghazni, Afghanistan. Hazrat Īshān felt a call to wait upon Yāqūb, and the latter accepted him, for each had dreamed about the other, and gave him his cap (*tāqīya*) as a keepsake (pp. 3^b and 54^a). Yāqūb had in his turn been invested by Khwājā Bahāu-d-dīn Naqshbandī, of whom

¹ Begins at p. 114 of No. 634. Account of his death on p. 142^b.

² He died and was buried at Hamalghatū or Hamalghanū, in what was then the district of Hissār-Shādmān, the Hissar La Gaie of Reclus's *L'Asie Russe*, p. 500; see MS. 634, pp. 54, 56, and the *Khazīna Asfiyā*, i, 567. The date of death is A.H. 851 (1447-8). Hissār is in Transoxiana and South-East Samarkand. It is now Russian territory.

there is an account in the *'Ain Akbari* (Jarrett, ii, 358). Bahāu-d-dīn¹ had been invested by Amīr Saiyid Kalāl, and the pedigree so goes on till it ends with Muḥammad, whose daughter Fatima married 'Alī. Perhaps the most famous of the saints mentioned in the table was 'Abdu-l-Khālīq († A.H. 575 = A.D. 1179-80) of Ghajdiwān in Bokhāra, though Khwājā 'Abdullah Barqī, who was the first lieutenant (Khalifa) of Yūsuf Hamadānī, is also mentioned, as likewise is Yūsuf's third lieutenant, Aḥmad Yasavī whose tomb at Yasi, also called Hazrat Turkestan,² is a famous place of pilgrimage († A.H. 562 = A.D. 1166-7).

At p. 8 there is an amusing story about a Khwājā called Hakīm Ātā, and his wife 'Ambar³ Ānā. Hakīm Ātā, who lived in Kāshghar, was of a swarthy complexion, and one day 'Ambar, who was a lady of high degree, and the daughter of a Chaghatāi prince named Borāq Khān, thought to herself, "How nice it would be if the Khwājā were not so dark!" (*siāh jardā*). Her husband, being a saint, knew what she was thinking, and answered her thought by saying, "A time will soon come when you'll be marrying

¹ p. 43^b gives the date of his birth as Muḥarram, 718 (March-April, 1318). He is buried on the road from Samarkand to Bokhara (*Travels of Izzat Ullah*, p. 57). It is four or five miles from the city (ib., p. 61). Vambéry visited the shrine on his way to Bokhara (*Story of my Struggles*, Nelson ed., p. 191).

² Hazrat Turkestan is a long way to the north of Tāshkend, and is on the road to Orenburg. See Reclus, *L'Asie Russe*, p. 553. The Yasi saint succeeded Khwājā Hasan Andāqt, who was the second Khalifa of Yūsuf Hamadānī, while Yasavī was the third. There is an account of the saint in the *Rashahāt*, MS. 634, p. 6^b. Timur built a grand mosque in his honour. See also the *Khazina Aḥḥiyā*, i, 531, the *'Ain Akbari*, Jarrett, iii, 358, and Melioransky's article in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, p. 204.

I may here note that Dr. Rieu's statement that Dr. W. Pertsch has given "a full statement of the contents" of the *Rashahāt* in his Gotha Catalogue is rather misleading. Pertsch had only access to a small portion of the work—seventy-three folios—and his account only refers to that portion, and consists chiefly of a list, in Persian, of the contents of the above-mentioned folios.

³ The name seems to be 'Ambar, or 'Anbar Ānā. Perhaps it means "the lady of musky tresses".

a blacker man than myself." Now there was a Tāshkend saint who was black and thick-lipped, so that people called him Zangī Ātā or Zangī Bāba, i.e. the negro, or African Father. He was the son of a Naqshbandī Khwājā named Tāj Khwājā. According to one account Zangī had a secret call to go to Kāshghar, and went there and served Ḥakīm Ātā. Another story is that he could not go there, and that the only connexion between him and Ḥakīm Ātā was a telepathic one. However, when Ḥakīm Ātā died, Zangī heard of this, and went off to Kāshghar and visited the tomb. Afterwards, when the widow's 'iddat had expired, he sent a confidential messenger to her and asked her to marry him. She was haughty, and said she had no intention of marrying again, and least of all would she marry a black man. Saying this, she turned away from the marriage-broker, and immediately her neck went crooked. When Zangī heard of her refusal he was not disheartened, but sent a second messenger and asked her if she did not remember her husband's prophecy that she would marry a black man? This brought the incident to her recollection, and she at once said she accepted the offer of marriage. No sooner had she said that than her neck became straight. So they married, and had several sons, all of whom became distinguished.

Zangī became a famous saint, and had four disciples, or khalifas (lieutenants), who apparently, like Wesley, took the world for their parish. It came about in this way. There were four young men named Uzzan Hasan, Saiyid, Ṣadr, and Badr, studying at a college in Bokhara. As they were reading together one night, all four suddenly felt a call, and next morning left their homes and went off to Turkestan. They came near Tāshkend and saw in the fields a black, thick-lipped man herding buffaloes. This was Zangī. He supported himself by herding the villagers' cattle, and it was said that when he was performing the stated prayers, all the beasts stopped

grazing till he had finished. They went up to him, and noticed with surprise that as they approached, the thorns which had been troubling them fell out of their limbs. He asked them what they were doing in that strange country, and they said they were in quest of knowledge. He offered to instruct them, but one of them, Badr, refused, saying that he was a Saiyid. "Why should he wait upon this black man?" The other three did not reject Zangī's offer, saying to one another, "Perhaps God has put Light into this dark body." One of the number, however, the Saiyid (his proper name was Aḥmad), could make no progress in religious knowledge, and spoke about this to 'Ambar Ānā and asked her to intercede for him with her husband. She agreed, and bade him wrap himself up in a dark mantle and lie at the door till morning. Her husband would come out then to perform his ablutions, and he would stumble against the lad, and perhaps would have compassion on him and put him right. Afterwards she spoke to her husband when they were in bed, and asked him to take pity on Aḥmad, who was a Saiyid and a seeker after knowledge. Zangī smiled and said, "His difficulty is his being a Saiyid, and I know from his thoughts that he objects to me as a black man." However, he said he would see what he could do for him. In the morning he left his room and stumbled over the prostrate Saiyid. The lad took hold of his foot and kissed it, and Zangī received him into favour and he became the second Khalifa.

In a *Rashḥa* at p. 15^b we have Khwājā 'Abdul Khālīq Ghajdiwānī's eight rules, which are said to constitute the *Tarīqat* or Rule of the Khwājās. They are *hosh dar dam*, *naẓr bar qadam*, *safr dar waṭn*, *khalwat dar ānḡuman*, *yād kard*, *bāzgasht*, *nigāh dāsht*, *yād dāsht*. It is added that three more rules were afterwards introduced. The meaning of the eight rules is expounded by the author. Some of them are well known. For

example, *safr dar watn*, and *khilwat dar ānjamān* are mentioned by Abul Fazl, and explained in a mystic sense.

There is a short notice of Khwājā Ahrār at p. 57, but the full account of his ancestry, etc., begins with the first chapter (*fazl*) of *maqṣad* 1 on p. 189^b. On p. 189 the author mentions that his account of the saint is partly derived from personal knowledge, and partly from the memoirs of Amīr 'Abdalāwal and of Maulāna Muḥ. Qāzī (this is not the Maulāna Qāzī whom Bābur mentions in his *Memoirs*, Erskine, 58, as having been hanged by rebels at Andijan in Ferghāna in March, 1498). The author of the *Salsala al-Arifīn* died in 1516 (see T. Rashīdī, 342). The first ancestor mentioned is Khwājā Muḥammad, the saint's paternal great-grandfather. He belonged to a Baghdad family, but is said to have migrated to Tāshkend or Shāsh, as it was then called, in company with a saint known as Ḥaẓrat Shaikh. Apparently, this saint was the son of a locksmith known as Qafāl Shāshī. The locksmith son's life is said to have had three phases. First he went to Asia Minor to fight the infidels, then he went on pilgrimage to Mecca, and thirdly he resided in Baghdad. There he met in with Khwājā Ahrār's paternal grandfather, and the two together migrated with their families to Tāshkend. Ḥaẓrat Shaikh died and is buried in that town.

Khwājā Ahrār's father's name was Khwājā Maḥmūd Shāshī, and he was s. Khwājā Shihābu-d-dīn. He possessed, we are told, an abundant knowledge of the tenets of the Naqshbandī Order, and the saint composed, as a tribute to him, a tract on the *ṭarīqat* of the Khwājās. This tract (*risāla*) seems now to have disappeared, except in the form of a versified rendering of it by the Emperor Bābur. According to the *Rashahāt* the saint stated in his preface that his parents (the word is *Walidain*¹ in the

¹ It seems to be also *walidain* in No. 634, p. 201^b, but possibly it is *walidān* and honorific for the father.

B.M. copy, p. 129^a), from their high opinion of him, requested him to compose for them a treatise which should consist of the sayings of God's people, and be an introduction to the stages (*maqāmāt*) of the Hanifi doctrines, and at the same time be simple and practical, and without detailed arguments, and be in accordance with a remark of the Prophet (here an Arabic sentence is quoted). The saint added that it was fitting that he should obey this order, for his first impressions of religion came from his father. The *Rashahāt* adds that the father is reported to have had a strong drawing to religion before the conception of the saint, and for four months before that event practised austerities, reduced his food and drink, and withdrew from promiscuous conversation.

The circumstances under which Bābur versified the saint's tract are recorded in his *Memoirs*, Erskine, p. 388. Bābur calls the treatise the *Risāla Wāliidiyā*, but the word *Wāliidiyā* is not used in the *Rashahāt*. Bābur's version has been published by Dr. Denison Ross in his edition of the Rāmpur Diwān of Bābur. Apparently it is only a partial rendering, and it is a versification and not a translation. Bābur says the measure he adopted was that used by Jāmi in the *Sabahāt al-Abrār*, "The Rosary of the Righteous." That poem will be found in B.M. MS. Add. 7770, fol. 255^b. Dr. Rieu states that the metre used by Jāmi is that used by Amīr Khusrāu in the *Nuh Sipahr*.

Khawājā Ahrār's mother was a daughter of Khawājā Dāūd s. Shaikh Khāwand Tāhūr (MS. 634, p. 193^b). She gave birth¹ to the saint in the month of Ramazān, 806

¹ The date of birth is given at p. 202 of the *Rashahāt* as Ramazān, 806 (March-April, 1404). He died, according to the same authority (pp. 342-3), on the night of Saturday, the last day of Rabi' u-l-āwwal, 895 (February 21, 1490). On Tuesday, 24 Rabi' u-l-ākhir, 893 (April 8, 1488), he remarked, it is said, that if he lived 3 years 4 months longer he would be 90 complete. He must have meant 4 months and some days, for 4 months from 24 Rabi' u-l-ākhir would only carry him to 24 Sha'bān. The *Ḥabīb* says he died in 896, and gives 'Alī Sher's chronogram *Khuld Barīn* (eternal paradise), which yields 896. But if the *Rashahāt* be

(March–April, 1404). It is recorded on the testimony of several of his relatives that the child would not take to his mother's breast until she had been purified, and forty days had elapsed. The saint himself told that when he was a year old they were about to shave his head and have a banquet when the news came of the death of Timur. There was great confusion, and there was no time to eat the food that had been cooked, and they all went out to a hill in the neighbourhood. At this time his family was living in Bāghistān, near Tāshkend. On referring to Beale I find that Timur died (at Otrar) in 807 A.H. (February 18, 1405). On that date the saint was not a twelvemonth old, but no doubt the news would take some time to travel. One of the saint's stories was that when he was a youth he was at the shrine of Shaikh Abū Bakr Qafāl Shāshī, when suddenly he had a vision of Jesus Christ. Jesus was standing, and the boy threw himself at His feet. Jesus raised him up and bade him not be sorrowful, for He would take care of him (*tarbiyat khwāham kard*, "I shall educate you (or rear you)"). The Khwājā told this vision to his friends, and they interpreted it as meaning that he would become a physician.¹ He did not like this interpretation and refused to accept it, and said that Jesus was a proclaimer of life and that the meaning of the vision was that he would have a living heart. After a while his friends agreed that this was the interpretation.

Khwājā Ahrār spent part of his youth in Herat and was in great poverty² there. Then his maternal uncle

correct, this is one year too much. Khwājā Ahrār, and also his son Yahya (John) and two of his grandchildren, are buried in Samarkand (Rashahāt, 634, p. 307^b).

¹ Jesus being specially celebrated in the East for His healing powers and His raising up of the dead.

² He told a story that may remind us of St. Martin of Tours. A beggar asked alms of him, and having nothing else to bestow he took off his turban and gave it to him.

Khawājā Ibrāhīm sent him to Samarkand to study. Afterwards he took to farming, and with the help of a partner he gradually prospered, and eventually acquired great wealth from farming and from trade. He used to send caravans to China. The author of the Rashahāt says (p. 210) that his wealth accumulated beyond calculation. Evidently, like many khawājās and like the Prophet Muḥammad, he was a good business man. The author says that when he visited the saint for the second time he was told that he had more than 1,300 fields, and that he was then buying still more land.

p. 212^b. The author speaks, from personal observation, of the excellent manners of the Khawājā. He says he never saw him, though he was in attendance on him night and day for four months, and again for eight months, once yawn, or cough, or spit, or sneeze, or sit cross-legged. He also gives the name of an attendant who had been with him for five and thirty years, and had never seen him spit out grape-skins or cherry-stones, or sneeze, or put phlegm out of his mouth! In short, he had never seen him do an ungraceful act. Another witness, Saiyid 'Abdu-l-Qādir, related what he had seen when he came to Samarkand and visited the saint. One evening Mir Mazīd Arghūn came to see the saint at his house in the Kafshīr Quarter, and there was a party (*majlis*) at which 'Abdu-l-Qādir was present. After the prayer before sleep, Khawājā Ahrār addressed 'Abdu-l-Qādir and said: "Mir Mazīd is my guest and he proposes to sit up with me to-night. It is proper to show politeness to a guest, and I and some friends will sit up; but you go to your reading and then retire to bed, and, if necessary, I'll see you to-morrow morning." I begged to be allowed to sit up with the party, and he replied that if I felt equal to sitting up he would not prevent me. So I and three others sate up in the saint's company, and from the beginning of night till morning I took part in

the conversation. The saint never moved his knees or made a movement of any kind until it was time for the *tajaddad* prayer. When that was over he came back and sate as before till morning. I, the faqir, though I had the strength of youth, moved my feet every hour, and with difficulty kept sleep away. Mir Mazīd,¹ though he was a flaccid man (*mardī mirtūbī būd*), made little movement and kept off sleep. The saint remained steady till the morning, when he went to say his prayers and perform his ablutions.

p. 269. The first *faṣl* of the third *maqṣad* is an account of the influence which the saint exercised over the Sultans of Central Asia, and is the most valuable part of the book. It begins with his introduction to Abū Sa'īd, and tells how that unscrupulous prince defeated and killed 'Abdallah, the grandson of Shāhrukh, and took possession of Samarkand. According to the story the sultan and the saint each saw the other in a dream. Khwājā Ahrār was a great dreamer, and also an inspirer of the dreams of others, and long after this he appeared to Abu Sa'īd's grandson, the Emperor Bābur, and told him he would take Samarkand. The saint's assistance to Abū Sa'īd is not much to his honour, but it is said that he twice afterwards saved Samarkand from the horrors of capture. Once was in Abu Sa'īd's time when Mirza Bābur (not the conqueror of India) attacked the city, and the second time was when Sultan Maḥmūd, a son of Abū Sa'īd, came with an army from Ḥiṣṣār Shādmān and besieged Samarkand in order to dispossess his elder brother, Sultan Aḥmad. Mirzā Bābur's attack is said to have been foiled by the saint's causing a murrain among his horses; and Sultan Maḥmūd had to retire on account of a typhoon which came from the Qipchāq Desert, and

¹ He is described in Bābur's Memoirs, Erskine, p. 25, as having excellent judgment, but as impudent and voluptuous. He fell in one of Bābur's battles.

scattered the horses and other animals. This, too, was believed to have been caused by the saint.

During this last siege Sultan Ahmad behaved with weakness and cowardice, and allowed the saint to shut him up in a room in the College till the danger was past. The story is probably true, for his nephew, the Emperor Bābur, says that Ahmad was a weak and ignorant man, and entirely in the hands of his officers.

The shining point in Khwājā Ahrār's career is his stopping a great battle between Sultan Ahmad and his brother 'Umar Shaikh, who was assisted by Ahmad's brother-in-law Sultan Mahmūd Khān of Tāshkend. They were all ready to fight, but the saint, in the spirit of the Eastern monk Telemachus, encamped between the armies and forced them, by moral suasion and the reverence paid to his sanctity and lineage, to depart to their homes in peace. The story is true, for it was recorded by Maulāna Muḥammad Qāzī, an eyewitness and a disciple of the saint, and it is also told in the *Habibu-s-siyar*, Bombay ed., ii, 200, in the *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, translation, p. 113, and in the *Rashahāt*, MS. 634, p. 277^b.

It is there stated on the authority of Maulāna Qāzī, the author of the *Salsala-ul-Ārifīn*, that one day Sultan Ahmad came to the saint in the Matarīd quarter of Samarkand in great agitation and in a supplicating attitude, and with his face covered with perspiration. His news was that his youngest brother, 'Umar Shaikh of Farghāna, had come to Shāhrukhīa to attack him, and had for this purpose leagued himself with his father-in-law Yūnas (Jonah) Khān. Yūnas was not there himself, but had sent his son Sultan Mahmūd Khān with a large force which, according to the *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, amounted to 30,000 men. 'Umar Shaikh, who was the father of the Emperor Bābur, had brought a contingent of 15,000 men. Sultan Ahmad was about to march to Shāhrukhīa against them, and he had come to beg the saint to accompany him.

The saint agreed to do so, and they went off and encamped for some days at the White Fort (Āqqūrghān), which was a dependency of Shāhrukhia. But Khwājā Ahrār saw no need for remaining shut up there, so he left Sultan Ahmad and went on to Shāhrukhia (named after Timur's fourth son, Mirza Shāhrukh, and near the Syr River (the Jaxartes)). 'Umar Shaikh and Sultan Mahmūd Khān heard of his approach, and went forth to welcome him and took him to Shāhrukhia. He argued with them and then sent his disciple to fetch Sultan Ahmad and his troops, and arranged with the two other Sultans that they also should advance with their armies, and that he himself should have a tent (*shāmīāna*) and take up a position between the opposing forces. He waited then for the coming of the Sultans. Sultans Ahmad and Mahmūd soon arrived, but 'Umar Shaikh was inclined to be obdurate, and took a long time in coming. Sultan Ahmad was the first to arrive at the tomb, and when he learnt that the other two were coming, he stepped out to welcome them. He and Sultan Mahmūd embraced and entered the tent, and then when 'Umar Shaikh came up, his elder brother (Ahmad) met him, and 'Umar took his brother's hand and passed it over his face and wept. Sultan Ahmad then fell upon his neck and kissed him. Both of them wept, and the sight of this made all the company weep, and there was much noise and lamentation. Then the three princes sat down in the centre (*tak*) of the tent, and Maulānā Qāzī brought in some refreshment (*ḥaẓr*), and in his agitation and flurry he laid the table-cloth upside down (*dastār-khwān bāz gūna andākhtam*). When they had finished eating, a treaty of peace was made, and Ḥaẓrat Īshān (that is, Khwājā Ahrār) made Sultan Ahmad give up Tāshkend to the Khān (i.e. to Yūnas Khān). Then Maulānā Qāzī wrote out the treaty (*ahdnāma*), and the *fātiḥa* was recited, and the meeting broke up. So far the Qāzī. The author of the *Rashahāt* adds that he heard

from some leading men that when the saint had made the three kings sit down together in the tent, one of those present closed his eyes for a moment, and what he seemed to see was a wide plain, and three camel-colts with their mouths open and ready to tear one another, while the saint was standing between them like a camel-driver, holding the nose-strings tightly twisted round his hands and preventing them from biting one another! All this while the two opposing armies were drawn up near the tent, and the soldiers were in their saddles. All were immensely impressed by the power and courage of the saint, and indeed his act, which was performed in 890 A.H., when he was over 80 years of age, was not unworthy to be compared with the famous self-sacrifice of Telemachus, the Eastern monk celebrated by Gibbon and Tennyson, "The three kings returned, each one to his own army. His Holiness departed in the direction of the river of Khojand and performed his ablutions at the waterside. Turning to me, he said, 'Maulānā Muḥammad can write an account of my deed.' His Holiness the Maulānā says that this was his reason for undertaking the composition of his book, the *Salsalat-ul-Arifīn*" (*Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, translation, p. 113).

Maulānā Qāzī's remark about the table-cloth reminds me of an incident in Bābur's Memoirs when he had a vision of Khwājā 'Ubaid Ullah in 1500, and consequently after the saint's death. He tells us (p. 132) that the Khwājā appeared to him and told him that he would soon get Samarkand. During the vision there was the somewhat paltry circumstance of the glorified saint's remarking on a table-cloth having been laid awry. But it is at the same time just such a ludicrous and inappropriate incident as might occur in a dream, and which proves that the dream really happened.¹ Light,

¹ Bābur is said to have had another dream in which a grandson of Khwājā Ahrār played a part. But the passage is spurious, and probably

too, is thrown upon it by Maulānā Qāzī's account of what happened to himself at the meeting of the three kings. Dr. Denison Ross's translation makes him say "in the intensity of my emotion I overturned the table-cloth". But the words of the Persian text are "*faqīr az ghāyit dihasht dastārkhwānrā wāzgūn andākhtam*", and I think they mean he laid the table-cloth upside down, and possibly this is what Dr. Denison Ross's translation intends. It seems to me that this story is the genesis of Bābur's dream. He had probably been reading or thinking of the story of the three kings, and so the badly laid table-cloth came up in his brain. Bābur says that Mullā Bāba appeared as present during the dream, and I suggest that Mullā Bāba probably stands for Maulānā Qāzī, who was a disciple of the saint and his constant attendant.

Khawājā Ahrār had two sons by different wives. The eldest was 'Abdullah Khawājikā. Khawājā Ahrār spoke highly of his literary talents, but said the younger son, Khawājā Yahyā, had more attractive power. So he passed over 'Abdullah, and appointed Yahyā¹ as his successor and as the guardian of his tomb. This gave rise to bad feeling between the brothers and their respective partisans. Khawājā Yahyā was murdered by the Uzbeks, along with

added by Jahāngīr. It occurs in the Memoirs at the end of the year 908 (Mrs. Beveridge's translation, Appendix D in fasc. i). The passage says that Khawājā Ya'qūb, the son of Khawājā Yahyā (John) and grandson of 'Ubaid Ullā, appeared to Bābur when the latter was in great danger. There are several reasons for doubting the genuineness of the passage, which does not occur in the Persian translations. One is that Khawājā Yahyā had no son called Ya'qūb. He had three sons, but two of them were named Zechariah and 'Abdul Bāqī, and were murdered by the Uzbeks in 1500. There was a third son who escaped death, but he was called Muhammad Āmin and not Ya'qūb (Rashahāt, MS. 634, p. 307^b). From this B.M. MS. it appears to be uncertain if he did escape. He was told to cross the Oxus as soon as possible, but there is a remark about his being made to join the others, which seems to imply that he was murdered as well as his father and two brothers.

¹ Khawājā Yahyā was also highly admired by the poet Jāmi.

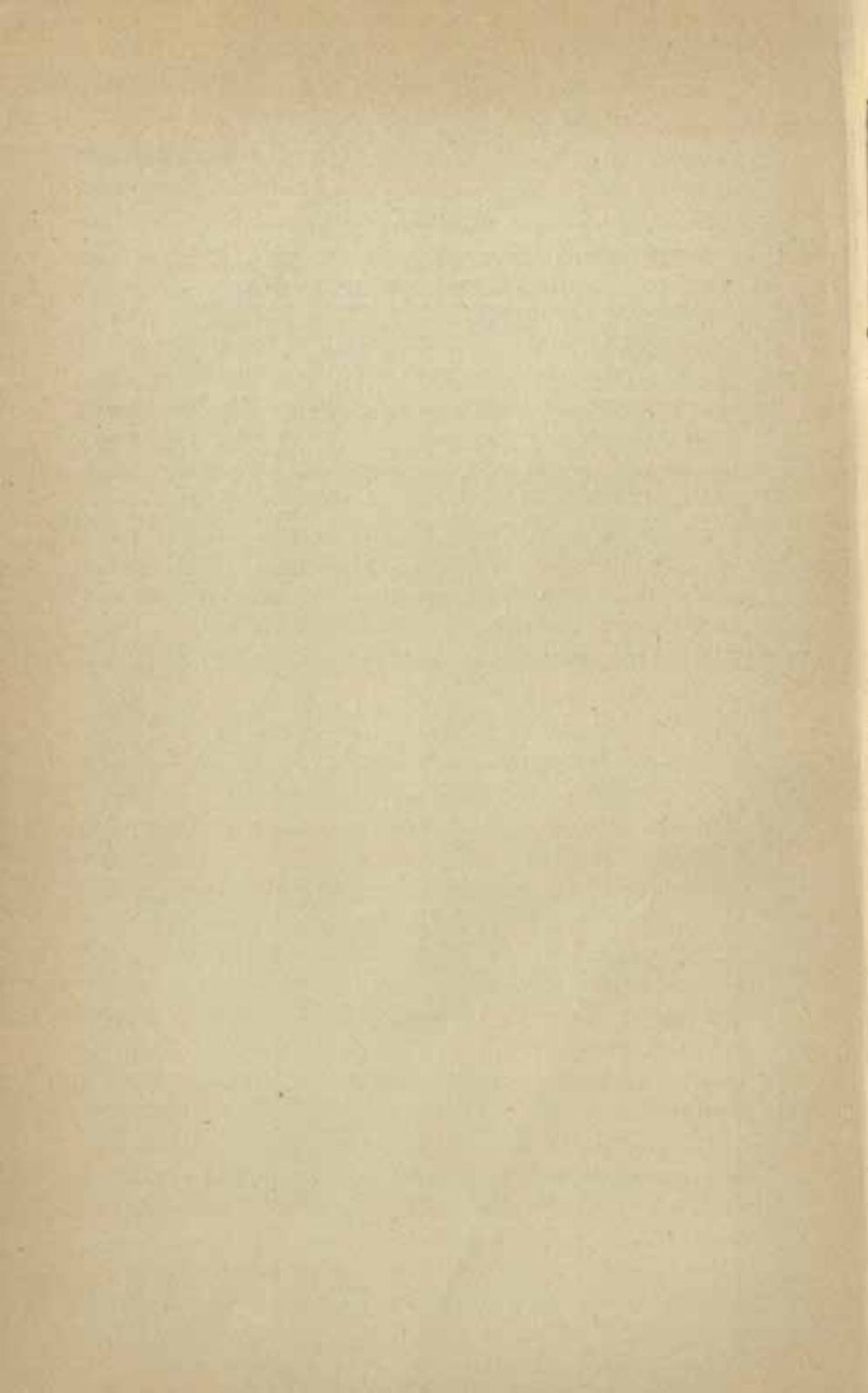
his two sons Khawājā Zechariyah and Khawājā 'Abdul Bāqī. Shaibānī seems¹ to have behaved well to Yahyā, sending him a horse that could cover 30 leagues a night, but Yahyā said it would be cowardly in him to go off alone and leave his people in Samarkand. So he sent back the horse. Afterwards the Uzbegs, whom Shaibānī either could not or would not control, followed Yahyā and killed him and his two sons after they had not gone far from Samarkand. Yahyā apparently was going towards Khurāsān and Mecca. A third son of his survived. The murders were committed on 11th Muharram, 906 (August 8, 1500). The elder son of Khawājā Ahrār, 'Abdullah Khawājikā, lived at Farkat, some miles from Tāshkend,

¹ So says MS. No. 634, but the B.M. MS. Or. 212 and the I.O. Library copy No. 633 tell the story differently. They have a long account of the martyrdoms. They say that Sultan 'Alī, the unfortunate son of Sultan Mahmūd and Zohra, came out of Samarkand and surrendered himself to Shaibānī on 1st Muharram, 906 (July 28, 1500), and that Khawājā Yahyā and others came out next day. Shaibānī did not behave well to them, and ordered them to be detained and put in chains. Khawājā Yahyā wept when he saw chains put on his son Zechariah, and said that Khawājā Ahrār foresaw the evil fate of his son and grandson when he called the one Yahyā (John the Baptist) and the other Zechariah (who was sawn asunder, according to the Muḥammadans). At last Yahyā and his family were allowed to go to Persia, but the Uzbegs pursued them, apparently by Shaibānī's orders, and took Yahyā and his two sons to a place which is called the Desert of Kārzūn, or perhaps we should read Dasht Khawājikā rozan (the desert called the Khawājikā's window?). Some of the party escaped, and they took the bodies of the martyrs to Qarshi, where they were kept for three months and eventually removed to Khawājā Ahrār's sepulchre in Samarkand. It was probably the desire to get possession of Khawājā Yahyā's wealth, presumably inherited from his father, that led to the murders. All the MSS. mention a place called Tāshkend in connexion with the murders, but evidently this cannot be the well-known city of Tāshkend. That lies a long way to the north-north-east of Samarkand and quite out of the way to Persia, whither Yahyā was going. He was travelling to Bokhara via Karmina, and the Tāshkend mentioned in the texts must be some small place to the west of Samarkand. As P. de Courteille remarks (i, 174, note), Kārzān, where, according to Babur, the murders took place, is a dependency of Samarkand. It is also mentioned in Yāqūt, iv, 22. (In Babur's Memoirs it is written Kārdzan.)

and was visited there by Bābur in 1506-7. His father, Khwājā Ahrār, had also lived there at one time.

Doubtless there are many other points of interest in the *Rashahāt* which I have not mentioned, but I think I have shown that the work is worth studying and even publishing. At 286 the second *faṣl* begins. It gives an account of the miracles performed by the saint. Two instances are mentioned of men devoting themselves to death (becoming *feda*) in order to restore Khwājā Ahrār to health. One is mentioned at 311^b. The other is at p. 332, and tells how Nūru-d-dīn died for the saint when the latter was suffering from the plague. A large blue lump (*dāna*) passed from Khwājā Ahrār's left side into Nūru-d-dīn's side. This, apparently, was in 884 (1479), and it was the time when the plague first appeared.

P.S.—The I.O. MS. No. 633 of Ethé, p. 261, is even a more legible copy than No. 264, and it is fuller and more correct. It was made by the son of a citizen of Herat in 1577.



III

THE HISBA JURISDICTION IN THE AHKAM SULTANIYYA OF MAWARDI

By H. F. AMEDROZ

THE Hisba jurisdiction, which is the subject of the twentieth and concluding chapter of Māwardi's work, is akin to those dealing with the Qāḍi and with the Mazālim tribunal; these have been discussed in the Journal (1910, p. 761, and 1911, p. 635). In the following pages an attempt is made to give, in an abridged form, the substance of the Hisba chapter (ed. Enger, Bonn, 1853, pp. 404-31), to be followed by some observations on the working of the rules there laid down, and on their effect in practice.

[p. 404] The Hisba jurisdiction is based on the duty imposed on Moslems by the Qurān, iii, 100, of enjoining good and of forbidding evil actions, a duty binding on everyone, but operating differently according as the duty be performed voluntarily or in pursuance of official duty, i.e. by the Muhtasib. He is bound to act by virtue of his appointment; others are only collectively bound; and, unlike the voluntary duty, his duty must not be neglected; it must be based on complaint made, must be accompanied by inquiry, may be supported by force, and may be enforced by punishment short of the fixed penalties (*ḥudūd*), whereas voluntary action neither requires a previous complaint nor admits of the auxiliary remedies.

The official is entitled to a stipend from the treasury; he is, moreover, at liberty to deduce principles of decision from custom (*ʿurf*), as distinct from revealed law (*sharʿ*): [p. 405] as for instance in the removal of projections from shops in the markets, which he may either sanction or

forbid in accordance with his opinion so formed, whereas a person acting without obligation (*mutaṭawwi'*) may not do this. Such are the distinctions between their two sets of functions.

The official must be free and competent to act as witness to legal acts (*'adl*), a man of judgment and energy, strenuous in religious matters, and acquainted with what are held to be evil actions. Shafeite jurists doubt his right to enforce his view of what is evil in cases where legal opinion is not unanimous: Abu Sa'īd al-Iṣṭakhri¹ holds the affirmative, which implies that he should be a man competent to decide in cases where the law is doubtful; the other view is that he must not enforce his own opinion, since all men are at liberty in doubtful cases to decide for themselves. On this view the Muhtasib's legal ability is immaterial; all he needs is knowledge of what is generally reputed evil.

The duties of the Hisba are intermediate between those of the Qaḍi and those of the Mazālim tribunals. The jurisdiction corresponds to that of the Qaḍi's court in the right to hear and adjudicate on complaints in worldly matters, but only in three classes of cases, viz., those concerned with short measure or weight, with fraud or concealed defect in a thing sold or in its value, and with the withholding of a debt due [p. 406] by one able to discharge it, the ground being that these three classes of complaints imply a clear wrong and are identified with an obvious right, matters proper to be dealt with under a jurisdiction which has for its object to further the observance of duties. To go beyond this would be to encroach on the sphere of legal decisions. And, like the Qaḍi, the Muhtasib may compel a defendant to discharge his liability—not liabilities generally, but only such as can be asserted through his jurisdiction; these, if

¹ Died 328 A.H., Ibn Khall., transl., i, 374. He filled the office of Muhtasib at Baghdad.

admitted, and if within the defendant's power to discharge, may be enforced in favour of the person entitled, for their non-discharge is a wrong which it is his duty to repress.

In two respects his jurisdiction falls short of that of the *Qaḍī*. He is incompetent to deal with claims which do not result from wrongful acts, whether they arise on contracts (*'uḳūd*), on commercial transactions (*mu'āmalāt*), or on assertions of right and of liability (*ḥuḳūk, muṭālabāt*); these the *Muḥtasib* must not presume to entertain nor to adjudicate on, whatever their magnitude, whether it be one dirham or less, unless it be a case referred to him in express terms (*naṣṣ sarīḥ*) extending his jurisdiction, for he will then combine with his own powers those of a *Qaḍī*, assuming him to be himself judicially qualified (*min ahl al-Ijtihād*); failing this extension of jurisdiction it is for the *Qaḍī* to decide the matter, be it great or small. Secondly, his jurisdiction is restricted to such liabilities as are admitted. If they be denied or disputed he cannot act, for only a judge is empowered to hear evidence and to administer an oath; this the *Muḥtasib* cannot do, [p. 407] whether for the purpose of establishing a claim or displacing a liability.

In two respects the *Muḥtasib's* powers exceed those of a *Qaḍī*: he is entitled to examine into matters within his jurisdiction in the absence of a complainant, whereas a *Qaḍī* must have a litigant competent to complain before him, otherwise he is exceeding his jurisdiction. And, for the purpose of repressing wrong, the *Muḥtasib* is invested with the extreme powers of a sovereign protector, for his authority being based¹ on fear, to enforce it by means of fear is no excess of jurisdiction; whereas the *Qaḍī's* power being based on justice, his characteristic is a sense of responsibility, and for him to wield the stern powers of

¹ For *على التهيب* the MS. B.M. Or. 3117 reads *على التهيب*.

the Hisba would be unbefitting. The two offices have different fields of action and their limits should not be transcended.

Between the Hisba and the Mazālim tribunal there are points of agreement and of difference. They agree in being both based on the fear associated with the sovereign's authority and energy, and in the right to seek thereby what is conducive to the public good and to strive to repress obvious wrong; they differ first in this, that the Mazālim tribunal being intended to meet cases which the Qaḍi's court is unequal to dealing with, and the Hisba to meet cases which it is not severe enough to deal with,¹ it follows that the Mazālim tribunal ranks highest and the Hisba lowest; the former can issue orders on both Qaḍi and Muḥtasib, the Qaḍi on the Muḥtasib alone, [p. 408] whereas the Muḥtasib cannot issue orders on either of the others. A second difference is that the Mazālim tribunal may give judicial decisions, which the Muḥtasib may not do.²

The Hisba duty of enjoining what is right falls under three heads: it may concern what is due to Allah, or what is due to mankind, or it may partake of both. The first may be an obligation enforceable on the community, not on the individual, as, for example, abandoning the Friday prayer in an inhabited place. Here if the number of inhabitants be such as is legally adequate, such as forty and upwards, the duty should be enforced and its omission punished. But when the adequacy of the number is not certain, then if the Muḥtasib's opinion accord with that of the population as to establishing the Friday prayer, he should order it and they should comply with his order, but the penalty for non-compliance should

¹ Perhaps for *قد*, should be read *رفع*, i.e. *ارتفع*, "it is too lofty to deal with."

² It likewise came to the assistance of the Muḥtasib in cases he was unequal to dealing with; see *Ahkām*, p. 140, and *JRAS.* 1911, p. 641.

be lighter than in the first case. If their respective opinions coincide against its establishment, then he must not order it, but rather forbid it. If the people wish to establish it and the Muhtasib be adverse, in this case he should not oppose them, and must neither establish it against his own opinion, nor by forbidding it keep them from performing what they regard as a duty. Again, [p. 409] the Muhtasib may approve and the people be adverse. Here abandonment, if persisted in, would lead to the Friday meeting being neglected in spite of possible changes consequent on lapse of time and increase of population; and, on the question whether the Muhtasib ought, under these circumstances, to enforce its establishment two views are held by the Shafeite school. Abu Sa'id al-Iṣṭakhri holds that he may lawfully act, lest the young should grow up to neglect the observance and imagine that it can be dropped with an increasing just as with a diminishing population. An instance of such a precaution was Ziyād's action in the mosques of Baṣra and Kūfa when those praying in the court were in the habit when rising from their prostrations of rubbing the earth from their foreheads: he ordered the court to be strewn with pebbles, saying that he feared lest in time the young should grow up to think that this rubbing the traces of prostration from the forehead was a constituted practice of prayer. The other Shafeite view is against the Muhtasib's acting, for he is not entitled to bring people to his way of thinking, nor to enforce his opinion on them in a matter of religion when each may judge for himself, viz. whether the number of worshippers is insufficient for the Friday prayer. He is entitled to order the observance of festivals, but whether to so order be obligatory or permissive depends on the difference of Shafeite opinion as to whether the observance be prescribed as a custom, or be obligatory: if the former, to order it is a laudable act; if the latter, then it is indispensable. Now

the Friday prayer in the mosque and the summons thereto are a part of Islamic rites and signs of worship by which the Prophet distinguished the Islamic community from polytheism, and if the inhabitants of a town or place decide on ceasing the Friday gathering in the mosque [p. 410], and on omitting the call to prayer at the appointed hours, it is a laudable act in the Muhtasib to enforce these, but whether it be obligatory on him and its neglect a sin, or whether it is laudable and its performance meritorious, depends on the divergent Shafeite views in the case of a population assenting to the omission of the announcement and call to prayer and the Friday gathering, and whether the ruler is justified in using force to compel them. Neglect of the Friday prayer by individuals should not be checked by the Muhtasib unless practised as an habitual custom, for such attendance is merely commendable and any excuse justifies its omission. But if the neglect have a suspicious character, or by becoming habitual may lead to others acting likewise, then the Muhtasib should take into account the advantage of checking this contempt for the rules of religion. A warning against neglect of mosque attendance should therefore depend on the circumstances of the case. There is a tradition that the Prophet was once minded to order his followers to collect firewood, and after the call to prayer had been sounded, and prayer made, to go and burn the houses of those who were absent.

As regards constraint on individuals for delaying prayer beyond the specified hour, this should be noticed and corrected, and the defence taken into account. If the cause be forgetfulness, the Muhtasib should admonish, not punish; if it be negligence and carelessness, he should punish and compel performance; but delay is not punishable when the specified hour is not yet past, on the ground of the diversity of legal opinion, some holding delay to be meritorious. Where there is a general consensus to delay

prayer to the utmost limit of time, but the Muhtasib holds it better it should be hastened, the question whether he should enforce his own view admits of two answers; for the consensus may lead to the belief on the part of the rising generation that this, and no earlier one, is the appointed hour [p. 411], whereas if some hasten, those who delay will be left to hold to their opinion. As regards the call to prayer and the supplication standing, one who dissents from the Muhtasib's view should not on that account be exposed to constraint or prohibition if his conduct is lawfully governed by his own judgment, for this case is free from the above stated danger. Similarly, in the case of purification, when performed in a way which is permissible although not in accordance with the Muhtasib's own view, as for instance the removal of impurity by liquids and ablution with water mixed with powdery substances, or rubbing only a part of the head, or the neglect to remove as much as a dirham weight of impurity,—none of these are matters for constraint or prohibition. To restrain ablution with fermented date juice when water fails may be regarded in two ways, for such use may lead to a man regarding such liquor as always permissible, and ultimately to his intoxicating himself by drinking it. These are instances of the jurisdiction in matters appertaining to religion.

In matters of worldly concern the jurisdiction may have to do with the general public or with individuals. Examples of the former are: failure of water supply, ruinous city walls, or the arrival of needy wayfarers whom the people of the place fail to provide for; in such case, if there be money in the treasury no constraint is needed, and the Muhtasib may order the water supply to be put right and the walls repaired, and may relieve the wayfarers on their passage, all this being chargeable on the treasury and not on the inhabitants, as are also dilapidations in mosques. But if the treasury be without

funds, then these liabilities [p. 412] fall on all inhabitants of substance, but not on any one of them specifically, and if such persons act the Muhtasib's right of compulsion is at an end. These need no permission for giving the relief or doing the repairs, but before demolishing the part they propose to repair of the city's walls or its mosque they must procure permission, not from the Muhtasib but the Governor, who must first take an undertaking from them to do the work. In the case of mosques which are the special property of a tribe or of its subdivision no permission is needed. The Muhtasib may compel the rebuilding of what has been demolished, but not the completion of works freshly started. If persons of substance fail to act, then if the place be inhabitable and its water supply adequate though scanty, the Muhtasib should hold his hand, but if the place has been rendered uninhabitable, then if it be a stronghold whose loss would be an injury to Islam the ruler must not allow the population to remove, and he should act as he would in the case of a sudden calamity by imposing the work on all those able to perform it. It is the part of the Muhtasib to inform the sovereign, and to encourage the action of such persons.

But if the place be not a stronghold and essential to Islamic welfare, then the Muhtasib's action should be milder and he must not use compulsion on the population, for it is the sovereign who ought to do what is needed. If funds be wanting, let him strive to get them, and let the Muhtasib tell the people that until funds are forthcoming they are at liberty either to remove from the place or to undertake the repairs necessary to render it habitable. If they accept the burden, it should be a collective one to the extent of each man's willingness; no individual must be compelled to do more, [p. 413] be it little or much; let each be told to disburse what he can and will, and let those without means help by labour.

When an adequate sum is provided, or is assured by the undertakings of persons of substance, then the Muhtasib may set the work going. And these undertakings, unlike those given in respect of private transactions, may be enforced, for where the benefit is collective the remedy is extended. But although the benefit be thus collective, the Muhtasib must first procure the sovereign's assent, lest he should be acting against his order, for the work does not come within his special functions. In trifling cases where the assent is difficult to procure, and where delay would be mischievous, he may proceed without it.

In cases between individuals, such as where rights are withheld and debts unpaid without excuse, the Muhtasib should on complaint made take action, not by imprisoning, which is for the judicial authority, but by constraint (*mulāzama*), for this is a remedy open to the complainant.¹ He cannot compel the support of relations, for it is for the law to decide for and against whom this right exists, but if the law has decided he may enforce the decision. Nor may he enforce the obligation of nurturing (*kafāla*) the young without a legal decree, but to this he may give effect. Bequests and deposits of property he must not deal with as against persons of eminence and importance, but he may as against ordinary people, as an incentive to mutual kindness and confidence. [p. 414] These are examples of how the jurisdiction is to be exercised.

Examples where the rights involved partake of a religious and of a worldly nature are: compelling legal guardians to sanction a widow's remarriage, on request, with a suitable person; securing the interval between a woman's divorce and remarriage, and in this case by punishment, whereas a recalcitrant guardian cannot be

¹ *Mulāzama*, the securing a person's attendance before a tribunal, is referred to in the Maḡālim chapter on pp. 142 and 145; see JRAS. 1911, pp. 642, 643.

punished;¹ enforcing parental duty by punishing one who disowns a lawfully born child, so as to protect his legitimacy; enforcing the rights of slaves, male and female, against their masters by securing that their tasks are not too heavy for their powers, and likewise that beasts are adequately fed by their masters and are not overworked; ensuring the adequate support of a foundling or compelling his being transferred to someone who will undertake this duty, and so of strayed beasts, as against their finder, obliging the transferee to give an undertaking in the case of strayed beasts, but not in the case of foundlings. These are examples of the jurisdiction in mixed cases.

Acts prohibited as evil fall likewise under three heads—those of a religious, of a worldly, and of a mixed character. The religious may relate to worship, [p. 415] to reprehensible acts (*maḥẓūrāt*), or to commercial transactions. Examples of the first class are attacks on the revealed or traditional methods of worship; uttering supplications aloud instead of in silence, or vice versa; additions to prayer or to the call thereto, not sanctioned by tradition; these the Muḥtasib should restrain and punish if persisted in, as not sanctioned by any authorized exponent of the law. So also inadequate purification of the person, garments, or place of prayer should be forbidden when well ascertained, but should not be alleged on mere conjecture or suspicion. There is a story of a Muḥtasib asking a man who was entering a mosque with his shoes on whether he did this in the privy of his own house, and on his denial sought to put him to his oath; in this he showed ignorance, and he exceeded his jurisdiction in yielding thus to suspicion. Similarly, a man must not be accused on suspicion of omitting to remove his own

¹ Shafeite, unlike Hanifite, law requires the guardians' sanction to a woman's marriage; this diversity is mentioned in the Rāḍi chapter, p. 118, and JRAS. 1910, p. 76.

ceremonial uncleanness (*janāba*), or the duty of prayer and fasting, though he may be admonished against disregard of divine law and ordinance. Eating during Ramadhān must not be punished except after inquiry as to the motive where there is a doubt; often it is illness or a journey. Suspicious indications justify inquiry, and if the excuses alleged be plausible the Muhtasib should not blame but enjoin secrecy in the eating so as to dispel suspicion, without requiring any oath from doubt as to the statement, for he is reduced to crediting it. In the absence of excuse the disapproval should be open and effective, and the penalty be sufficient to deter. Moreover, where an excuse is present the eating should not take place openly, for it may arouse suspicion and may serve as a precedent to foolish people unable to discriminate when the excuse exists. [p. 416] Withholding the poor rate due in respect of visible property should be dealt with by the supervisor of the rate who is entitled to inflict punishment (*ta'zīr*) for the dishonesty, but if the rate be due from undisclosed property the Muhtasib would seem to be the person to act, for the supervisor has no right of interference with undisclosed property. Or again, it may be held to be rather the supervisor's concern, as payment to him of what was due would have been a sufficient discharge. The punishment should be such as is suitable to the circumstances under which payment of the rate was refused; if a secret payment be alleged the Muhtasib must credit the statement.

Begging for alms by one not in want, because possessed of money or of a handicraft, should be prohibited and punished, and this is rather for the Muhtasib than the poor rate official, for the Caliph 'Omar so acted in the case of mendicants. A beggar who appears well to do should be warned that begging is unlawful in one not in want, but he should not be actually prohibited, as he may be in secret a needy person. A beggar who is sturdy and

able to work should be reproved and told to earn his living by his craft, and if he persist he should be kept from begging by punishment. And where, owing to the persistent begging of one disqualified as above, it becomes necessary that the beggar's money be applied for his maintenance or, if he be a craftsman, that he be hired out and supported out of his wages, in such case the Muhtasib should not do this himself, as it is a legal matter which concerns the judges; it should be referred to them either to deal with or to depute the duty to him.

Where a jurist or preacher is found to be applying himself to the exposition of revealed law without possessing the requisite ability, so that people are likely to be led astray by some wrong interpretation or misleading opinion, the Muhtasib should forbid his so doing, and should give public notice of having done this lest people be deceived; [p. 417] but if he be in any doubt he should only do this after inquiry. It is said that 'Ali b. Abi Talib, seeing Hasan of Basra addressing an audience, tested his ability by ascertaining from him that the prop of religion was temperance and its bane greed, after which he told him that he was free to discourse. If anyone pretending to learning lay down some novel proposition which is contrary to generally received opinion and is repugnant to the revealed word, and if the learned of the day reject it, the Muhtasib should reprove him, when he will either repent or it will be the sovereign's duty to keep religion pure. And if the expounders of Allah's Book advance an interpretation which abandons the clear revealed word for what is really heresy and involves obscuring its meaning, or if some transmitter of traditions deals exclusively with those of no authority which are repugnant to the mind and corruptive of sound exegesis, this the Muhtasib ought to prohibit. But he must be in a position to distinguish between the sound and unsound views by one of two methods, either by detecting it by his own legal ability,

or by resting his disapproval on the fact that the learned of the day uniformly disapprove of it as heresy and complain of it; their unanimity will justify his prohibiting it.

Next as regards reprehensible acts (*maḥzūrāt*). It is his duty to keep people from acts of doubtful character and such as induce suspicion, for the Prophet tells us to abandon what occasions doubt for certainty. He should begin by censuring only, and be slow to punish—witness the story how 'Omar, after he had prohibited men from walking round the Ka'ba with women, saw a man praying with a woman and struck the man with his whip. The man objected that even if he had done wrong he had had no notice, and denied that he was aware of 'Omar's decision on the subject. [p. 418] 'Omar thereupon gave him liberty to retaliate on him, but the man ended by forgiving 'Omar his over-hasty act. A man seen in the company of a woman on a beaten road, and with no circumstance of suspicion, should not be reproved nor hindered, for such an occurrence is inevitable; but if this happen on an unfrequented road, this is a suspicious circumstance, and the Muḥtasib, whilst prohibiting it, should be slow to punish, lest the woman prove to be of the class the man may not marry, in which case he should advise the man not to expose her to suspicion; and if she be a remote relative, to be on his guard against being led into sin, adding a suitable censure. A story is told that Ibn 'Ā'isha, seeing a couple in company together, said that if the woman were of this class it was disgraceful, for it exposed her to scandal, and if she were not of the class it was yet worse. But a set of verses soon reached him suggesting that the occasion of the two meeting was the delivery of a message, [p. 419] and the name of the poet Abu Nuwās appearing thereon Ibn 'Ā'isha disclaimed any intention of interfering with him.¹ Indeed, this act of

¹ The story is told (Aghāni, xviii, 4) of Ibn 'Ā'isha's father, Kaḍi of Baṣra.

disapproval was all that could be required from Ibn 'Ā'isha, but it would not be adequate in the case of an official. Nor did Abu Nuwās' statement disclose any immorality, for he might have been referring to a woman within the prohibited degree; nevertheless, the facts, and the sense of what he said, did suggest conduct reprehensible in him, although perhaps not so in a person of a different character.

Where the Muhtasib comes across something objectionable of this sort he should act deliberately, and make inquiry into the facts of the case before acting. There is a tradition that 'Omar saw a man going round the Ka'ba with an attractive woman clinging to him, the man uttering the while verse expressive of his care for his companion's comfort and safety on her journey to Mecca. 'Omar asked who was this person, the sole object of his thoughts on his pilgrimage, and he answered she was his own wife, but a very stupid woman, whom he did not divorce [p. 420] because of her beauty and of her being the mother of his children, and 'Omar said he could act as he chose with her. Thus he inquired before blaming, and all suspicion being dispelled he was pacified.

Open possession of fermented wine by a Moslem should be punished, and the wine spilt over him, but in the case of a non-Moslem Abu Hanifa is against punishment and against spilling the liquid, on the ground that it is property and entitled to protection, whereas Shāfi'i holds there is no protection for the unbeliever any more than the believer, and that it should be spilt. To openly possess fermented date juice, according to Abu Hanifa, involves neither penalty nor spilling of the liquid, as it is admittedly lawful property, but Shāfi'i holds it to be as unlawful as wine and that to spill it involves no liability (*ghurm*). The Muhtasib should consider each case, and prohibit the open possession where it belongs to an habitual drunkard, but not spill it over him except by order of

a qualified judge, lest a legal decision involve him in liability. One obviously drunk who talks irrationally should suffer a punishment short of a fixed penalty, as being a weak person without self-control. The open possession of prohibited toys and musical instruments should be punished and the objects reduced to atoms by the Muhtasib unless they can be put to some other use, but the playing with dolls is no sin but merely a preparation for girls' family duties. Yet it is a practice [p. 421] akin to the delineation of the human species and savouring of idolatry, at times allowable and at others objectionable according to circumstances. The Prophet once found 'Ā'isha playing with dolls, and sanctioned it. The Shafeite jurist Abu Sa'īd al-Iṣṭakhri, when Muhtasib, under Muḩtadir, suppressed the sale of a certain bitter herb, saying it was solely used to flavour date wine, which was unlawful, but he allowed the sale of toys on the strength of the Prophet's action. In so holding he was practically drawing a legal conclusion, but his view as to the herb was correct, for although used at times as a remedy this is rare. Its sale, therefore, is lawful for those who hold the fermented date allowable,¹ but in one who holds the reverse it is, on the one hand, permissible as susceptible of being used for other objects, but on the other improper, having regard to its habitual use. Abu Sa'īd's prohibition proceeded, not on the sale being unlawful, but on its publicity by reason of the place allotted for the purpose, and on the fact that the lawfulness of the destined user was extended to the sale itself, his object being to make the vulgar apprehend the difference between this and other lawful sales. Publicity in the performance even of lawful acts may be objectionable, as for instance the case of relations between the sexes.

Reprehensible acts which are not apparent should not be ferreted out by the Muhtasib: he should not reveal

¹ i.e. the Hanīfite; see Ibn Khall., transl., i, 200, and note 10.

them, [p. 422] but respect their concealment.¹ The Prophet enjoined that vile acts should be hid, and threatened punishment (*ḥadd*) on anyone who revealed them to him. Cases where the facts raise a presumption that concealment is being practised may be such as involve some outrage to morality which admits of no reparation—for instance, trustworthy information of sexual immorality or of secret murder; in order to prevent this happening investigation by the Muhtasib is proper and likewise by those acting voluntarily. This was what occurred to Mughīra b. Shu'ba when he was visited by a married woman at Baṣra, and certain persons who knew this watched for and surprised them, and then gave evidence before 'Omar: the story is well known.² What 'Omar disapproved was not the surprise; it was the want of evidence which made him inflict on them the fixed penalty for slander. In a case which does not come within this category and involves a less serious offence, investigation and disclosure are not permissible. 'Omar is said to have come on some habitual drinkers in a vintner's shop which they had lit up, and on his reminding them that he had forbidden both the lights and the drinking, they replied that he too had violated the divine prohibition against spying on people, [p. 423] and entering their presence without permission.³ 'Omar agreed that the acts balanced each other and left them unmolested. The sound of prohibited revelry proceeding openly from an abode should be reproved from outside and without any sudden entering; the mischief is evident, and to inquire further is needless.

Commercial dealings of the forbidden class, such as

¹ The MS. B.M. Or. 3117 has in the text, p. 422, l. 1, الاستسرار, and in l. 3 استتار.

² See Aghani, xiv, 145, and Ibn Khall., transl., iv, 255.

³ For التجسس in the text read التجسس. The story is referred to in the Iḥyā al-'Ulūm, ed. Cairo, 1302, ii, 281.

illicit gain (*ribā*),¹ unlawful sales, and anything contrary to revealed law should be prohibited and censured by the Muhtasib in spite of the parties consenting thereto, if its prohibition command general assent, but punishment depends on the circumstances and on the urgency of its prohibition. If legal authorities are divided on this question, it should not be prohibited unless the dissenting opinion be weak and the dealing be likely to lead to something admittedly forbidden. An instance of this is the profit arising from an excess in quantity of the equivalent on a sale (*ribā al-naḥd*), an act defended on very weak authority² and conducive to an act universally disallowed, namely, profit due to deferred payment (*ribā al-nasi'a*). Whether such acts should be forbidden under this jurisdiction or not depends on the degree of assent as above stated.

Akin to commercial dealings, although not actually such, are marriage contracts of doubtful legality. These should be prohibited only if there be practically a consensus of opinion against them, or if they have an admittedly mischievous tendency as leading, for instance, to the temporary marriage (*mut'a*), which in turn leads to unrestrained sexual relations. Prohibition here also depends on the degree of assent, but as against such prohibition all marriage contracts admittedly lawful should be approved.³

Other such forbidden dealings are adulteration and fraudulent alteration in prices: these should be repressed

¹ For كالأربا, p. 423, l. 6, read كالأربا, as in B.M. Or. 3117.

² The authority was the Prophet's cousin, Ibn 'Abbās, but his view was never admitted, and he is said to have retracted it; see Lisān, i, 162, l. 7.

كان يرى بيع الربويات متفائلة مع التقابض جائز وان الربا مخصوص بالنسيئة.

³ For وليكن بدل (p. 423, l. 3 a.f.) the MS. B.M. Or. 3117 has ولكن في بدل.

as the case demands, for the Prophet [p. 424] is reported to have said that a dishonest man was not of his people. And if the dishonesty be practised on an unsuspecting purchaser, it is in the highest degree blameworthy and deserves to be severely repressed and punished. If the purchaser was aware of the fraud, the offence is slighter and the repression should be less, and if the purchaser's object was to resell, then both the seller and the purchaser are worthy of blame, as the second purchaser is ignorant of the fraud, whereas if the purchase was for personal use the seller alone and not the purchaser is blameworthy. The same rules apply in the case of fraud in prices. To allow an animal's milk to collect in the udder in view of its sale is unlawful and a species of fraud: it should be forbidden. And the Muhtasib is especially charged to restrain deficiency in measures, scales, and weights, which is subject to a divine prohibition; he should punish this publicly and severely. If he suspect a market's measures and scales he may examine and test them, and the safe course would be for him to impress thereon a mark so that the public may recognize and exclusively use these, after which the public user of unmarked weights and measures, if defective, should be restrained on the twofold ground of disobedience in dispensing with the mark prescribed by government, and of the deficiency which is a violation of revealed law; if there be no deficiency, then on the first ground only. [p. 425] Forgery of the mark should be assimilated to forgery of the die for minting coin, and if to the forgery there be added adulteration (of the coin) punishment should be awarded on the two grounds above mentioned, or on the one only, as the case may be. If the extent of the population require official testers for measures, scales, and coin, these should be selected by the Muhtasib from persons he holds to be trustworthy. They should be salaried from the treasury, and, if funds be lacking, by apportioning among

them the sum available, thus avoiding inequality of remuneration which might give rise to partiality or injustice in their supervision of the measures or weights. These selections and appointments are sometimes made by governors, and the names are officially registered so as to avoid confusion with persons not trustworthy. Such as connive at shortness or excess in measure or weight should be punished by dismissal, and should be disqualified from holding any post in connexion with transactions between people. The same rules should govern the choice of public salesmen: honest men should be appointed and rogues excluded.

These appointments are incumbent on the Hisba jurisdiction in default of the governor making them, but the selection of valuers for the purpose of partition between those entitled (*kassām*) and of land measurers lies rather with the *Ḳaḍī* than with the *Muḥtasib*, since they represent for purposes of property the orphan and the absent owner. The choice of watchman for the tribes and for markets rests with the police authority.

When a case of fraud is not admitted, but not absolutely denied, the *Muḥtasib* may act, but if it be denied the matter is rather for the *Ḳaḍī* [p. 426] as being a contentious one, whilst the *Muḥtasib* is the person to inflict punishment; if authorized by the *Ḳaḍī* he may act, as this invests him with his function.

It is permissible in private and individual cases, but not as a general usage, to sell and purchase by measures and weights which are not in habitual use among the population nor familiar to them, although they may be to people elsewhere. Two persons who so act by agreement should not be interfered with, but any general practice should be restrained, as it may prejudice and deceive anyone not familiar therewith.

Matters of a purely worldly nature, such as encroaching on a neighbour's boundary or on the privacy of his abode

(*ḥarīm*), or extending beams beyond his outside wall, give no occasion for interference until complaint by the neighbour, who alone is entitled either to condone the act or to impeach it, in which case the Muḥtasib may act, provided the two neighbours be not actually at law, and may compel the person at fault to desist and may punish him as the case may require; if they be at law the judge must act. Even when the encroachment has been sanctioned and redress has not been exacted, it may be exacted later and the erection complained of may be removed compulsorily. But if the work has been already begun and the beams are in position with the neighbour's consent, and he then retract it, the other cannot be compelled to undo the work. Where the branches of a tree extend over an adjoining house, its owner may apply to the Muḥtasib for redress against the owner of the tree by compelling him to lop off the excrescence, but no punishment must be inflicted, as the act is none of his doing. Where it is the roots that penetrate the surface of a neighbour's ground there is no redress, but the neighbour cannot be prevented from doing as he will [p. 427] with his land's surface by digging it up. An oven placed so that it annoys a neighbour by its smoke cannot be interfered with nor restrained, nor can a mill or a blacksmith's or fuller's business, for owners are entitled to make what use they please of their property and these are necessary businesses.

If a man hired at a wage complain of non-payment of the wage in full, or to have had imposed on him an excessive task, such acts should be restrained as the case requires, and similarly inadequate work or an excessive claim for wages may be corrected by the Muḥtasib if he be appealed to, but if the parties are at open variance the judge must decide.

Three classes of professional craftsmen need supervision by the Hisba: where their avocation requires a special

regard for competency or incompetency, for honesty or dishonesty, or for the good or bad quality of their work. The first class includes medical practitioners and students, for their efforts endanger life and their incompetency may cause death or illness. And the students may, when young, adopt methods from which it may prove difficult to deter them when older: those therefore of capacity and sound method should be approved, and the incompetent should be prevented from practising a business which may be fatal to life and to bodily health. In the second class are included those who practise the crafts of goldsmith, weaver, fuller, and dyer, for these at times make off with other people's goods; the honest therefore should be preferred and the dishonest excluded, and their dishonesty should, moreover, be proclaimed lest the ignorant be deceived in them. These duties have been regarded as falling rather on the police than on the Hisba authority, and probably with reason, as dishonesty is analogous to theft. The case of good or bad work [p. 428] is exclusively for the Muhtasib, and he ought generally to express disapproval of bad work even in the absence of complaint; but where a man employed in a particular task has deliberately done bad and dishonest work, then on complaint made he should visit him with reproof and blame. If the case involve liability, or if an estimate or evaluation has to be made, the Muhtasib is disqualified, as legal judgment needs to be exercised, therefore the Qaḍi must act; but where all that is needed is a reasonable estimate not requiring any judicial effort, the Muhtasib is competent to enforce the liability by punishing the wrongdoer, for this is an enforcing of equity and a restraining its infraction. The Muhtasib must not fix the price of food either where prices are low or where they are high, although in the latter case the jurist Mālik holds that he may do this.

Among duties which partake of revealed and of worldly

ordinance is that of not overtopping other buildings. A man who heightens his house is not bound to block the view from his roof, but he is bound not to command a view over another house. Protected non-Moslems must not raise their edifices above those of Moslems, but if they own them they are to retain possession, only they must not overlook their Moslem neighbours; and they must be held to the observance of the terms of the compact as regards wearing their badge, observing a difference in their attire, and refraining from loud speech on the topic of Ezra and of the Messiah. Moslems who seek to molest them on any pretext should be checked, and if they persist, punished.

Should the Imam of any frequented or regular mosque be unduly prolix in his prayer, thereby exhausting the weak and deterring the busy, the Muhtasib ought to reprove this in him as did the Prophet in a like case, when he inquired of the offender, Mu'az b. Jabal, whether he was acting as a tester of men's belief (*fattān*). Persistence in this course should be met, [p. 429] not by punishment but by substituting a less prolix Imam.

Where a Kaḍi denies litigants an audience and avoids deciding their cases, so that justice is delayed, and they are prejudiced, the Muhtasib should, with a full apology, enforce on him his duty of hearing litigants and of deciding their disputes, nor should the Kaḍi's dignity be a bar to disapproval of his shortcomings. Ibrahim b. Buṭuhā, Muhtasib for both East and West Baghdad, when passing by the house of the Chief Kaḍi 'Omar b. Hammād¹ saw the litigants at his doorway awaiting the legal sitting at an hour when the day was already far advanced and the sun was high, so he halted, summoned the doorkeeper, and told him to inform the Chief Kaḍi that the litigants were waiting at his door and were thereby

¹ Appointed 325 A.H. (Tajārib al-Umam, Gibb Facsimile, v, 552; on Ibn Buṭuhā, ib., 340, and 'Arib, 157).

suffering inconvenience, and that he ought either to sit or let them know what hindered him so that they might go away and return.

Where slaves are worked by their masters beyond their strength, the Muhtasib can prevent this only by disapproval and exhortation until complaint made by the slaves; then he can proceed to censure and prohibition. Owners of cattle who overwork them can be restrained by the Muhtasib without the necessity of a previous complaint. If the owner allege that the beast is equal to his task the Muhtasib may make an inquiry, for even if this involve a judicial pronouncement the question is one of custom, and it can be decided on that apart from law. Where a slave complains that his master is keeping him deprived of clothes and of sustenance the Muhtasib may use compulsion on the master, [p. 430] but if the complaint be one of inadequacy the Muhtasib cannot act, for the determining what amount the master should provide would involve a legal solution, whereas that is not true of the actual obligation, inasmuch as the obligation is based on an explicit statement of the revealed law, whilst the extent of his obligation has no such basis.¹

Owners of ships, etc., should be forbidden from overcrowding them to the risk of their being wrecked, and also from putting out to sea in a gale of wind; and when men and women are carried together a partition should separate them, and where space allows of it conveniences should be provided for the women. The Muhtasib should supervise the conduct and trustworthiness of persons in the markets who have specially to do with women, and if satisfied confirm them in their duties, but when in doubt or convinced of their bad behaviour he should remove them and disqualify them from having dealings with women.

¹ The text, p. 430, l. 3, should run, as in B.M. Or. 3117: **لأن التقدير** غير منصوح عليه ولزومه منصوح عليه.

This has been regarded as more properly police business, being akin to immorality. The reserved sites in the markets should be inspected, those that occasion no inconvenience to passers-by being sanctioned and the others not, and for this no complaint is required, although Abu Hanifa holds the contrary. Any building on a frequented road should be prohibited, even though the road be a wide one, and the building should be ordered to be pulled down, even if it be a mosque, since a road is intended for the benefit of passers-by and not of buildings. If goods or building materials be deposited in roads, streets, or markets for convenience and for gradual removal, this should be allowed provided no inconvenience be caused thereby, and similarly in the case of extensions of buildings, covered ways over roads, watercourses, and privies. And the question of inconvenience is one on which the Muhtasib may form an opinion, [p. 431] as it turns on custom and not on revealed law, this being the test of whether or not in any given case the Muhtasib is competent to form a decision.

It is the Muhtasib's duty to prevent the removal of a corpse from its grave when the burial has taken place in privately owned ground, or by permission of the owner, except in the case of ground wrongfully possessed, for the real owner may order those who buried the corpse there to remove it elsewhere.¹ Whether such removal is allowable from land invaded by a flood or by rain is doubtful; Al-Zubairi allows it, others not. The castration of human beings and of animals should be forbidden and punished, and any rights of retaliation or of bloodwit should be given effect to in favour of the person entitled, provided no legal proceedings are pending.

The dyeing of grey hair black should be prohibited

¹ For *من دفنه فيها*, p. 431, l. 7, the MS. B.M. Or. 3117 has *من دفن فيها*.

except to those engaged in fighting the infidel; anyone who does this in order to win a woman's favour¹ should be punished; but dyeing red with henna, and again with another herb to turn that red to black, is allowable. To make profit by divination or by forbidden amusements is unlawful, and the wrongdoer and his customer should both be punished.

But this is a branch of the subject which, if extended, would run to great and excessive length, for wrongful acts are beyond number, and the foregoing examples give suggestions for such as have been omitted.

The Hisba is a form of civil government, and the early Imams executed its duties in person to the public advantage and to their own special reward. But the office declined in people's estimation when rulers neglected it and conferred it on men of no repute whose object was to profit and get bribes. Yet the decay of an institution does not imply its abrogation; the neglect of jurists in expounding its principles is not warranted by such decay; and this chapter is intended to supply their shortcoming. Its length is due to the quantity of material that they have either left aside or inadequately treated; this we have dealt with thoroughly. And we pray Allah to graciously further our purpose and intent, for He is our all-sufficient Protector.

¹ For يصبغ, p. 431, l. 12, read يصبغ.

(To be continued.)

IV

YASNA XXXII, 9-15, IN ITS INDIAN EQUIVALENTS

By PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS

9. Duḥ(-ś-)-śastih (-r asmākam) śravāṃsi mṛdnāt¹ svaḥ (saḥ, sa) jivātoḥ, (tasya) śāsanaiḥ(-s), sva-śāsanaiḥ, kratum;

(b) apa mama *iṣṭim (?)² *iṣṭi-(-)-(-draviṇaḥ-(-o-)-vedatām)(apa-)yaṃtā((-ā-)asti(-y), āsit, kila, (-ā-) asmākam draviṇaḥ(-o) vedam apayayāma), bhrājasvatim (?) satyām *iṣṭim ((?) aiśya*-raivatyā-vedatām) vasoḥ(-or) māna-saḥ(-a), (kila (-ar-) rtāvanaḥ (-no vasumanasvataḥ(-s))),

(c) tēna (-o-) uktēna manyoḥ, (-or) ātmanaḥ(-s) mama tubhyaṃ, sūmedhaḥ, (-a) rtāya ca, yuṣmabhyaṃ, yuvābhyām (?), garhe.


(a) An evil teacher (as that leader is), he will destroy (our) doctrines, and by his teachings he will pervert the (true) plan of (civilized) life (the accepted rules of possession),

(b) seizing away my riches, the blest and real (wealth) of (Thy) Good Mind(-ed One):—

(c) to You, O Ahura Mazda, and to Asha, (Archangel of Thy Law) am I therefore crying with the voice of my Spirit(-'s need).

10. svaḥ (sa) mama nā śravāṃsi mṛdnāt(-d evaṃ) yaḥ (yo'gh-) aghatamaṃ *venase (draṣṭum (**-ṭave (?)), drṣṭam, drśyam**) avochat(-d)

(b) gām akṣibhyaṃ, suar ca (suryaṃ(-ñ-)-ca);—

¹ For *mōreṇdat* read *mere-*, or . . . ? The old Avesta-Pahlavi signs for *ō* and *r* are sometimes the same; the *ō* in *mōreṇdat* is debris left embedded in the word after the *r* had been properly expressed by the fuller Av. sign .

² Some form to Ind. *iś* would be more correct, but which to select? recall *aiśya*-nt. = "power". Does not, however, Avesta *iṣṭi*, to *iś* = "to be master of", point to a possible similar Sanskrit form not yet found, rather than to *iṣṭi*-to Skt. *iṣ*- = "to wish" or to *iṣṭi*-to *yaj*-?

yah(-ś-) ca dādān¹ (adhvarān) d hvarataḥ(-o) (dveṣiṇaḥ-o) ((a)dadāt(-d)dadat (conj.):—

(c) yah(-ś) ca *kṣetra-vastram² ((?) iti śabda-kal-pārthaṃ mātreṇa, kila, (-ā-) asmākaṃ gavyūtiṃ (yavasa-kṣetram ṛṇena vāsi, (?) vastravat(-d) vastitam) avapat(-d (?)), vapāt(-d), (jala-śoṣaṇena (-ā-) aśoṣayāt (-ech-),³ śoṣayāt (-d) vā);—yah(-ś-)ca vadhar avejayat⁴ ((-d) vejayāt(-d)),⁵ vi(-y-)-asarjayat, sarjayāt(-d) (?) ṛtāvane, taṃ prati.

(a) Aye, he will destroy my doctrines (indeed, for he blasphemes the highest of creatures that live or are made);—he declared

(b) that the (sacred) Kine and the Sun are the worst of things which eye can see;—and he will offer the gifts* of the faithless (as priest to their Demon-gods);—

(c) and (at the last) he will parch our meadows with drought, (destroying our high-banked streams which fertilize our fields),—and he will hurl his mace at Thy (toiling) saint (who may fall before his arms).

II. Te cid māṃ mṛdnān(-ñ-) jivātum, ye dhvarataḥ(-o) (dveṣiṇaḥ(-o)) mahibhiḥ⁶ ((-r) pāpaiḥ(-r) adhipatibhiḥ(-s

¹ Notice once more that the opposing party had a regular system of "collection" as well as *vratā* and a *kṣathra*; a *duṣṭ(a)ṇa*, etc.

² Is it to the 2nd *vah* = "to dwell"; recall *vāṇa*.

³ *vīdpat* = *vyāpat* as denom. without sign, "parched" (so the Pahl., Pass., and Skt. hint), *v* miswritten for *y*, as so often; "may parch" with drought, destroying the means of irrigation, improper conj. or preterit; see Gāthas, Comm.; cf. the many Pahlavi-Parsi words to *vyāp* = "render waterless"; how do we account for their existence without some corresponding Av. form? Otherwise to *cap* = "to shear off" (?); so others, following authority. Desolators might be said to "shear off the land". See the Gāthas throughout with the Dictionary, vol. iii.

⁴ *asarjat*, *arjāt*.

⁵ *vīzhdāt*, pret. or improper conj., to *vij*-extended with (-d), "start his mace," possibly "shake it," or "swing it". Not to *vind*, *vid*-, here.

⁶ Some writers go to extremes in taking almost all instr. pl. as adverbial commonplaces; so instr. sing. &c., indeed, often to be taken adverbially; of course such instr. pl. are sometimes to be so taken; but hardly here *mazihī* as = "greatly". I prefer "counselling with the prominent chiefs".

saha)) cikitré, (kila, tebhyah(-s) sampapracuh(-s) taih(-s) saha, ekacittāh(-s), sambandhīnah(-s) samanā (-ā-) abhi-dudruhuh asmākam śatruvah(-o 'ti) atimārātmakāh(-ā) babbhūvānsah(-o's-)),

(b) asoh(-ś)¹ ca, ((-e-) iti, kila, gr̥ha-pateh*(-r), gr̥ha-svāmīnyāh((-ā) asmākam duṣ-ṣatrūh(-ā)) **apayamanti² ((-y ?) **apayayanti (-y) (?), apaharanti (?)) teṣām) rekna-sah((-o) vedam);—

(c) ye vasiṣṭhāt(-d manasaḥ(-a-) imān, asmākam) rtāvanah, (have) sumedhah, **((-o) **vasiṣṭhāt(-d)) rerīṣ-yuh(-ū(?))³ (?) reṣayān manasaḥ (-a);—(iti, kila, ye (-a-) imān rtāvanah(-o), **majdayajinah, (-o'su-) asura-yajah, pūnyāt(-d) vidathāt (-d) anyeṣām rtāvanām tējasā kṣaṇvatā nih(-s) seṣidhaḥ*, vipravāsayanti (-yān)). * Int. conj.

(a) Yea, these will even destroy my life, for they consult with the great of the faithless* (denying all laws of right);—

(b) they are seizing away the possession of (inherited) treasures from both household-lord and from house-wife*;—

¹ *Aśu-* in the sense of Av. *aśhu-*; see the word *ahura* applied to "man", "the lord", in Y. XXIX.

² *apayēiti*—with some, a clumsily inserted dat. inf. noun, so following authority—to *yam*; see *yati*; possibly *apayēiti* might be an instr. f. = "with a seizure" of wealth; see an ind. instr. f. in *i* (Wh.); see *yañtā* at 9. Perhaps consider also *āp-*.

³ The difficulty of *riṣēyān*, to *riṣ-* is of course that the sense "receiving wounds" from the best mind of the "Saint" places the "victory" of the saint in too close a connexion with the foregoing "robbing of the householders"; better, the intens. causatively used if necessary, but *riṣ-* has also at times transitive sense = "to harm", "who cause the saints (pl.) to fail from the Best Mind," meaning "from the corporate animus" of the congregation; see this sense of *riṣ-* = "to fail" in the Ind. Recall also where *aśu* undoubtedly means "the humanly incorporate *aśu*", "the congregation"; so also Roth, often. Other possibilities; is it to *ri-* = "leave" (?); see *riṣēyāt*, opt. perf. (Wh.)? Hardly. Some writers used to suggest *aras-*, *arāns-*, with loss of *s*; recall *apaś* and *paś-*, "who cause the saints to fall away from Vohu Manah" rather far-fetched in its form, correct in idea.

(c) who would (totally) sever those chiefs, O Mazda, cause them to fail from the Best (Corporate) Council of* Thy (Chief) Saint, (or "who may sever the Saints* from that Best Mind")?

12. Yena (yeṣāṃ hetoh(-or), yāni (?) vā (-ā-) arāṣayan (-n ?),¹ arahayan(-n) (??), areṣayan (?), sva- śravasā vasisthāt (-e) cyautnāt(-d) martyāñ, (-yasya vā (?)) (; ai-)

(b) ebhyaḥ(-s), sumedhāḥ (-ā) ;—aghāḥ(-s stha(-e-)-iti(-y) abravīt ;— ye goḥ(-r) jīvātum (a)mrdnañ, (a)mardan) priyayā² (-o-) uktyā ((-e-) iti, sva-pakṣibhyaḥ (-a evaṃ) priyayā, (-o-) uktyā tu naḥ(-o) durvṛti-bhṛtā, teṣāṃ durnītasya hetoh(-s) sva-śaptebhyaḥ(-o) *durvṛta-sevakebhyaḥ(-o) viśvathā sva-bhāva-jasya, tebhyaḥ(-o) dhik kṣamasya),—

(c) yaiḥ(-r) **Grāhmāḥ (?) *Grāsmā(h) (?) ṛtāt(-d) avarata,³ avṛta (?) (-e-, iti, kila, (-ā-) abhi-vriyāntai),

¹ *Rāṣhayan*, to Ind. *rās-* (?). Cf. also Indian *rah* = "to desert" ; so, irregularly comparing *rah-* with Ind. *rah-*, final *h* ; see the orig. *j* holding in *aj-* beside *at-*, etc. Some writers used, I believe, here again to suggest *arāṣ-* as equalling *raṣ-* ; see *spāṣ* = *paṣ*. But I prefer *rah* = "desert" as the altern. *arahayan* = "caused" or conj. "will cause" "men to desert from the best deed" ; but why not after all simply *rās-* (= *rāṣh-*), exact correspondence, in the sense of "rendering" recreant, "giving away men" (by their teaching) from "the best course of action". The Pahl., Pers., and Skt. suggest *riṣ* = "to wound". But *riṣ* is more rational with *rāreṣyān*.

² *urakṣ-* = *vrakṣ-*, as *urvāza-* = *vṛāza-*, and as *urvāta-* = *vṛāta-*, etc., in the sense of "friendly", hardly to *ukṣ-*, *vakṣ-*. Whether we can assert that the actual idea of "treachery" is here present, now seems to me to be doubtful, as it suggests too fine a point, while "a cry of joy" is hardly expressed by the terms. "His party's shout," "friendly to his side" is best ; this would correspond to his evil *vrata*, his evil "Authority", etc. We had, of course, better keep these "good" or "favouring" ideas as much as possible away from the *d(a)eva*-worshipping party ; it is, however, not possible to deny that the *D(a)eva* party had a system of ideas much resembling in form those of the party which they so bitterly opposed ; and they were doubtless sincerely attached to those principles.

³ *Varatā*, cf. the aor. *avarata* (Wh.), would be metrically better as *var(a)tā* = med. for pass. ; cf. *avṛta*. Notice once more the pl. noun with a verb in the sg. Or could this form *varata* be really *vara(n)ta*, with lost nasal, as so often ; or could we not read the sg. *Grāhmō* at once ; with *karpā* to *karpān-*, to meet the sg. verb.

kalpakah(-s)¹ ca, (-e-) iti(-y) evaṃ tathā mithyā-proktaḥ(-o) nāmṇā(-ā-) abhihitah(-s) tathā mātrena, (-ā-) asmākaṃ śatravaḥ, ksatraṃ(-ñ-) ca teṣāṃ iṣamānanāṃ* druhaṃ, (kila, ye vṛṇvate, vṛṇavanta, kṣatra-pramāṇaṃ teṣāṃ ye pariśapitāṃ dambhinaḥ(-a) upāyāṇ amuṣyāḥ(-ā) druhaḥ puras-kṛṇavan). * Or icch-.

(a) By which prayer they would turn men away from the best deed.

(b) Evil! said (God) unto these;—who have slain the Kine's life with their clan's* word (with their tribe's cry, to them "friendly", to us how detested),—men

(c) by whom Grehmas are loved above Asha (Archangel of Thy Law), and the Karpans, and the Throne of those who have wished for the Druj-Lie-Demon (of our foe).

13. yāni(śva-)-kṣatreṇa** Grāhmaḥ(-o)² **Grāsmaḥ(-a) aiśiṣat(-d),³ aiçchat(-d), icchāt(-d), aghatamaśya māne manasaḥ(-o), (nārake (-soḥ)).

(b) asoḥ(-r) (asya*), marcayitārah⁴ ((-au, (?) vināśakāḥ (-au (-āv?) amū (-ū-) ubhau (?) staḥ (-o'sy-)) asya ((-ā-) asoḥ(-r), asmākaṃ dharma - janasya), - yeca, (kila, **Grāhmaḥ, (-o) **Grāsmaḥ, Kalpakah(-ś) ca (-o'gh-) aghatamaṃ(-ñ-)ca manaḥ (?) tathā tāni, amūni (-y-) aiçchan); -yeca, (haye) sumedhaḥ(-o'jig-) ajigardhiṣat⁵ (-an-n) ajigarhiṣat (-an) tikṣṇa-kāme⁶ ((-a-eva) dūtyāṃ),

¹ *Karpā* to *-pan*, one of the many instances in which words of "good" meaning in the Ind. became inverted in their Av. meaning; cf. *kalpa*, *kalpaka*; notice the sacred Indian associations of the name.

² *Grāhmō*. Should we render as if to Ind. *garh*- (?), or to *grabh*- (?), or to *gras*- (?).

³ *Hīṣaṣat*. I long since suggested a possible restoration of the letter *h*, Av. Pahl. *h*, to its original Avesta-Pahlavi value of *h* *a*; the word may be *aīṣaṣat* (?), not *hīṣ*; yet *h* is kindred to *s*.

⁴ Is *mar(c)khtārō* conceivably an irregular gen. sg.; see the verb, and should we read *yascā*? Or should we expect the dual? *Grēhma* and the **Karpan*'s; see strophe 12; or, are more than two referred to, the *Grēhma*, the *Karpan*'s and *Aks Maingū*? I had ventured to form a *marktarah* in view of *mṛkta*- to *mṛc*-; see *rac*-, *vaktṛ*-.

⁵ *jigerezat* would seem to correspond to a desid. of *garh*-, or to *grdh*-.

⁶ I hardly think that *kamē* is sufficiently rendered merely by "passionately", so adverbially; "enviously" would be better,

(c) tava mantriṇaḥ(-o) dūtyām ajarigrdhuḥ(-r), (ajā-garhuḥ (-s), tikṣṇa-kāme dūtyām asya), yaḥ, ((-o'sm-) asmākam mantri, tathā'pi (-y) evam) **inḥ ((ins (?), kila, (-e)imān) niḥ pāt(-d'))** iti (kila, (-e-) imān vidhārayāt(-d) dūre) darsāt(-d), drṣteḥ(-r(?)) ṛtasya.

(a) And the Grēhma has sought (will seek) for these things by means of his (evil) Power* in the abode of (Hell which is) the Worst Mind (who both are together) the destroyers

(b) of life,* and who, O Mazda, will bewail in (envious) desire the message

(c) of Thy prophet. (But he will not abate with his vengeance),—he will hold them afar from the sight of Asha (Archangel of Thy Truth):

14. Asya *Grāhmaḥ(-o)¹ *(Grāsmaḥ(-ā)) ā setave² (niyuktaḥ (-to'sti) asti, -tena sīyātai); -ni-³ kavīn(ś)-

"bewail in desire": if this last be the idea present, it proves once more how closely the future religion of Persia hung in the balance. "Never shall the infidel share the good lore," Y. XXXI, 10.

¹ See strophes 12 and 13.

² If we read *ā hōi thoī* or *tōi*, we might render *ā* **se* (= *asmai*) plus *thoī* = ***tee* (?) = *te* = "his is G. indeed"; (but) for thee . . . Preferring *ā hōitōi*, I render *sete* = **setave* = "to bind", "to be bound" (He is—infin. for imperv.—) "to be bound" = "let him be impeded". We should not neglect the caesura, nor the line's ends. Even the subordinate reach of the meaning may at times remain unaffected by either of them, but the only reason of their existence in the metrical pause was almost always a slight separation in the flow of the thought.

³ *Ni* with separated verb, here *dadaṭ* = "down . . . may it cast". I object to the usual commonplaces when they are supposed to occur in the cramped diction of the Gāthas. "Directed attention" is hardly the force even with *nī* so taken. "Directed his devices, his policy," so, more objectively, would be better; but *nī*, when detached from the verb, occurs twice elsewhere in the "adverse" sense of "down", not as when attached to the verb, as in Y. XXVIII, 11, *nīpāhē*, nor as in *vidātem* in Y. XLIX, 3, where, in this last, the resulting sense is "established", but, as in Y. XLVIII, 7, *nī (a)jīmō dyatām*, and in Y. XLIV, 14, *nī him merāzhdyaī* . . . See also the Vedic occurrences of *nī* + *dhā* in this sense; see R.V. 1, 171, 1 . . . *nī hēto dhātā* . . . ; R.V. 10, 37, 12, *tāmin tād ēno vasavo nī dhetava* . . . not so exactly applicable; Sat. Br. 13, 8, 1, 4 (PW) *nī no ghaṇ dhīyātai*, etc. (PW) . . . *ayuddhāni* Ait. Br. 7, 19 PW). "His G. is to be fettered; let (conj.) our khratu put

cid¹ (kavyāñś-cid(?)* (asmākam)) kratuḥ(-r² imān) nī-dadhat(-d) nī (-y-) asyāt(-d);

(b) varcasviṇaḥ(-o,³ varcasānī vā santi) *sīca(?)⁴ (ime, imānī vā, imau(-āv) ubhau G. K. ca stah, (-a) iti kadācid), atidambhakāḥ(-ānī(?)) (-kau(?)) vā, (pradivah(-s- ?)⁵ santi, down the K." With this rendering we do not switch off the meaning to a separate thought, "Be he in chains—let our plan cast down the K."

¹ *Kavyas-ciṭ*, so reading, looks of course at first sight like a nom. pl. m., the singular verb is somewhat familiar with the pl. noun, though mostly with the nom. pl. nt.; cf. Greek usage (have Greek fem. pls. been also found with the sg. verb?); and with the corrected *kratuš* (to *kratūn(š)* we might first think of the K. as the subjects: "His G. is for the binding," "be he in chains"); "Down the K. have cast (our) plans . . ."; but we have Ved. precedent for an irregular acc. pl. m.; see *paśvaḥ* for *paśavaḥ* acc. pl. m., and as we must emend somewhere, I take this *kavyas-ciṭ* as acc. pl. m., or emend to *-yān* = *yān(s)*. Generally, though not always preferring the improper conj. for the pret. indic., so here, in *dadat*, I would render "let our *kratu* cast down the Kavis . . ." *Kavyāś*: [sic] might be of the a decl. = *-ān(s)*; see Ind. *kavya*.

² *kratu* = "(sacred) plan" or "its sagacity"; the word is nearly sacrosanct, like *ciṭi*; see its occurrences. It is seldom or never used independently of the "evil" party. In Y. XLV, 2, the *kratavō* are only indirectly attributed to Angra Mainyu on account of their conjoined mention as characteristics of Ahura in the same sentence. Otherwise Satan, A.M. is gifted with the reverse of *kratu*.

³ *var(e)cā(-cā)*, sense of "power" rather than of "light"; if dual, irregularly placed in the midst of plurals; see what seem to be similar occurrences elsewhere.

⁴ *hi*- as dual?; see other duals in close proximity to plurals; is this a Gāthīc peculiarity?; see the sing. verbs with plural subjects, especially with neut. pl. subjects; cf. again the same Greek usage. Or may we not conjecture the disappearance of a nasal in these apparent 3rd pers. sing.? Nothing is more natural than the disappearance of nasals. In fact, we may doubt whether the disappearance of the *n* in the reduplicated 3rd pl. of Sanskrit was really original. Greek fem. pl. with sing. verbs(?) have also, I think(?) ; see above, been discovered.

⁵ *Fradiṇ*. Others prefer to *pradivah* = "long since", so, following authority. In accepting a root *div*, *div* = "to deceive", I reserve my view of the vowel, though Ind. *div*, *div*, of course at first suggests itself. Owing to the apparent chaos of confusion in the early Av.-Pahl. alphabet, with all, or many, of the short vowels inherent in the consonants, a vowel *a* may well have been confused with an *i*, *i*; see the supposed root *ju* = "to live"; it is simply *jiv*, *jiv*, *u* in old Av.-Pahl. = *v*; it might here have the inherent vowel *i*; *u* has the same sign as *v* in the Ind.

stah(-o)), yat(-d) ā-viśanta* dhvarantam (dveṣṇam, kila, tam abhi, prati*, tasya hetoh(-or)) avah(-o).

(c) yat(-c) ca gauḥ(-r)¹ jetave, hantave, nirūpitā mithyā (-ā-) abrāvi, (kila (-ā-) asmākam parama-gopāh(-ā), adhipatiḥ(-s) (?) tat(-d)-niyuktaḥ (-o) mithyā (-ā-) avāci, yaḥ(-o'sm-) asmākam adhika-gopatiḥ (?) tathā (-ā-) api (-y) . . . evam)** dūroṣam**² śocayat(-d), (asmākam) avah, (kila, yaḥ (-o'th- atharvā(-e-) iva (-ā)) asmākam punyām atharim*, vedi-jvala-dahanām (ñ) śocayat (-yāt)).

Alternatives for (c) (1) with *gāuṣ* as gen. "Yat(-c) ca asau Grāhmaḥ (-o) goḥ(-or) gopateḥ(-yuḥ (?) (-r)),* jetave, hantave mithyā niyuktaḥ(-o'br-) abrāvi(-y), avāci, yaḥ (-o'sm-) asmākam ayaṁ parama-gopatiḥ, (-s) tathā(-ā)-api . . ."

Or (c) (2) again with *gāuṣ* as gen. "Yat(-c) ca (-ā-) asmākam mantri goḥ(-r) jetave, hantave, mithyā (-ā-) abrāvi, (-y) avāci, yaḥ, (-o'yam) mantri parama-gopāh(-s) tathā (-ā-) api . . ."

(a) His Grēhma (is)* to be bound; ("be he in chains"); may our plans* cast down the Kavis;

(b) Evil Powers are these both (long since (?) and most

¹ *Gāuṣ* might be nom. sg. masc. in spite of Y. XXIX, or else gen. sg. f. with unusual formation; recall *gaoṣ*.

Yē. If *yē* refers to *Gāuṣ* as masc. (?) this last must include the idea of the entire sacred cattle-interest with its chief who would be paramount in his sacrosanct office; see *māthraṇō* . . . *yē* of 13 (c): "since the Kine's Chief was said to be destined to be conquered." But perhaps the *Grēhmō* of line *a* is referred to—"Since the G. was falsely said to be (fit) for the conquering of the Kine's (Chief), the Chief who will yet kindle" Finally, "since our priestly prophet was *falsely* said to be set for the conquering of the Kine" "To conquer for the Cow" we need not consider. Of course we have here a distinct reference to the highest act of worship—the lighting of the sacred altar fire—it would imply a grave oversight to confuse this striking allusion here with some secondary figurative meaning.

² *dūroṣem*. Vedic *duroṣa-* as "hard to destroy" clearly shows *-uṣ-* or *-oṣ-* as used in the sense of "destruction"; and *dāra-*+*uṣh-* can be formed in the sense of "having" or "holding death afar". Otherwise as = "far lighting" (so, altern. or better) the *uṣ-*, *oṣ-*, would retain its more original meaning. Recall *dāre-bhā*.

deceitful (?), since they have come as an aid to the faithless.

(c) and since he,* Grēhma,** has been (falsely) said (to be destined) to conquer the Kine's (Chief,—him) who shall yet kindle that (very) help of grace—the altar flame—which sheds its (death-removing) light afar.

15. amibhih(-r) ā¹ ((-ā-) amīsām kṛtānām hetoh(-r), amīsām parastāt (-d) vā, (paścāt(-d)), iti kadācid) vi-nīnaśā (?) (anīnaśam,² imāni) yāni, (kila, (-e-) imāb(ā-))³ yāh *Kar(a)patātayaḥ(-ś)ca, *Kavitātayaḥ(-ś)ca ((-ā-) asan, ye dve (?) vā staḥ(?)), kila, viśvān imān vi-nīnaśā, anīnaśam, ye tāsām (tayoh(-s)(?)), tābhih K., K., saha-pakṣiṇaḥ (-o'san) asan, viśvān ye tābhih (tābhyām) saha-sambandhinaḥ (-o'san);

(b) amibhih(-r) api, (amibhyaḥ paścāt(-d) (?) vā (-ā-) amīsām kṛtānām hetoh(-r) (?), ime) yān, (kila, ime (-sm-) asmākam-śvāyayisyantaḥ(-ś) śvayisyantaḥ(-o)) yān (amī, (-y) asmākam śatravaḥ(-o) nūnam) dadhati, dadhan (-uh); yān kṛṇavan, ned(-t)t (tataḥ-prabhṛti) jīvātoḥ kṣayamānān vaśam⁴ (svavaśena)), (ned dirghatarāya kālāya (dirgha-kālataram) satyena jīvātoḥ(-or(-ō?)) rājataḥ(-s) sva-vaśena); (kila, -ime yeśam ṛju-kṣatra-pramāṇam apaharāntai, (. . . ṛju-pramāṇam jivārthānām upari janasya (-ā-) asmākam nijabhūmyāḥ (-ā), yathā nūnam asat . . .))

(c) . . . te ((-a)evam), asmākam śvāyayisyantaḥ(-ś) śvayisyantaḥ (-a) ṛtupatayaḥ, (-s) tathā (-ā-) api(-y) ābhyām (kila, sarvatāti (-?)(-y-)-amṛtatvābhyām) bhri-

¹ Or amibhih(-r)ā, (kila amibhih(-s) sahā sambandhanena). Notice the vigorous use of the more original *ava* which had become so restricted in the Ind. This may be used here in a more pointedly instrumental sense than that which I adopt as my first suggestion, "by means of those"; but the sense of "after" is here at once suggested by *api tāis* in Y. XXX, 11.

² *Nīnaśā* doubtless a caus. aor. with conj. termination. Cf. *rīradhā*, 1st sg. (Wh.).

³ More strictly *imām yā K. (asat(-d)), imām(-ā) ca yā K. asat.*

⁴ That *kṣayamānān vaśā* is here applied in a "good" sense is the more probable from Y. XLIII, 1.

yānta (-tai) vasoh(-r) ā māne manasaḥ, (kila, tāṃ svastim
 abhi, prati (-y) *īhalokiyām *paralokiyām, svargiyām
 paramām visvathā; ime tatra bhriyāntai yeśām rju-hita-
 kṣatra-pramāṇam amī rakṣaḥ(-o-)-bhautika-pūjakāḥ (-ā)
 nūnam, dhik, apaharanti (-ān, -āntai)).

(a) And therefore will I drive from hence the Karpans' and Kavis' disciples;

(b) yea, on account of those things (or after those have thus been driven hence and away), then these (my princely aiding saints) whom they (now) render no longer rulers-at-will over life (and deprive of their unfettered (absolute*) power),

(c) these shall (yet) be borne (at last) by the (Immortal) Two, (Haurvatāt and Ameretatāt), to the home of (Thy) Good Mind(-ed One, here and beyond).

(Sandhi has here been separated, but redundantly expressed.—Strophe 16 has been in the hands of the Editor of the *Zeitschrift D.M.G.* since before August, 1914.)

V

NOTES ON THE EDICTS OF ASOKA

By F. W. THOMAS

12. VIVĀSA

IN recurring, briefly, to the consideration of this expression we may take with us the fact that in the Sārnāth inscription the verb *vivāsāy-* has been shown to bear the meaning "cause to dwell away", to dwell, that is, in a place which is *anāvāsa*, "not a residence," in the particular case "not a residence of a community of monks".

Inasmuch as the phrase in the Rūpnāth Edict

*etinā ca vayojanenā yāvataka tuphāka
ahāle savata vivasetaviya*

is substantially identical with that of the edict of Sārnāth, the general meaning of the word *vivas-* is here also certain: the only question which remains is whether it is transitive, "cause to dwell away," "cause to travel," or intransitive, "dwell away" or "travel"—if the former, we must of course insist upon reading *vivāsetaviya* with the first *a* long.

In the former case the officials, to whom the edict is (in the Mysore versions explicitly) addressed, are instructed to cause, or encourage, people to travel (for religious purposes). As this is a somewhat surprising duty imposed upon civil officers, we are inclined to ask whether there is any special justification for it. For an answer it may be suggested that there was some normal objection—as in Europe during the Middle Ages—to free travelling, and that the real meaning of the causative here is to "allow people to travel". In this connexion may we not quote the rules of the *Arthaśāstra* (c. 19)?—

"No ascetic other than a *vānaprastha* (forest-hermit), no company other than one of local birth (*sajātād anyas sanghaḥ*), and no guilds of any kind other than local co-operative guilds (*sāmutthāyikād anyas samayānubandhaḥ*) shall find entrance into the villages of the kingdom" (Mr. Shamasastri's translation).

The restrictions upon *pravrajyā* laid down in the same chapter may also be appositely remembered here.

The objection to taking *vivasetaviya* in a non-causal sense is, of course, its grammatical form, which in that case should be *vivastariya*. We may remember, however, that *vāsati* is stated to be intransitive.

There is one point in connexion with this compound which may still be felt, more or less definitely, as a difficulty. It is as follows:—

It was long ago very pertinently pointed out by Professor Kielhorn (JRAS. 1904, pp. 364–5) that in the phrase *vyuṣṭā rātri* we are dealing with the root *vas*, "shine"; and the same verb is to be recognized in *rātri-vivāsa*, "end of night," and *rātriṃ vivāsayati*, "he sees the night through." It seems, therefore, a little unfortunate that in the edict we have to find in *rātrivivāsa* the homonymous root *vas*, "dwell."

No doubt we might urge that *rātriṃ vivāsayati*, literally "he makes night to dawn", is a phrase which, except by virtue of a special idiom, could be used only of a god, and that in the Veda the subject of the verb is in this case always some divine power. But Kielhorn has proved, upon the authority of a *vārttika* to Pāṇini, iii, 1. 26, that the special idiom actually existed, [*ācakṣāno*] *rātriṃ vivāsayati* being quoted in the sense of *ārātri-vivāsam ācaṣṭe*, and there being a close parallel in *Māhiṣmatyāṃ sūryam udgamayati*, "he makes the sun rise, = at sunrise he is, at Māhiṣmatī." We can rely upon

the Sanskrit grammarians to have given us the exact sense and use of these phrases; moreover, Kielhorn quotes confirmatory examples from the Pali *Jātaka*.

Nevertheless, it is beyond question that *vas*, "dwell," its causative *vāsay-*, and the compound *vivas-* are all commonly used in connexion with words meaning "night". Examples—

1. *vas*.

tām avasam prīto rajanīm tatra

vyuṣīto rajanīm cāhaṃ (Mbh. iii, 11991-2 = 168. 1-2).

"that night I spent pleasantly there . . . and having spent the night through . . ."

and with a participle—

tatas tau sahitau rātrīm kathayantau purātanam
 . . . *ūṣatuh* (ibid. iii, 3004 = 76. 49).

"they spent the night talking of old times."

2. *vāsay-*.

tvayi rātrīm vāsayāmasi (ad Pāṇini, vii, 1. 46).

"we cause to spend [or we spend ?] the night at your house."

tisro [rātrir] vāsayitvā (Kauśika-Sūtra, vii).

"having entertained during three nights."

The meaning, whether with active or middle, is usually causative; but *vāsayati* is said to be non-causative.

3. *vi-vas*.

sā vyuṣṭā rajanīm tatra pitur veśmani (Mbh. iii, 2721 = 69. 28).

"she spent the night through there in her father's house."

tām vyuṣīto rātrim (ibid. iii, 3009 = 77. 1).

"having spent that night through."

In all such cases I understand the force of the *vi*, except where it means "away from home", to be that of completeness.

There is here no question of the root *vas*, "shine"; and

accordingly there is no objection to finding in *rātrivivāsa* the alternative root (since *vivāsa* from the same root exists), except the possible uncertainty or confusion.

I would, however, suggest that this confusion had actually occurred at an early date, owing to the obsolescence of the root *vas*, "shine," and that in the phrases *rātrivivāsa* and *rātriṃ vivāsayāmi* there was a tendency to recognize *vas*, "dwell," and to import the full sense of the preposition.

In support of this contention we may quote passages such as the following—

*eso ce Sivinaṃ chando chandaṃ na pranudāmasa :
imaṃ so vasatu rattiṃ kāme ca paribhuñjatu.
tato ratyā vivasane suriyass' uggamanaṃ prati
samaggā Sivayo hutvā ratthā pabbājayantu taṃ.*

Here the writer evidently feels in *ratyā vivasane* an infusion of the sense of *vasatu rattiṃ* in the previous line: he understands it to mean "at the completion (*vi*) of his staying the night". So in the *Mahāvastu*, vol. iii, pp. 387–8, in a description of a forest-dwelling saint—

tato rātrivivāsāto grāmaṃ piṇḍāya otare

followed after several lines by

so piṇḍacāraṃ caritvā vanāntam abhirakṣaye.

I feel little doubt that *rātrivivāsāto* is intended to mean, not "at end of night", but "after having spent the night outside the village". So also by consequence in the similar passages from the *Sutta-nipāta*—

*sa jhānaprasuto dhīro vanante ramito siyā
jhāyeta rukkhamūlasmiṃ attānam abhitoṣayaṃ
tato ratyā vivasane gāmantam abhihāraye
avhānaṃ nābhinandeyya abhihāraṃ ca gāmato*

(vv. 709–10).

*passāmi naṃ manasā cakkhunā vā
rattimdivaṃ brāhmaṇa appamatto
namassamāno vivasemi rattiṃ
ten 'eva maññāmi avippavāsam (v. 1142).*

(Note the *avippavāsam* following *vivasemi*.)

In Aśvaghoṣa's *Saundarananda* (ix, 30) occurs the verse—

*niṣevya pānaṃ madanīyaṃ uttamaṃ
niśāvivāseṣu cirād vimādyati
naraḥ tu matto balarūpayauvanair
na kaścid aprāpya jarāṃ vimādyati.*

Here the meaning "at dawn" for *niśāvivāseṣu* may seem to be recommended not only by antithesis to *aprāpya jarāṃ*, but also by the literature of symposia from Plato onwards. Nevertheless, "in nights spent away from home" seems required, in order to time the *niṣevya pānaṃ*, and it is also favoured by the plural; while a sufficient antithesis to *aprāpya jarāṃ* is supplied by *cirād*.

The above may, I hope, serve to remove the obscurity to which attention has been called. But as regards the *rātrivivāsa* (*lātrivivāsa*) of the edict itself, there can be no serious doubt that it means "night spent away from home" and not "end of night", since the latter sense would be in the context quite without meaning. The fact that in the Rūpnāth and Mysore versions the word for "night" is omitted is itself a striking confirmation, since precisely with *vas*, "dwell," which often means "pass the night", this is a common idiom (see the *Lexica*).

The reader may now very reasonably ask whether we can register any advance in our understanding of Aśoka's *vivāsa*, regarding which M. Lévi has already demanded some meaning ("wandering as a monk") more significant than mere travels or absence from the capital (*Journal*

Asiatique, X, xvii, 120-1, 1911). Are there any connotations of the word which may connect it naturally with the religious progress which Aśoka claims as its effect? I think that we may point to some such connotations, both positive and negative. The implication of devotion to a particular object will be readily recognized in the passages quoted above from the *Mahāvastu* and the *Suttanipāta*, and also in the case of Arjuna's *vivāsa* for the purpose of practice in arms (*astrahetor*), which we previously quoted from the *Mahābhārata*, i, 432 = 2. 164; further, in that from the *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* (*brahmacaryam vivatsyāmi*). This sense is, indeed, a matter of course in the context, and harmonizes fully with the *parākrama* of which Aśoka speaks. The negative connotation is indicated by Aśoka himself in Rock-Edict X—

*Dukaraṃ tu kho etaṃ chudakena vā janena usaṭena vā
añatra aṇa parākamena savaṃ paricajitpā. Eta tu
kho usaṭena dukaraṃ.*

"But assuredly the thing is difficult to accomplish, whether for the low or for the great, except by the greatest exertion and by renouncing everything. But it is [most difficult] for the great." (Bühler's translation.)

It is now, I think, recognized that this translation is a little inexact. The words *savaṃ paricajitpā* do not mean "renouncing everything", but "giving up all other occupations"; and we must continue, "Now *this* (*eta*) is difficult for the great." We shall find the same sense in *Mahābhārata*, i, 118. 55)—

tatas taṃ sarvaṃ utsrjya vanam jīgamiṣuṃ tadā

and, a little amplified, in *Harṣacarita*, viii (p. 288 of Bombay edition, 1892), *sarvakāryāvadhīraṇoparodhena*. The negative aspect of Aśoka's *vivāsa* is accordingly the necessary neglect of his imperial functions: he devoted himself, in fact, to a religious "mission", an idea which brings us into welcome contact both with M. Senart's

original interpretation of the word and with that of M. Lévi.

There are two further matters which have been placed in relation to Aśoka's *vivāsa*, namely, the *dhammayātrās* of Rock-Edict VIII (see *Inscriptions de Piṇḍarasi*, ii, 235-6, followed by M. Lévi and myself, *Journal Asiatique*, X, xvi, 500, and xvii, 122, and by Professor Hultzsch, JRAS. 1913, pp. 651-3), and the processions of *divyāni rūpāni* in Rock-Edict IV. As regards the former, which, as Aśoka explains, were occasions of religious instructions and catechisms, may we not now suggest that they were rather a second thought, a substitute for the *vivāsa*, which was too incompatible with the discharge of Aśoka's duties as king? The processions of elephants, etc., would also more likely be a feature of Aśoka's resumed life as king.

The meaning of the word *vyuṣṭa* in the *Arthaśāstra*, c. 24 (p. 60)—

rājavarṣam māsaḥ pakṣo divasaś ca vyuṣṭam,

and c. 25 (p. 64)—

vyuṣṭadeśakālamukha,

is still uncertain. Does it perhaps mean "duration of time"?

In this connexion I take the opportunity of making an amende to Professor Venis, whose priority as regards the interpretation of *samsalana* and *āvāsa-vivāsa* in the Sārnāth Edict (JASB. 1907, pp. 1-4)—which priority includes the citation of the decisive passage from the *Cullavagga*—was overlooked in my note No. 10 (*supra*, pp. 109-12). I can only regret that the interpretation, which most scholars will now acknowledge to be a certainty, has been so generally disregarded. I hope that I have done something to fortify Professor Venis' view, except where, in regard to *vivāsayātha* and *vivāsa-payātha*, it differs from my own.

13. SOME MINOR POINTS—

taṃ aṭham, tadātvane, nijhati, niludhasi pi kālasi.

(1) *taṃ aṭham*. This phrase, which occurs in Rock Edict IX, is by M. Senart rendered "le but", "le résultat", "the object"; by Bühler "the desired aim", "the desired object"; by Mr. Vincent Smith "the desired end". The same locution is found with the same sense in the *Arthaśāstra*, p. 352, ll. 4-5—

*daṇḍo hi mahājane kṣeptum aśakyah, kṣipto vā taṃ
cārthaṃ na kuryāt anyam cānartham utpādayet.*

(2) *tadātvane* (Edict X), "in the present," was first recognized by Professor Kern (*Jaartelling*, p. 87). In the *Arthaśāstra* we have (p. 349, l. 4) *tadātvānubandhan*, "immediate and future effects," and (p. 69, l. 7) *tādātvika*, "one who lives in the moment and spends as he gets" (*yo yad yad utpadyate tat tad bhakṣayati sa tādātvikah*).

(3) *nijhati*. The meaning of this term, and its derivation from *ni* + *dhyap* (causative from *dhyā*), were first made clear by M. Senart (*Journal Asiatique*, sér. VIII, vol. xii, pp. 315-16, and *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, ii, pp. 38-40), whose view was endorsed by Bühler (*Epigraphia Indica*, ii, pp. 255-6, 274; ZDMG. xlv, pp. 61-2). Professor Lüders, discussing the word in connexion with the kindred forms *nijhapayisaṃti* and *nijhapayitū* in Pillar-Edict IV (*Epigraphische Beiträge*, iii, in the Berlin Academy *Sitzungsberichte* for 1913, pp. 1017-25), has shed further light upon the meaning, and has done good service by quoting a passage for the *Ayoghara-jātaka*, where *nijjhapana* and *nijjhapetum* occur. As regards these forms he is doubtless in the right, when he insists upon the causative meaning: *nidhyapay-* is clearly "to cause to reflect", and hence "to obtain an adjournment or revision of a sentence". In the *Jātaka* passage it is said that of death's sentences there is no *nijjhapana*, "remission" or "revocation".

But when Professor Lüders goes on to require the causative sense in *nijhati* itself, we reasonably question whether he is justified either by grammar or by fact. As to the grammar, *nidhyapti* might, no doubt, have the sense of "a making to reflect", "an admonition"; but quite as correctly it might assume, with reference to the non-personal object, the passive force, "a being made subject of reflection" and then objectively "a reflection": so *prajñapti* may be either the instilling of a conception or the conception itself, and *viññapti* an informing or the information; in fact, from the earliest times the abstracts in *ti*, like other abstracts and infinitives, display this indifference to active and passive use. In the actual passages the matter does not appear to involve any difference of substance; but in respect of exactness of interpretation it is by no means certain that the causative sense has the preference. The important passage is Pillar-Edict VII—

*munisānaṃ cu yā iyaṃ dhammavādhi vadhitā
duvchi ākālehi dhammaniyamena ca nijhatiyā
ca. Tata ca lahu se dhammaniyame nijhatiyā
va bhuye. Dhammaniyame cu kho esa ye me
iyaṃ kaṭe imāni ca imāni [ca] jātāni avadhi-
yāni aṇṇāni pi cu bahukāni dhammaniyamāni
yāni me kaṭāni. Nijhatiyā va cu bhuye muni-
sānaṃ dhammavādhi vadhitā avihimsāye bhutā-
naṃ anālaṃbhāye pānānaṃ.*

Professor Lüders here points out that the *niyama* or "restrictive rule" was made by Aśoka, and so, accordingly, was the *nijhati* or "general principle": he would therefore render by "making to reflect". But may we not reply as follows?—In point of fact both the *niyama* and the *nijhapti* may be due to Aśoka's initiative: but just as *niyama* in its constant and regular employment is a restrictive rule objectively, and not a ruling, so

nijhati is the actual reflection and not the making to reflect: that both are inspired by Aśoka we apprehend, not from the words themselves, but from his own statement.

This point might not have deserved a special note but for a fact which does not seem to have been hitherto imported into the discussion of this word, namely, that it actually occurs in Buddhist literature, and with the meaning "reflection". That it is found in the *Mahāvīyutpatti* we can learn from the smaller St. Petersburg lexicon; but, if we turn to Professor Bendall's edition of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (Index), we shall find no less than three passages containing the word *nidhyapti*, viz.:

p. 33, l. 15. *anāgatānāṃ kuśalamūlānāṃ nidhyaptibodher āmukhikarma.*

"keeping before oneself the consciousness of reflexion upon future accumulations of merit."

p. 131, l. 8. *āśayaśuddhena dharmanidhyaptibahulena.*

"pure in conscience, abounding in reflections (not admonitions!) upon *dharma*."

p. 152, l. 2. *ātmajñātām ca nāvatarati cittanidhyaptiṃ notpādayati.*

"he does not arrive at knowledge of self, he does not originate reflection in his mind."

Here there is plainly no question of the causative sense.

Two of the occurrences in the edicts of Aśoka, namely, *nijhapayitā* in Pillar-Edict IV and *nijhati* in Rock-Edict VI (*tasi aṭhasi vivāde vā nijhati vā saṃtam paṭi-sāya*), are suggestive of a technical use of this compound to denote an "adjournment" or "appeal" to a higher authority. It may, therefore, some day be quotable from works dealing with *nīti* or law.

(4) *nīludhasi pi kālasi*. In connexion with this phrase also of Pillar-Edict IV, rendered by Kern (*Jaartelling*, pp. 99-100), Burnouf, and Bühler as equivalent

to *nirodhakāle 'pi*, "even in the time of their imprisonment," and by M. Senart "even in a closed dungeon" ("même dans un cachot fermé"), Professor Lüders (loc. cit., pp. 1025-6) has made a progress in the interpretation. He would translate "even in a limited time", namely, the three days of delay allowed by Aśoka to the condemned. The notion of "limited" would be derived from that of "stoppage", which is the primary sense of *nirudh*, as in *duḥkhanīrodha*. I would venture to suggest a slight modification of this rendering, taking *kāla* as = *maraṇa-kāla* and the whole phrase as = "though their hour of death is irrevocably fixed (there being no *nijhati*)". To deny the locative absolute to this one dialect seems an unpromising course.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EARLY HINDU ICONOGRAPHY

In the *Festschrift Ernst Windisch*, which appeared at Leipzig in September, 1914, I published a contribution with the above title. As this contribution would not be accessible in this country during the period of the War and the subject was one likely to interest a good many members of the Royal Asiatic Society, I read at the Society's meeting on February 9, 1915, a paper based on that article. For the benefit of those who were not present on that occasion I here give the gist of the paper in the hope that if any of the views put forward are unsound, they may in the interests of scientific truth be corrected by criticism.

In the earliest product of Indian literature, the *Rigveda*, the gods, being largely personifications of natural phenomena, were only vaguely anthropomorphic. To the imagination of the poets of the hymns the gods were outwardly differentiated mainly by the weapons they wielded or the animals that drew their cars. They were not as yet iconographically represented.

Literary evidence indicates that regular images of gods were not made till the latest Vedic period. They were known in the middle of the second century B.C. to the grammarian Patanjali and most probably also to Pāṇini nearly two centuries earlier.

While in the *Rigveda* the outward shape of the gods is still shadowy, we find them in an archaic episode of the *Mahābhārata*, the story of Nala, appearing with definitely normal human figures. But in other parts of the *Mahābhārata*, in the *Rāmāyana*, the *Purāṇas*, and classical Sanskrit literature, the most important deities

are described as having four arms and one of them as having four heads also. None of these works, in their present form at least, can be regarded as dating from earlier than the beginning of our era. The same monstrosity appears in the oldest sculptures of Hinduism from the fifth century A.C. onwards, and has remained a characteristic of that religion ever since. This new feature is most conspicuous in Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva, both in literature and sculpture. All three have four arms which hold the symbols distinctive of each. But Brahmā has four heads as well. In literature he is called *catur-mukha*, "four-faced," and in sculpture he is regularly represented with four heads as well as four arms. Viṣṇu is characteristically called *catur-bhujā*, "four-armed," while his images regularly have four arms, but never more than one head; and the *cakra* which he holds is his most distinctive symbol. Śiva never appears either in literature or sculpture with more than one head; and the symbol by which he may always be identified is the trident (*triśūla*).

The evidence of numismatics takes us back to the end of the first century A.C. Śiva is still found represented as two-armed on coins of Kadphises II after the middle of the first century A.C. But in the reigns of his successors Kaniṣka, Huviṣka, and Vāsudeva four-armed figures of Śiva begin to be common beside two-armed figures of the same deity.

In course of time the number of arms and heads came to be increased in Hindu iconography. From the eighth century onwards Viṣṇu appears with eight arms, Śiva with eight, later with sixteen arms. Skanda or Kārttikeya, god of War, who is already characterized as *ṣaḍ-ānana*, "six-faced," in the Epic, appears in later sculpture with six heads and twelve arms seated on his *vāhana*, the peacock. The demon Rāvaṇa, described as ten-headed in the epics, is represented in the Kailāsa

temple at Ellora with a large number of heads and ten arms.

(Several Hindu deities are, however, never iconographically represented in early times with more than one head and two arms, their identity being sufficiently indicated by the animals with which they are associated.) Thus Indra is recognized by his elephant, Sūrya by the seven steeds of his car, Gangā and Yamunā by the crocodile and the tortoise on which they respectively stand, and Lakṣmī by the two elephants between which she is seated on a lotus.

The period at which the innovation of many arms and heads was introduced into Indian iconography can be fixed with some definiteness. Literary evidence shows that images of the gods were familiar in the middle of the second century B.C., and the sculptural evidence of the Sāncī gateways indicates that about the same time the figure of the goddess Lakṣmī with normal human shape had already attained the well-established type which it has preserved ever since all over India. Numismatic evidence shows that while Śiva was still represented as two-armed about the middle of the first century A.C., four-armed figures of that deity began to be common not long after that time. The second half of the first century A.C. may therefore be regarded as the period when the Hindu gods began to be represented with four arms.

How is this innovation to be accounted for? (The individuality of the Vedic gods, being vaguely conceived, was differentiated either by the species of animal drawing their cars or by the distinctive weapons held in their hands. When the ancient Hindu artists began to represent the Vedic deities in stone and metal they were faced with the necessity of individualizing their undifferentiated forms. They could do so in two ways. They could make the god recognizable by representing him with his *vāhana*

(which is a Vedic conception) as a distinguishing mark, while giving the god himself a normal human shape with one head and two arms.) An example of this method is Indra with his elephant. Similarly, on early Indian coins Śiva represented in ordinary human form may be identified by his bull Nandi. On the other hand, a single very distinctive weapon or symbol might suffice to identify a god. Thus on early coins the two-armed Śiva may be recognized by the trident he holds in one hand. (But if a particular deity had to be distinguished when both his hands were engaged in action, some other device became necessary for purposes of identification. Such a device was the addition of two extra arms to hold the characteristic symbols of the god. That such was the original intention is indicated by the fact that when all four hands do not hold the distinctive symbols, the natural hands are always employed for action or gesture, while the additional pair hold symbols.)

It is impossible to suppose that the artists were inspired by a mere taste for fantastic abnormalities; for why in that case did they never represent any deity with more than two legs? They departed, however, from the direct statements of the Rigveda regarding the heads and arms of the gods. For an examination of that Veda shows that the shadowy forms of the gods were imagined to resemble those of men in having one head and two arms. (Nevertheless the conception of a plurality of heads and arms is traceable to the Rigveda itself in the form of figurative expressions, which later lent themselves to a concrete interpretation. Thus the god Agni is spoken of as three-headed, because the sacrificial fire burns on three altars; he is also said to be seven-handed, because the conventional number of his flames is seven; and the Creator Viśvakarman (an earlier form of Brahmā) is described as having arms on all sides (*viśvato-bāhu*), and as facing in every direction (*viśvato-mukha*) to indicate

his universal activity and his all-seeing nature. Such expressions naturally suggested the representation of Brahmā with the four heads and four arms which remained characteristic of this god in Indian iconography. As the Rigveda contained no suggestion of many heads in the case of the other two leading gods, Viṣṇu and Śiva, neither of them was represented with more than one head. But the practical need of four arms being here the same, two additional arms were given in their cases also, each hand holding one of the four respective symbols that had come to be regarded as characteristic of these deities. Owing to the frequency of the images of the great gods, and the extension of this new feature to several others, the possession of many arms, and to a less extent of many heads, came to be considered a characteristic of divine beings. Hence the intrusion of this abnormality of Hindu iconography into the art of Mahāyāna Buddhism during the last centuries of its existence in India. Thus an image of the Bodhi-sattva Avalokiteśvara found in Orissa appears with four arms, and another at Kanheri (near Bombay) with eleven heads.

(It has been suggested that these monstrosities were derived from some form of popular religion. But this assumption is unsupported by evidence, whereas the notion of many arms and heads can be shown to have its source in the oldest Veda.) There are, moreover, many indications that the religious art of ancient India was strongly influenced by the literature of the Brahmins. Thus scenes from the Sanskrit epics are often found represented in early Indian sculpture; and there are several technical works in Sanskrit which give minute rules for the construction of divine images. Even in the early Buddhist religious art of India the sculpture shows a distinct literary basis. Thus at Bharhut several Jātaka stories were represented and actually named; and the

carvings on the great Boro-Būdūr temple in Java largely represent scenes from the Jātaka book.

(It has further been suggested that the introduction of many arms and heads into Hindu iconography is due to Semitic influence. But such influence at so late a period as that in which the innovation arose seems quite out of the question, while on the other hand it is easily explained from purely Indian antecedents.)

(It has also been assumed that the new conception of the gods possessing many arms was simply intended to symbolize the superhuman strength of the divine powers.) But here it must be remembered that the abnormal number of arms was at first only four and not many, the latter only appearing as a later development. On the other hand, the addition of two more arms can be much more definitely explained from the practical needs of the Indian artist, as indicated above.

(The main conclusions here arrived at are these: (1) The representation of gods with four arms began in the period 50-100 A.C. (2) The notion of the gods having several arms and heads was indigenous to India, having been suggested by figurative expressions occurring in the oldest Veda. (3) The purpose of the innovation was the practical one of supplying a means of displaying the symbols without which the gods could not be adequately identified when represented by themselves apart from the adjunct of a *vāhana*.)

A. A. MACDONELL.

THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE KAUTILIYA

The importance of the *Kautiliya Arthaśāstra* is so great that it is natural that every effort should be made to ascribe it definitely to the minister of Candragupta and thus to fix its date. This position has been contended for by Professor Jacobi¹ in an important paper, and it

¹ *Über die Echtheit des Kautiliya*, SKPAW. 1912, pp. 832-49.

is doubtful whether much can be added to the arguments which he has adduced. But it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that he has not proved his case, and that we cannot yet say, save as a mere hypothesis, that the *Arthaśāstra* represents the work of a writer of 300 B.C.

The view of Hillebrandt was,¹ and apparently still is,² that the constant use of the phrase *iti Kauṭilyaḥ* tells against the authorship of Kauṭilya himself and ascribes the work to his school. Jacobi admits that the quotation does not prove the personal authorship, but, with Shama Shastri,³ he contends that there is nothing inconsistent in the mention with the actual authorship, and he denies that the work can be ascribed to a school of Kauṭilya. Such an attribution requires, he considers, that there should have been some one to develop a doctrine and found a school, and that a later member of the school should set it out in a book. But how could a busy politician like Kauṭilya found a school? Can we imagine that Bismarck in his old age would have founded a school? The only mode in which he could have done so was by writing a textbook, based on his wide experience and doubtless on materials in part collected for him. His school was therefore not a *guruśiṣyaparamparā* or *guruśiṣyasamānāna*, but a *tanmatānusāritā*.

Two objections to this theory are adduced and dismissed by Jacobi himself. In the first place, what is denied by Jacobi is asserted by the author of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, who assumes as normal what Jacobi denies. Jacobi therefore points out that the author of the drama lived 1,000 years after the statesman and described the time of his hero on the model of his own. But here, again, what is the force of this argument? Kauṭilya was not Bismarck, and India is not Germany. We cannot possibly by any

¹ *Über das Kauṭilyyasastra*, Breslau, 1908.

² *Über die Anfänge des indischen Dramas* (München, 1914), p. 17.

³ In his edition, p. xii.

process of reasoning deny that Kauṭilya may have in his leisure time figured as the founder of a school in the sense of a *guruśiṣyasamāhāna*.

In the second place, Kāmandaki, the composer of the *Nītisāra*, refers to Viṣṇugupta, i.e. Kauṭilya, as his *guru*. As Kāmandaki lived not before the third century A.D., and perhaps much later, he cannot have meant that Kauṭilya was actually his teacher, and the term must have been used either to denote him as the great authority on the subject or to signify that he was his *paramparāguru*. The latter conclusion is so obviously the normally correct one that Jacobi is driven to strange straits to disprove it. He points out that Kāmandaki's work is deficient in the treatment of the question of administrative control of trade and commerce, etc., which give the value to the *Arthaśāstra*, and that it shows the knowledge of a Paṇḍit, not a statesman. He also argues from the *Nītisāra* (i, 7, 8) that Kāmandaki asserts that he produced an abbreviated work based on the Darśana of Kauṭilya, and that he almosts verbally quotes in ii, 6 the *Arthaśāstra*, showing that he merely called Kauṭilya his *guru* because he was his authority.

All this is of no value for its purpose and obscures the real issue. We cannot even prove that Kāmandaki used the *Arthaśāstra* as we have it; *darśanāt* is possibly "according to the textbook", but it may mean only according to the views, which might be contained in any other book based on the work of Kauṭilya and belonging to his school; the quotation is not verbal (*vidyāś catasra evaitā iti* for *catasra eva vidyāḥ*), and it too could be given at second-hand. But, what is more important still, there is nothing in the reference of Kāmandaki to hint that the work, assuming it to be the *Arthaśāstra*, could not be really a work of Kauṭilya's school and not by his own hand. Jacobi himself admits that, e.g., Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa were not personally

the authors of their Sūtras, although these Sūtras are repeatedly quoted as statements of their views. Even, therefore, if Kāmandaki used our *Arthaśāstra*—which is quite probable, but not proved—he may have been using a work of the school, not of the actual authorship of Kauṭilya. The point is so obvious that it is only worth making because Jacobi has ignored it.

But there is yet another objection to Jacobi's theory. Even if we admitted his own hypothesis and accepted the view that there could only be a *matānusāritā* in Kauṭilya's case, we are carried no further to the actual authorship of Kauṭilya. Once he had written a book, then any successor in the literature of politics could have produced an *Arthaśāstra* based on his views and quoting him as does the present *Arthaśāstra*. If we are to believe that a Brahmin could not be both Paṇḍit and statesman—which Indian tradition contradicts—still there was nothing to prevent a Paṇḍit writing an *Arthaśāstra* and using a statesman's work. Jacobi does not pretend that the numerous predecessors cited by Kauṭilya were statesmen: he thinks that they were schoolmen, but he ignores that in citing and criticizing them his author also shows himself well versed in the learning of the schools. Surely one obvious solution is that Kauṭilya was an energetic student of the *Arthaśāstra*, who carried his theoretic knowledge into practice, and in the evening of his days enriched the theory by knowledge based on his practical experience, and that the *Arthaśāstra* is based on his teaching, though not by his own hand. By the simple hypothesis all the difficulties imagined by Jacobi disappear, and we avoid interpreting India by the habits of Bismarck.

It remains, therefore, only to consider whether there is anything in the *Arthaśāstra* which betrays the actual personality of the author, and which cannot be put down to a disciple of a school either founded by him—through

his acknowledged prominence as a politician—or based on his writings alone. The only important arguments of Jacobi are those based on this point of view:—

1. Jacobi considers that the frequent mention of opposing views and the reference to their authors as *ācāryāḥ* is inconsistent with the later authorship. No weight can be given to this view: if Kauṭilya was polemical, then his school naturally followed his footsteps, and it is quite impossible to assert that *ācāryāḥ* could not be used by his followers of other scholars than their master: this term denotes respect, not obedience, and respect for other scholars, despite disagreement, is not impossible nor unusual in India.

2. Jacobi lays stress on the fact that the practical part of the work is precisely that for which no other authorities are quoted; but this merely proves at most that the work represents Kauṭilya's views, not that he wrote it.

3. Jacobi argues that the work is not a Sūtra but a Bhāṣya, and that this proves that it is not the work of a school but of an individual author. The work does not call itself a Bhāṣya: an added verse calls it a Sūtra and a Bhāṣya, and it is called a Bhāṣya by a commentator on Kāmandaki. But all this is beside the point: granted that it is a Bhāṣya (of a peculiar kind comparable to the *Prasastapādabhāṣya*), is it by Kauṭilya himself? For this the argument proves nothing: it may represent a Bhāṣya produced in his school in either sense of that term, precisely as the *Prasastapādabhāṣya* is an exposition of the Vaiśeṣika system.

4. Jacobi deduces from the opening line of the text which refers to the collection of the views of other authors that the work cannot be the product of a school but of an individual. This, however, is no argument against the work being a product of someone after Kauṭilya.

5. Stress is laid by Jacobi on the last verses of

i, 1; ii, 10, and the three verses at the end which ascribe the work to Kauṭilya and which he compares with the notice of Daṇḍin in the *Daśakumāracarita*, where reference is made to a *samkṣiptā* version of *daṇḍanīti* in 6,000 ślokaś by Viṣṇugupta, though he does not explain the reference to 6,000 ślokaś, which offers obvious difficulties.¹ The obvious objection that those verses are not by the author himself but are put in to make the work appear his, he recognizes, but objects that the last verse in particular shows a disregard of professors, and at the same time, despite its pride, a regard for the king, his master, which is inconceivable in anyone except the Chancellor of Candragupta himself. The lines are:—

*yena śāstram ca śāstram ca Nandarājagatā ca bhūh
amarṣenoddhṛtāny āśu tena śāstram idam kṛtam.*

It would seem to me that these lines are very unlike a statesman, and very like the production of a follower who desired to extol the fame of his work and of his master. The parallel of the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, a very definitely individual work of a member of a legal school, is precisely, *pace* Professor Jacobi, in point. If, as was doubtless the case, Kauṭilya's name could win favour, it is not in the slightest degree likely that the author of the *Arthaśāstra* would hesitate to ascribe to the work, especially if, as is the case, the work was clearly based on Kauṭilya's teachings.

On the other hand, there are certain indications that the statesman was not the actual author of the book we have. In one case Jacobi² sees a clever literary device of a master hand in the artifice by which Bhāradvāja is made to criticize a view of Kauṭilya's only to be refuted by Kauṭilya. But this fact would have a far more probable explanation

¹ That śloka here is used of prose (as in the copyist's sense)—see Hertel, *Tantrākhyaṇika*, i, 18—is most improbable.

² p. 840.

in the case of a follower than in that of the statesman himself, and the passage reads far better on this view. In the second place, the mode of citation is *prima facie* that of an authority: no one, for example, holds that the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* was written by the Kauṣītaki whom it so often quotes as authoritative. In the third place, the name of Kauṭilya is suspicious: it means "falsehood", and even if Cāṇakya's cunning stratagems are famous, it seems a curious name for him to bear in his own work. The form Kauṭalya (for which Kauṭilya would then be a popular variant), if it could be adopted, would evade this difficulty, but it is only evidenced by the commentator on Kāmandaki and a later lexicographer, and it is impossible to set this authority up against our text¹: whatever its source Kauṭilya seems to have been the name given in it, and it is really inconceivable that there was a real name Kauṭalya, elsewhere unknown: on the other hand, the mention of Kauṭilya for the embodiment of cunning is quite natural. In the fourth place, the mention of China (*Cinapattāś ca Cīnabhūmijāḥ*) is remarkable in 300 B.C., and impossible if the name is derived from the Tsin dynasty (247 B.C.), although Jacobi² thinks that it disposes of that derivation: of course, however, the word may be an interpolation. In the fifth place, the *Arthaśāstra*³ agrees closely in form with the *Kāmaśāstra*⁴: it is very probable that the latter text borrows from the former, but the similarity of the quotation of the same rare authorities, Cārāyaṇa and Ghoṣa(ka)mukha, renders it very surprising that the authors should be separated by a period of six centuries as held by Jacobi, who ascribes Vātsyāyana to the third century A.D.⁴ In the sixth place, the metre of the ślokas (300 in number) in the *Arthaśāstra* is far more classical in type⁵ than that of the *Rāmāyaṇa* itself, and

¹ The MSS. agree in the use of i; see Hillebrandt, p. 3.

² SKPAW. 1911, p. 961.

³ Loc. cit. pp. 962, 963.

⁴ SKPAW. 1912, p. 841.

⁵ SKPAW. 1911, p. 971.

it contains correct Triṣṭubh stanzas in regular metre, which is a clear proof of comparatively recent date. No such verses are to be found in a work of the fourth century B.C. of which we have a probable date, the *Bṛhaddevatā*. This fact, coupled with the fact that the language is not markedly archaic, suggests that we cannot look for a very early date for the work. For a *precise* date we have no real ground: it is older, of course, than the classical literature, such as Daṇḍin and than the *Tantrākhyāyika*,¹ which uses it freely enough, but the date of the latter work is unknown. It has been dated by Hertel conjecturally in 200 B.C. on the ground that there is no reason to suspect a long period between it and the *Kautiliya*, and that the latter work in its turn is probably not long after the period of Cāṇakya, but this suggested date is doubtless at least a couple of centuries too early, so far as the available evidence goes. It is, however, perfectly possible that the *Arthaśāstra* is an early work, and that it may be assigned to the first century B.C., while its matter very probably is older by a good deal than that. It is, of course, possible enough that the minister of Candragupta left no record of his views, and that it was a later generation which framed a set of views for him, but this is not a necessary assumption and may be dismissed until and unless some definite evidence for it appears.²

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

¹ Hertel, *Tantrākhyāyika*, i, 142-5: it may be noted that on p. 145 Hertel misunderstands the words *tatra yad bhūyisṭhāḥ kīryasiddhikarāṇaḥ vā brūyus tat kīryāt*: this does not provide for the acceptance of a majority view of ministers in a difficult situation, but leaves the king to take a majority view or the best advice given. The omission of *vā* as in the *Tantrākhyāyika* is easy, but misses the point. This view he wrongly uses to support his rendering of *prayogaṃ upalabhyā* in the *Arthaśāstra* (p. 22, n. 4), which no doubt refers to Cāṇakya's practical experience, as taken by Jacobi, SKPAW. 1912, p. 846.

² For arguments for a late date and fictitious authorship see J. Jolly, ZDMG. lxxviii, 355-9.

THE ZOROASTRIAN PERIOD OF INDIAN HISTORY

The ingenuity and interest of Dr. Spooner's reconstruction¹ of the Zoroastrian period of Indian history render it desirable to examine with some care the literary evidence which he adduces in support of his thesis; such an examination will, it seems to me, establish that the theory, so far as it rests on such evidence, has no foundation in fact.

1. Ahura Mazda is represented as the equivalent of Asura Maya, the latter being the Indian form of a term used by imported Iranian stone-workers, Maya being really Maja, where *j* is a spirant. This equation is open to the obvious retort that Asura as an equivalent for Ahura is not explained; are we to suppose that the stone-masons of Iran were such excellent philologists that they knew that Indian Asura was Iranian Ahura, and so replaced their own Ahura by Asura, or that their Indian fellow-workers had the same knowledge, or that the Indians merely replaced an unknown word by a known one? The last explanation is, unhappily, open to the fatal objection that as Asura in Mauryan times had an evil sense, we must suppose that the Iranian masons, who revered their patron deity, nevertheless induced the Indians to regard him as a demon. This is all very absurd, and the obvious fact that Asura Maya is an easy and natural Indian conception should not be overlooked.

2. From Weber Dr. Spooner borrows the view that Dānavas and Asuras in India often denote foreign peoples, a statement which he should² have proved, and which he will find it difficult to prove, and in the assertion, "I am Viśvakarman, the great sage of the Dānavas," in the great epic he finds an assertion of the identity of Maya with Ormuzd in clear terms. Kavi he finds difficult in an Indian sense, as Maya was certainly not a great poet.

¹ JRAS. 1915, pp. 63-89, 405-55.

² Especially as he rejects Weber's views on Maya.

But Kavi in India does not mean necessarily nor even normally in the epic a poet; it means a sage, and the kind of skill is described in the epithet Viśvakarman.

3. In several passages of the epic Dr. Spooner finds reference to sculptured representations of figures divine, semi-divine, and human; to this end he renders *divyān abhiprāyān . . . vihitān* as "concepts of the gods . . . which thou hast fashioned", where the sense is obviously and only possible as "divine purposings . . . carried out", the meaning being that the Sabhā is to be one fulfilling the aims of gods, etc. So 8,000 Rākṣasas, who "bidden by Maya" guard and support the Sabhā, are manufactured into statues, though why the poet should have then said "bidden" instead of "made" passes comprehension, especially as the literal sense is perfect, and the same remark applies to the Guhyakas who support Kubera's Sabhā; surely common sense must remind us that these demons have no better task than to support the halls of their overlords. This application of common sense, however, destroys at once the interpretation put on the South Indian text of the epic, ii, 11. 14-16, in which by (a) seeing an incorrect text and inventing a new one, (b) translating *bhāva* as a statue of a being, and (c) by inventing for Persepolis an architectural conception of surpassing grandeur, Dr. Spooner finds a reference to a throne-room of various floors, apparently supported by statues. The text is, in itself, as often in the South Indian edition, not very satisfactory, but at any rate *bhāva* does not mean statue, nor is there a single word of various floors of the Sabhā.

4. The description given by the Asura Maya of his palaces is said to agree most strikingly with the account of Megasthenes of Candragupta's palaces. The actual similarity seems to me to be of the utmost vagueness, as can be seen from a glance at the two versions as printed by Dr. Spooner. The real parallel with the deeds of the

Asura is Pātaliputra wrought by magic in the *Kathā-saritsāgara*, but this is purely Indian, for the wiles or magic (*māyā*) of the Asura are notorious throughout Indian literature from the *Rgveda* on.

5. It may be added that the epic passages cited cannot be dated precisely; none of them need be, or probably is, older than several centuries A.D., and that they bear witness to the period of the Mauryas is most improbable.

6. The derivation of Maurya from a Persian form Mōurva, which is Merv and Meru, and the valley of the Mūrghāb, can hardly be taken seriously, and the discussion of Pāṇini, v, 3. 99, without reference to Böhtlingk's views, is ill-advised. Maurya as Mervian = Iranian = Zoroastrian (an equation which it is wholly wrong to make¹) does not help the sense at all, and horses and chariots, if Persian, are also *par excellence*, alike in early Vedic and in late epic, Indian.

7. The idea that Cānakya was a Magian minister of state is in itself almost too absurd to controvert, but the view that the Atharvan priest is really, in whole or part, a magician from Persia is one that ignores the history of the place of that Veda in India, and the early importance of magic and the position thus won for the wielder of magic in the king's entourage; it is sufficient to refer to the end of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* to see that the Purohita with his magic spells was established in royal favour long before Candragupta or the *Arthasāstra*, which is very possibly long subsequent to his date.

8. It is abundantly established, it is argued, that the Magi did come into India in early times and that Māgadha was their chief centre. But the evidence is that of the *Bhaviṣya* and *Viṣṇu Purāṇas*, as interpreted by Dr. Spooner, and Purāṇa evidence has absolutely no

¹ It is clear that Iran was not at once or early won to Zoroastrianism, even if we believe, as I do, that the Magians were Zoroastrian (JRAS. 1915, pp. 790-9).

value for any early date, say before 300 A.D. Doubtless, so far as real Magi are referred to, they are of a late Iranian migration; the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, which alone has a clear migration story, is a work which has been continuously interpolated, and which, as now edited, refers to Noah, etc. To what interpolation the Magi story refers we do not unhappily know: certainly not to 300 B.C.

9. The *Bhaviṣya* mentions that Garuḍa was lent by Kṛṣṇa to Sāmba in his search for Magas, and Wilson expresses doubt whether the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* is properly so described, as it deals mainly with sun-worship. The representation of Garuḍa is like that of Ahura Mazda, and Garuḍa first occurs in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, and the *Āraṇyakas* are centred especially in North Behar. The *Garuḍa Purāṇa* is of local Indo-Zoroastrian origin. All this will not for a moment stand examination: Garuḍa is the sun bird; his substance, though not his name, is early Vedic; a Purāṇa about sun-worship is naturally his; the *Āraṇyakas* (whatever the plural here means) have nothing to show they are specially centred in North Behar; if Ahura is depicted with traits like Garuḍa's, he is no doubt thus showing solar attributes.

10. The equation of Magadha and the Maghas, not to mention the mother goddess Maghā, are flagrant absurdities which should have been allowed to rest in the obscurity in which Mr. Hewitt's ingenious but wild speculations now deservedly lie, and Sir G. Grierson is hardly likely to find his theory of inner and outer bands in language strengthened by its yielding the result of concord with Dr. Spooner's theory of Magian dominance.

11. It is impossible to follow Dr. Spooner's argument regarding the *Yajurveda*. If the Carakas are the Parsis, then the *Taittirīya* and *Kāthaka Saṁhitās* should contain heretical doctrines: they do not. If Yājñavalkya is heretical, then why is it that the *Vājasaneyi* is not heretical? And it is Yājñavalkya who calls the

Carakas wrong teachers, and who is rather more eastern than they.

12. That Yavanānī is = Persian is simply impossible unless and until an example of the use of the famous Ionian name of the Persians is produced of any date up to 300 B.C. Zoroastrian tribes in Orissa between 538 and 300 B.C. are phantoms, and the Persian (Yavana) Bhagadatta of the Indian settlement Prāgjyotiṣa is no more substantial.

13. When the mass of unproved and unscientific hypotheses is considered it is obvious that the conclusion of the Persian Buddha and his racial connexion Aśoka cannot possibly be accepted. The question of Iranian influence on the story of Buddha's birth is in itself one of legitimate interest, but the fundamental fact is that early Buddhism is wholly untouched, as expounded in the literature which can claim to give the truest version of it, by Zoroastrian ideas, and its origin and development can be and has been successfully depicted on Indian grounds alone. Similarly, that Aśoka sought to reconcile rulers and ruled on an eclectic basis of religion is not supported by a single piece of evidence.

14. The argument *ex silentio* may be used too far, but it is incredible that Megasthenes should have known that the king to whom he went as ambassador was Iranian and not have told us so. Such a silence is fatal to the whole substance of Dr. Spooner's theory and should have warned him against forming it.

The only conclusion to be drawn from the evidence is clear. Iran may and no doubt did lend India ideas of various kinds; in each case these must be carefully looked for and examined,¹ and ascribed to Iran only if another

¹ It is clear that the equation of the Mauryan palace and the palace of Darius rests on wholly insufficient evidence on the archaeological side. There is no *a priori* reason to deny its possibility, but it must be established by archaeology, not by such evidence as adduced by Dr. Spooner.

and Indian origin is not possible and natural. A Zoroastrian period of Indian history never existed, nor indeed was any such existence to be expected.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

DAY AND NIGHT IN INDIA

In the last April number of the Journal (p. 218, n. 4) Dr. Fleet notes that the term *rātri-divasa*, "night-and-day," is a rather peculiar one for India, where the day has always run from sunrise, not from sunset, and he suggests that the indeclinables *naktamdivam*¹ and *rātrimdivam* mentioned by Pāṇini (v, 4. 77) may be due to euphonic considerations, the terms in Brāhmaṇical books being of the type *aho-rātra*, *dina-rātri*, *dyu-niśā*, etc.

This statement of the case seems to go a good deal further than the early evidence warrants. The use of the Brāhmaṇical books is somewhat understated; thus, *rātryahanī* is found in Manu (i, 66), the *Rāmāyaṇa*, etc.; *naktamdivam*, if not *naktamdivam*, is not rare in classical literature, and *rātrimdivam* is also found there. What is much more important is that the Vedic evidence is in favour of a less positive view. The reckoning by nights, not days, is there not at all uncommon, as in RV. iv, 16. 19, *kṣapó madema śarādaś ca pūrvāḥ*; viii, 26. 3, etc. Moreover, the Brāhmaṇas regularly talk of one of the chief constituents of the sacrificial calendar as a *daśarātra*, and the *Rgveda* expressly (vi, 9. 1) talks of *āhaś ca kṛṣṇām āhar ārjunām ca*, with which may be compared v, 82. 8, *yā imé ubhé āhanī purā éti āprayuchan svādhīr devāḥ savitā*, and this use of *ahanī* is not rare in that text. It is most probable that its development was aided, if not caused, by the conception of two sorts of day, and that the expression is much more easily explained thus than if we simply assume that day and night were so

¹ *Naktamdivasam* as given by Dr. Fleet is doubtless a *lapsus calami*.

much of a pair as to produce a dual of one of them as an equivalent of both, a procedure for which there is extremely little evidence.¹

Now the interpretation of the facts of the *Rgveda* does not naturally lend itself to the view that the sunrise began the day if day is used in the sense of a period of 24 hours. It is much more natural to assume that day and night were kept apart, and as two distinct elements; so that day did not include night nor night day; so often in the Brāhmaṇas the year is reckoned at 360 nights or 360 days or 720 nights and days together. It is of course perfectly natural that by synecdoche either the term "night" or "day" should be applied to the whole period, and for the Vedic period we can only say that the day began with sunrise and not with sunset if we mean the day as opposed to the night, not the period of 24 hours of which 360 make in the Vedic period the year.

While the Vedic evidence does not carry us further than this, it must be remembered that there is evidence from other Indo-European peoples of the conception that night precedes day: for the Gauls Cæsar says expressly ² *spatia omnis temporis non numero dierum sed noctium finiunt; dies natales et mensium et annorum initia sic observant ut noctem dies subsequatur*; of the Germans Tacitus records ³ *nec dierum numerum sed noctium computant . . . nox ducere diem videtur*. The Athenians began the day with sunset,⁴ and used the term *νυχθημερον* for the whole "day", and there are traces of the same position of night in Iran.⁵ Thus there is no small probability in favour of the view that the practice of reckoning the "day" from the beginning of night is

¹ See JRAS. 1913, pp. 677-80.

² *Bell. Gall.* vi, 18.

³ *Germania*, II.

⁴ Macrobius, *Sat.* i, 3; Gellius, iii, 2.

⁵ Cf. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 360; Hirt, *Die Indo-germanen*, ii, 540; Feist, *Kultur der Indo-germanen*, pp. 260, 261.

Indo-European, and that in the Veda the frequent use of night as a measure of time is to be traced back to a period when the "day" was reckoned from the beginning of night.

Further support for this view that the other reckoning was gradually introduced can perhaps be derived from the use of the term *amāvāsyā*: no doubt in the Sūtras the term may include the day on the night following which there is *amāvāsyā*, but it is natural to suppose that the term originally denoted rather the night only of *amāvāsyā*, a fact easier to observe than to predict. That this view was held actually in the Vedic period is indicated by the double form of *amāvāsyā* prescribed in the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* (iii, 1), which refers, according to the *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (i, 3. 6), to *śvo na draṣṭeṭi¹ yad ahaś ca na drśyeta te amāvāsyē*. The natural sense² of the *Brāhmaṇa* is to denote as *amāvāsyā* either the night of *amāvāsyā* or the night after the

¹ *draṣṭā* may be passive or active here, the latter being supported by one reading in *Āpastamba Paribhāṣāsūtra*, 69, but the passive suits best the parallel *drśyeta*, which is of course the common generic optative. For the passive use see Speyer, ZDMG. lxiv, 316, 317, who gives classical examples.

² It is really impossible, it seems to me, despite Weber (*Jyotiṣa*, pp. 51 seqq.) and Oldenberg (SBE. xxx, 26) to equate the terms of the *Brāhmaṇa* and of the Sūtra: the former evidently treats the two *purnamāsī* as (1) that night prior to (2) which is when the moon rises about sunset; the Sūtra has as (1) the time when the moon rises about sunset, and as (2) when it rises after sunset. Similarly the *Brāhmaṇa* has as *amāvāsyā* (1) *anirjñāya purastād amāvāsyāyām candramasam*, and (2) the next night; the account in (1) is really = the second of the Sūtra; the term *anirjñāya* cannot be taken as *śāstramārgena* . . . *niscitya* (cf. Sāyāṇa on the corrupt *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, vii, 11), as can easily be seen from *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, i, 1. The fact is that the *Upavasatha* really applies to the night only (cf. *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, i, 6. 7. 3; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, i, 1. 1. 7), but naturally the preparatory rites of the daytime before and the night ritual come to be regarded as closely connected as a day's performance. *Purastāt*, which can hardly mean "before (sunset)", may mean "in the east"; the former sense perhaps explains the word in *Āpastamba*, l.c. (SBE. xxx, 333), where it is unintelligible. *Āpastamba* agrees with the *Brāhmaṇa* in its choice of full moon nights. Gobhila (i. 5. 1 seqq.) agrees with *Śāṅkhāyana*.

night of *amāvāsyā*. The Sūtra means according to Ānartīya's commentary the day and night preceding the day and night of *amāvāsyā* or that day and night; Ānartīya is the less deserving of credence in that he applies the term *tithi* to the period, showing that he assumes for the Sūtra the later theory of *tithis*, but it is probable from the use of *ahāḥ* that the Sūtra includes the day with the following night in its calculation.

This, however, is a matter of little importance: the evidence of the Veda is adequate to show that the day did not in the earliest period commence with sunrise rather than sunset, that the old custom of reckoning by nights was not forgotten, and that the terms *naktam-divam* and *rātrīndivam* are not due to euphonic considerations, but are genuine old expressions, belonging to the large number of such terms preserved in Pāṇini.¹ Like the term *rātrīdivasa* of the *Divyāvadāna*, they show that the idea of night preceding day was naturally enough one that persisted even when the contrary view was more prevalent.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE INDIAN DRAMA

Professor Hillebrandt has made in his little paper, *Über die Anfänge des indischen Dramas*,² an interesting contribution to the literature of the origin of the drama, and his views are sufficiently novel to deserve special notice. His main object is to show the early date of the drama in India, but it may be doubted if all his evidence can bear close examination.

1. Pāṇini's *Naṭa Sūtra* (iv, 3, 110, 111) remains of doubtful sense, so long as we cannot prove that *Naṭa* here must refer to real acting; the theoretical doubts brought by Hillebrandt against the early development of a Sūtra

¹ See Böhtlingk, *Pāṇini*, p. xviii.

² *Sitz. der Kön. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1914.

on dancing or pantomime cannot be accorded any weight, as on a question of this sort subjective views can prove nothing. *A priori* dance and pantomime may easily be older than a real drama.

2. The great epic does not know Nāṭakas: the sense of actor seen by Hillebrandt in xii, 140. 21 is not necessary nor, in my opinion, even probable, as a pantomimist can as easily show versatility as an actor. But in any case the great epic in such passages as xii, 140 is a product of the Christian era at soonest, and Patañjali is a far earlier authority for a germinal drama.

3. The *Rāmāyaṇa* mentions (ii, 67. 15) Nāṭas and Nāṭakas, but with no suggestion of more than pantomime; in ii, 69. 3 we have *nāṭakāni smāhuḥ*, and in ii, 1. 27 *vyāmiśrakeṣu* is glossed as including Nāṭakas in mixed language. But these passages are no evidence for the fourth or the third century B.C. Whatever the date of the early part of the epic, there is no doubt that the epic as a whole is not evidence for any period as early as Patañjali.

4. The puppet play is perhaps referred to in the great epic (iii, 30. 23; v. 39. 1), and Professor Hillebrandt argues¹ that the puppet play is essentially posterior to the drama, and supposes its pre-existence. Here, again, this seems an unjustifiable *à priori* reasoning; apart from the fact that the names Sūtradhāra and Sthāpaka point the other way, the separate and independent origin and development of the puppet play seem perfectly natural and reasonable, and the burden of proof is on those who seek to deny this. I agree, however, with Professor Hillebrandt that there is no trace of the puppet play in *Therīgāthā*, 394 or of the shadow play there or in the great epic (xii, 294. 5), and that the drama is not derived from the puppet play.

5. There is no early Buddhist evidence for a drama: apart from doubts as to the date of such a list as the

¹ Against Fischel, *Die Heimat des Puppenspiels* (Halle, 1900).

Brahmajāla Sutta (i, 1. 13) there is the obvious fact that neither *naccam* nor *pekkham* need mean a drama at all. The Jātaka prose, of course, has no evidential value for any definite early period.

We are left, therefore, with the old evidence alone, that of Patañjali in the *Mahābhāṣya*, the value of which is now generally recognized. The point is important, because the drama there represented is essentially religious in origin, and Professor Hillebrandt is anxious to diminish the stress laid by most modern inquirers on this side of the drama. He prefers with Grosse¹ to call attention to the importance of the war and love dances of primitive savages, and agrees with the dictum of the latter that the drama arises from such dances when accompanied by words; he also approves the definition of Nāṭya (i, 84) by Bharata as "die körperliche Darstellung des Wesens der Welt mit Freud und Leid". Further, he insists, like Dr. Gray,² that the imitation of the happenings of life may have given rise to comedy, a fact which explains, he thinks, the failure of India to rise to tragedy, the play remaining on its original popular level. Signs of this origin he sees (pp. 22-8) in (1) the maintenance of the dialogue between the director of the play and the actress which begins each play; (2) the use of various dialects; (3) the mixture of prose and song, as in the Greek mime; (4) the mixture of music and the dance with speech; (5) the simple stage; and (6) the use of the Vidūṣaka, who is not really in origin altogether a religious figure.

These arguments are intended to show the essentially popular character of the drama and its origin, not in religion, but in the primitive mime of the Indian popular strolling actors and their wives. Some of them are not very much to the point as proofs; the use of various

¹ *Anfänge der Kunst*, pp. 214 seqq.

² *ERE.* iv, 868.

dialects, the mixture of prose and verse with music and dance can be explained easily otherwise as representing religious life, the Greek religious drama having the latter peculiarity, and the former being explained by the development of language in India. The simple stage¹ is no proof of semi-religious character; it may not be borrowed from the Greek stage, and in all probability was not, but the religious stage in early Greek times was extremely simple. The case of the Vidūṣaka is rather against Hillebrandt, for from Bharata's description² the Vidūṣaka of his time was rather a sinister figure, a devil like the primitive harlequin,³ and a comic element in religious drama is natural in itself, and is attested by part of Hillebrandt's own evidence, as he is careful to observe (p. 25). The use of the introductory dialogue of the director and the actress is held to reflect the simple state when the two were the chief performers of the play; but this feature, like Sūtradhāra, rather points to the influence of the puppet play and its performers, not to the original form of drama.

The fact of this point of popular character is clearly not adequate to support the view of a popular as opposed to a religious origin of the drama; religion is indeed popular, and it is popular religion which, though doubtless sophisticated, forms the basis of drama in Greece as in India. The historical evidence in Greece and India alike is clearly in favour of a religious origin of drama, and the secularization of religion is an easy and natural process, of which in Greece there is clear evidence in proverb. The essential feature is that the growth of a real drama is a difficult and remarkable thing, and the religious seems to have been the only way in which in Greece and in India, by a parallel development, not by borrowing, the drama came into full being. The existence of elements from

¹ Held to be Greek by Bloch, ZDMG. lviii, 455.

² xxiv, 106. ³ Driesen, *Der Ursprung des Harlekin* (Berlin, 1904).

which we can imagine the origin of drama is a very common feature, but that is not enough.¹

The view of Hillebrandt is the more surprising in that he accepts (pp. 28-32), with reserves of detail, but in principle, the doctrine of von Schroeder that the *Rgveda* contains dramatic hymns, rejecting the alternative ballad theory of Geldner. The hymn in which he finds a fragment of an Indian drama is iv, 18, where before v. 7 he imagines the sending away of a messenger and his return with news, and where in vv. 8-11 he finds a praise of India sung by the waters and heard by his mother from afar. These imaginative flights are hard to follow, and I cannot feel that the drama theory is proved for this case any more than for the other cases hitherto adduced.² But what is surprising is that he should deny that there is any historic continuity between the Rgvedic drama, if any, and the later drama. He, however, insists on this point in favour of his own theory of the strolling players of low character who produced the true drama seen in classical times. This seems a hard view; the germs of a religious drama, as he elsewhere (p. 19) admits, are to be seen in the cases of dramatic ritual such as the dispute over the purchase of Soma (this appears to be reflected in the sinister form of the Vidūṣaka who resembles in features the Soma seller of the ritual) and the mimic fight of Śūdra and Aryan in the Mahāvratā. The Brāhmaṇas, therefore, can hardly be dismissed (p. 31) as containing nothing pointing to drama, and the Mahāvratā is probably, as I have pointed out,³ the prototype of the slaying of Kamsa by Kṛṣṇa, which is the same germ as produced the

¹ The cases cited by Hillebrandt (p. 30, n. 1) are all far short of a real drama.

² Hillebrandt (p. 31) rightly declines to believe with Hertel that Ākhyāna = drama. I am glad to find my views on von Schroeder's theory accepted by Professor W. Ridgeway, *The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of non-European Races*, pp. 154-6.

³ ZDMG. lxiv, 534 seqq.; JRAS. 1912, pp. 411 seqq.

drama of Greece, and which is recorded for us by Patañjali as a definite and undoubted fact, of far greater value for the history of literature than the theoretic activity of strolling players. But the distinction of the Mahāvratā and the slaying of Kāṁsa is a splendid instance to show the length which had to be travelled before dramatic ritual became a real drama. Kṛṣṇa and Kāṁsa had to be evolved—probably by a religious faith in which vegetation spirits played a more prominent part than in early Aryan religion—from the nameless opponents representing the contest over the sun before a real drama could be produced. It was so produced by Patañjali's time, but so far we have no further evidence of its existence, and the first authentic drama known of is the work of Aśvaghoṣa,¹ probably in the second century A.D. or 300 years after Patañjali.²

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

THE DATE OF SANKARACHARYA

I propose in this paper to consider the evidence, external and internal, for determining the date of Śaṅkarācārya. There has been such a vast diversity of opinion on the subject that it would be convenient to take the various dates that have been advanced and show how they are untenable before proceeding to determine the true date. The epoch of Śaṅkara is of great

¹ The play here shows the prologue, the division into acts, the mixture of prose and verse and of dialects, and the figure of the Vidūṣaka, all pointing to a history of considerable duration and strengthening the view of Patañjali's date as about 150 B.C. Cf. Winternitz, VOJ. xxvii, 41 seqq.

² It may be noted that Professor Hillebrandt's view of the ape's occupation (p. 27, n. 2) is based on popular, not scientific zoology. But doubtless his view was that of the maker of the pictorial scene. It may also be noted that the rendering of *kulānūrūpeseu naccathānevu* (p. 11) as "at theatres suited to clansmen" seems strange. The sense would better be (he acquired proficiency when reborn in an actor's family) "in theatrical subjects suited to one of his family".

importance in the general history of religious thought in India. It will therefore be necessary to explain how far our date for Śaṅkara tallies with the chronology of the other saints and philosophers of India.

1. THE TRADITIONAL DATE (2625 KALI ERA, c. 477 B.C.)

It may appear needless to consider very seriously the date of Śaṅkara according to Indian tradition as recorded in the professed biographies of the Āchārya known as *Śaṅkara-Vijayam*. The most remarkable of these is the work of Mādhava of the fourteenth century. This work discloses a profundity of philosophical learning in the writer, but also a sad lack of the historical instinct or critical insight. But the date assigned by Mādhava, after the chronogram शरेचणाध्वनयनैः approvingly quoted by him, has commanded acceptance even in modern days among men of Sanskrit scholarship and of high English education.¹ It is therefore necessary to sum up the evidence against this view.

In the first place, it is clear from the Brahma Sūtra Bhāṣhya that Śaṅkara attacks the philosophical system and religious doctrines of the Buddhists. There is at least one reference in that Bhāṣhya to that religion having spread far and wide in India: **वैनाशिकैः सर्वे लोकः आकुलीक्रियते।** This statement could never be applied to pre-Aśōkan India. Secondly, if we can believe the testimony² of a direct disciple of Śaṅkarāchārya—viz. Padmapāda, parts of whose work *Panchapādika* have come down to us—the form of Buddhism assailed by the Āchārya was not the older one, Hīnayāna, but the later one known as Mahāyāna, which developed only in the

¹ In books published by the Swāmi of the Dwāraka Matha (Guzarat) and by Mr. T. S. Narayana Sastri, B.A., B.L., Madras.

² Padmapāda says in the *Panchapādika* :

ननु नीलादि विषयोपि चेदपरोक्षस्वभावो नीलात्मिकासंविदित्युक्तं स्यात् । अतः सख माहायानिकः पक्षः समर्थः ॥

early centuries of the Christian era. Thirdly, Śaṅkara quotes from the Vishṇu Purāṇa, shows probably some acquaintance with the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, and is regarded by tradition as a close student of the *Sūta Samhita*, a well-known part of the Skānda Purāṇa. The Purāṇas in their existing form belong to the period from the fourth to the seventh century A.D., and a few are even far later. Fourthly, Śaṅkara is accepted as a younger contemporary of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa. The latter criticizes Kālidāsa in one or two places,¹ and was therefore posterior to him. Kālidāsa cannot be referred to a period earlier than the fifth century A.D., as he follows in his *Raghuvamśa* the genealogy of Rama's ancestors as given in the Vishṇu Purāṇa in preference to that given in the *Ramāyaṇa* itself.

2. JUSTICE TELANG'S DATE (SIXTH CENTURY A.D.)

In a learned article in the *Indian Antiquary*² Mr. Justice Telang makes much of the mention of Śrughṇa and Pāṭaliputra, and of the coronation of a certain Pūrṇavarman, in the Sūtra Bhāṣhya. He argues that Pāṭaliputra was destroyed in the seventh century by a flood, and that a later writer would not have referred to the city as existing, as Śaṅkara does. But he is not correct in respect of this argument. The Khālimpur grant³ of Dharmapāla of Bengal represents that king as establishing himself at Pāṭaliputra towards the end of the ninth century. As regards Pūrṇavarman, whose coronation is referred to in one passage, we must remember that in another passage there is a contrast drawn between him

¹ In the *Tantra Vārtika*, i, 3. 7 :

एवं च विद्वद्वचनात् विनिःसृतं प्रसिद्धरूपं कविभिः विनिश्चितं । “सतां हि संदेह पथेषु वस्तुषु प्रमाणमन्तःकरणप्रवृत्तयः”

See also Kumārila's *Śloka Vārtika*, Sūtra ii, śloka 195, 196.

² Vol. xiii, pp. 95 ff.

³ JASB., vol. lxiii, pt. i.

and Rājavarman, and that these are but two out of a number of names given by Śaṅkara. Telang has adduced no evidence for identifying Pūrṇavarman with the contemporary of Yuan Chwang. The latter, for aught we know, was not so much of a celebrity that his coronation should have been regarded as an event of great significance in Śaṅkara's time. We have in Epigraphy a Puṇa Rāja of the ninth century and a Rājavarman and a Balavarman in the eighth century.

While Justice Telang's conclusion is thus built on inaccurate and insufficient premises, we have other evidence to show that the Āchārya must have lived later than the sixth century. Surēśvarāchārya, a disciple of Śaṅkara's, has written a *vārtika* to the latter's poem *Upadeśa Sāhasri*. In the *vārtika*, Surēśvara remarks that the Āchārya has borrowed a verse from Kīrti (कीर्तिरिदं). This Kīrti could be no other than Dharmā Kīrti who, as we know, flourished in the seventh century. Again, Śaṅkara lived later than Bhartrihari, who belongs to the seventh century, as he is referred to by Itsing. This we know because Śaṅkara is given a later place than Bhartrihari in the list of previous writers¹ mentioned by no less a personage than the Varishṇava Āchārya Yāmunāchārya. Internal evidence to the same effect is found in some of the devotional songs of Śaṅkara. In his *Saundarya Lahari*,² for instance, Śaṅkara refers to the great Dravidian poet and Śaiva Saint, Gṇāna Sambandha.

¹ The order is :

(द्रुमिड)आचार्य दंक जर्तुप्रपंच जर्तुमित्र जर्तुहरि ब्रह्मदत्त शंकर
and भास्कर. (See *Siddhi trayā*, Benares edition, p. 5.)

तवस्तन्यं मन्ये धवणिधरकन्ये हृदयतः
पयः पारावारं परिवहति सारस्वतमिति ।
दयावत्या दत्तं द्रुविडशिगुरास्वाद्य तवयत्
कवीनां प्रौढानां अजनि कमनीयः कवयिता ॥

In another hymn—the *Śivā parādha kshama stōtram*¹—he refers to another famous Śaiva saint of the south, viz. Siruttonḍa Nāyanār. Dr. Hultzsch and Mr. Venkayya have shown that Siruttonḍa was a contemporary of the Pallava king Narasimha Varman (seventh century). If Kīrti had acquired reputation before Śaṅkara's time and Gnāna Sambandha had been deified, Śaṅkara must have lived far later than the seventh century.

It may perhaps be argued that these poems—and, for the matter of that, the passages in the Bhāshya referred to—are literary forgeries fathered on Śaṅkara by a later follower and admirer of his. We may leave it to those who hold the view to prove it. But I may just mention here that two of the poems referred to above were considered as Śaṅkara's own as early as the thirteenth century, as Lakshmidhara has commented on one of them, and Mādhava speaks of the other as Śaṅkarācharya's. As regards the third, Surēśvara's having written a *vārtika* on it may be considered sufficient evidence of its genuineness.

3. PROFESSOR PATHAK AND DR. BHANDARKAR (788–825 A.D.)

Professor Pāthak has relied on a chronogram found in some work² of the twelfth or thirteenth century. But as Telang has shown, this chronogram is of no greater significance than any other. The chronogram of the

१ न शक्नोमि कर्तुं परद्रोहलेशं
कथं प्रीयसे त्वं न जाने गिरीश ।
तथापि प्रसन्नोमि कस्यापि कान्ता
सुतद्रोहिणो वा पितृद्रोहिणो वा ॥

The references are to famous Tamil saints. The सुतद्रोहि is Siruttonḍa Nāyanār, who according to *Periyapurāṇam* sacrificed to Śiva the head of his son Śirāḷa.

² *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xi, p. 175. Telang identifies this work with the *Aryavidyāsudhākara* of Yaज्ञेशvara Sāstri.

Chēra country **आचार्यवाग्भट्ट** places Śaṅkara in the ninth century. If one is disposed to rely on the evidence of chronograms he must prefer the Malabar chronograms to others, because Śaṅkara is now generally admitted to have been a native of the Malayālam country and because some rare Sanskrit words¹ of the later Vedic period which are found in literary currency even now only in that part of India are used by Śaṅkara in his works.

Professor Pāṭhak's date may appear to be borne out by one school of Malabar tradition which considers the *Kollam era* of 825 A.D. as commemorating the introduction of the Āchārya's reforms in Malabar. But this view of the era has now to be given up. That era commemorates the foundation of the town of Kollam (the modern Quilon in Travancore). Kōḷamba or Kōḷamba nagara is the name of the era in most of the inscriptions of the Chēra kings which I have examined for the Government Epigraphist, Madras.

Dr. Bhandarkar's argument is based on his identification of the king "Āditya of the race of Manu" mentioned by Sarvajnātman in his *Samkshēpa Śārīraka*, with the Chāḷukyan king Vimalāditya. I have given elsewhere² the objections to this view and my reasons for identifying that king with the Chōla king Āditya I (880-907 A.D.).³

4. TRUE DATE (805-97 A.D.)

If Sarvajnātman lived in the ninth century, Śaṅkara, his Guru's Guru, may also have lived in the ninth century. In fact, Sarvajnātman and Śaṅkara were contemporaries according to all schools of tradition. As Surēśvara,

¹ e.g. **सग्धि** (Sagdhī) = a feast, **दुर्घटं** (Durgṭam) = difficulty, etc.

² *Ind. Ant.* for November, 1914.

³ Sarvajna probably saw the closing years of the reign of Āditya I, as he refers to that king's conquests in the line :

श्रीमत्त्वचतशासने मनुकुलादित्ये भुवं शासति ॥

Sarvajñātman's Guru and Śaṅkara's *śiṣya*, is represented as much older than Śaṅkara, it is easy to believe that Sarvajña and Śaṅkara may have been of well-nigh the same age.

One or two circumstances may now be mentioned. Śaṅkarācharya is said to have gone to Nēpāl¹ in the reigns of Vṛishadēva of the Sūryavamśi dynasty and of Varadēva of the Thakuri dynasty. The successors of these kings are named Śaṅkaradēva. Similarly, there is a king of Kashmir, Śaṅkaradeva of the Utpala dynasty, whom Kaḷhana² mentions as the successor of Avantī Varman (855-83 A.D.). The similarity in the names is striking, and may be due to more than a mere coincidence. It may warrant the assumption that Śaṅkara visited Kashmir also as he is said to have visited Nēpāl, and that the kings who were instructed by him named their sons after their Guru.

The date of Varadēva can be fixed with certainty. He is eight generations in descent from Amśuvaṛman, who, we know, was a contemporary of Yuan Chwang. He may thus belong to the ninth century like his namesake of Kashmir.

The astronomical details given in the *Jātaka* of Śaṅkarāchārya help us in determining the date of his birth. Here, again, it is quite possible that the details of the planetary positions may have been retrospectively calculated long after his birth. All that we can say is that Mādhava believed the details to be genuine, and that the date of Śaṅkara's anniversary observed to this day is based on them. These details³ accord only with 805 A.D. We may be justified in pinning our faith on this date as it

¹ See Buhler's *Inscriptions of Nepal* and *Vamsavalī* given in the appendix to that work.

² In the *Rājataranginī* (Stein's edition), book v, verses 128-227.

³ Mādhava has : तुङ्गसंख्ये सूर्ये कुजे रविमुते च गुरौ च केन्द्रे ।
i.e. the Sun, Mars, Saturn, and Jupiter were exalted and in *Kendra*.
The anniversary is on *Sukla 5* of *Meṣha* when the moon is in *Ārdra*.

tallies with other evidence, unless certain evidence to the contrary be forthcoming.

Granted that Śaṅkarāchārya was born in 805, he must have lived to a fairly long age considering the immensity of the work done by him and the profundity of erudition revealed in his works. It is impossible to believe, with Mādhava, that a man who passed away in the prime of life, whether at 32 or at 37, could have acquired such a mastery of Sanskrit grammar and logic and of the Vedānta, besides a discriminating knowledge of the other sacred works like the Purāṇās and of the other philosophical systems in Sanskrit such as the Sāṅkhya, Vaiśeṣika, Mīmāṃsa, Jaina, and Bouddha. We are quite familiar with this, the hagiologist's, method of abnormally shortening a saint's life as in this case, or of abnormally lengthening it as in the case of Rāmānujāchārya, who is credited with a life of 125 years!

Śaṅkara to the rescue! He himself tells us in one of the devotional hymns to the *Dēvi*—

परित्यक्त्वा¹ देवान् विविधविधिसेवाकुलतया
मया पञ्चाशीतेरधिकमपनीते तु वयसि ।
इदानीं चेन्मातः तव यदि कृपा नापि भविता
निरालम्बो लम्बोदरजननि कं यामि शरणं ॥

He was yet living when 85 years, and may verily have lived a few years more. The astronomical data—such as they are—given for the date of his demise at 32 will agree with a date 60 years later—the year *Raktākṣi*; *Vṛishabha*; *Śukla*, 11. We may therefore hold that Śaṅkara lived 805–97 A.D.

It remains to see what light epigraphy has to throw on the date of the Āchārya. There are a number of copper-plates embodying grants of land from kings of several dynasties to the *Maṭhās* of Śaṅkarāchārya in various

¹ अपि त्यक्त्वा (?).

parts of India. In a book published by him, the head of the Maṭha at Dwāraka (Gujarat) says that the Maṭha has copper-plate grants from Chandragupta Maurya downwards! He even mentions a donor earlier, by name Sudhanwan, whom I am unable to trace anywhere in the Purāṇic lists of the Nandas and Śāiśunāgas, who alone, so far as we know, were the historical rulers before the Mauryas. The story of such copper-plates and their contents may circulate among the credulous, but it is outside the scope of a historical discussion.

Thanks to the kindness of the head of the Śaṅkarāchārya Maṭha at Kumbhakōṇam, I have secured the copper-plates of that Maṭha for examination, and am publishing them in the *Epigraphia Indica*. The earliest of the donors to the Maṭha is a king of the thirteenth century, a Chola chieftain, Vijaya Gaṇḍagōpāla deva. Fortunately for us, the names by which the donee Śaṅkarāchāryas were known are also given. A succession list¹ of the Āchāryās of the Maṭha, professing to begin with the great Śaṅkara, has been preserved in a poem of the sixteenth century by one of the then Āchāryās. Some of the Āchāryās mentioned in the poem have been the donees of our grants. I am discussing the whole question elsewhere,² but I may give the results at once. Āchāryās the forty-eighth to fiftieth in apostolic order from Sarvajna are undoubtedly mentioned in the dated copper-plates of the Vijayanagara dynasty (grants dated 1506, 1521, and 1527 from Nrisimha and Krishṇarāya). The earliest of the grants is one by Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla, a Telugu-Chola chieftain of the thirteenth century (data agree with 1291 A.D.). The donee of that grant is Śrī Śaṅkarārya. There are only two such names in the poem, viz. those seventeenth and thirty-first in descent from Sarvajna. The former could not be the donee of our grant, as in that case there would

¹ See Appendix.

² See the forthcoming volume of the *Epigraphia Indica*.

be thirty-one generations from him to the forty-eighth, covering an interval of 200 odd years. So the donee has to be identified with teacher No. 31 from Śaṛvajña. We then get sixteen generations for a period of 215 years, i.e. about thirteen and a half years for a generation, on the average. This should not be regarded as a low figure, as in most cases a man becomes the head of the Maṭha only when advanced in years and is generally succeeded by the oldest among his *śishyas*.

Counting back twenty-nine generations at the same rate of about thirteen and a half years for a generation we get c. 900 as the most probable time of the Āchāryā's death.

The date we have arrived at for Śaṅkara in this paper agrees very well with the inferences to be drawn from the writings of the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva saints and sages. There is no mention of Śaṅkara or of *Advaitism*, the philosophical system propounded by him, either in the *Tēvāram*, the Tamil "Bible" of the Śaivas or in the *Nālāyiraprabandham* (the 4,000 songs) of the Vaiṣṇava Alwars. The *Tēvāram* admittedly belongs to the period fourth to eighth century A.D.¹ The *Nālāyiram* must be referred to the first eight or nine centuries of the Christian era. The last of the hymn-makers in that collection, Tirumaṅgai Alwar, cannot be assigned to a date earlier than the first half of the ninth century A.D., as he mentions an edifice built by the Pallava king Paramēswara Varman II. The astronomical data given in the Varishṇava *Guruparampara* agree with the year 776 A.D. for the date

¹ One of the hymn-makers in that collection is Sundaramūrti Nāyanār, who may be referred even to the ninth century. The Tamil *Periarpurāṇam*, which belongs to the twelfth or thirteenth century, mentions the fact that this Nāyanār was a contemporary of Chēraman Perumāḷ, the last of the rulers of United Kēraḷa. The Perumāḷ and the Nāyanār are said to have died about the same time in a miraculous fashion. There is evidence to believe with Mr. Logan that the Perumāḷ died about A.D. 825. (See Logan's *Malabar*, vol. i, 256.)

of his birth, and with no other date for centuries earlier or later. So it may be concluded that the Alwar flourished in the early ninth century A.D.

The earliest writer on religion, so far as I am aware, who attacks or refers to Śaṅkara or his Vēdantic doctrine is Nāthamuni, the first of the Vaishṇava Āchāryās. Evidence external and internal helps us in assigning Nāthamuni to the tenth century. He was the Guru of Yāmunaāchārya, the Guru's Guru of the great Rāmānujāchārya. The last was born 1018 A.D. Secondly, Nāthamuni mentions Viranārāyaṇapuram, a town founded by the Chōla king Parāntaka I, *alias* Viranārāyaṇa, and Parāntaka, as we know, came to the throne in 907 A.D.

There is thus no difficulty in assigning Śaṅkarāchārya to the ninth century, between the Vaishṇava *Alwars* and Śaiva *Nāyanārs* on the one hand and the Vaishṇava *Ācharyas* on the other.

S. V. VENKATESWARA.

KUMBAKONAM.

May 30, 1915.

APPENDIX ¹

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Śaṅkara. | 15. Gaugādhara. |
| 2. Surēśvara. | 16. Sadāśiva. |
| 3. Saṇvājna. | 17. Surēndra. |
| 4. Satyabōdha. | 18. Vidyāghana. |
| 5. Gnānānanda. | 19. Śaṅkarēndra. |
| 6. Śuddhānanda. | 20. Chandrachūḍa. |
| 7. Ānandajnāna. | 21. Paripūrṇabōdha. |
| 8. Kaivalyayōgi. | 22. Satchitsugha. |
| 9. Kripāśaṅkara. | 23. Chitsugha. |
| 10. Mahēśvara. | 24. Chidānandaghana. |
| 11. Chitdhana. | 25. Prajnānaghana. |
| 12. Chandrachūḍa. | 26. Chidvilāsa. |
| 13. Satchitghana. | 27. Mahādēva. |
| 14. Vidyāghana. | 28. Bōdha. |

¹ From the *Jagat-Guru-Ratnamālā-stavah* of Ātmabōdha Sadāśiva Brahmendra.

29. Satchidānandaghana.	42. Chandrachūḍa.
30. Chandraśekhara.	43. Chidvilāsa.
31. Chitsughendra.	44. Mahādēva.
32. Vidyāghana.	45. Chandraśekhara.
33. Śrī Ṣaṅkara.	46. Vidyātirtha.
34. Satchidvilāsa.	47. Śivayogi.
35. Mahādēva.	48. Ṣaṅkarānanda.
36. Gaṅgādhara.	49. Sadāśiva.
37. Puṇyabōdha.	50. Mahādēva.
38. Brahmānandaghana.	51. Chandrachūḍa.
39. Ānandaghana.	52. Sadāśiva.
40. Paraśiva.	53. Paraśiva.
41. Bodha.	54. Ātmabodha.

MALAVA-GANA-STHITI

Dr. Fleet has now (*supra*, pp. 802-4) adduced from the *Raghuvamśa* a passage (iv, 77, furnished by Mr. Pargiter) in which the word *gaṇa* is, according to his interpretation, used in the sense of "tribe", and where it is in fact so rendered by Mr. Nandargikar and Shankar P. Pandit. He has also cited from Mallinātha's commentary a passage from the *Mahābhārata* (ii, 1025 = ii, 26. 16), where the same word is similarly rendered in the translation of Pratap Chandra Ray.

I should be far from blaming these scholars for adopting in poetic passages a rendering which is *prima facie* not inappropriate; but this does not in the least qualify the verity that the strict sense of the word is rather "communities".

The difference between the two terms is that "tribe" is a word of concrete untechnical denotation, while "community" belongs to the sphere of constitutional ideas. The two conceptions may easily be distinguished. The Greeks who took part in the Trojan war were for the most part divided into communities, but not into "tribes"; and the same may be said of the states of Classical Greece,

of ancient Latium, of mediaeval Italy, and of the "village communities" discussed by Sir Henry Maine. On the other hand, the ancient Britons and Teutons, like the modern Afghans, seem to have been divided into communities which were also tribes.

We may now examine the two passages to which the rendering "tribe" has been applied: and, first, it will be observed that they have the value of one passage only, since Kālidāsa in *Raghuvamśa* was clearly imitating the verse cited by Mallinātha from the *Mahābhārata*. It is unfortunate that Mallinātha has not given an explanation of the word *gaṇa*, no doubt regarding it as superfluous to do so. But in commenting on *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, ii, 187, the *Mitākṣarā*, no bad authority, especially on such a topic, explains the word *gaṇa* by *grāmādijanasamūha*, "totality of the people of a village, etc."; and Apte's excellent dictionary, to which I owe the reference, very exactly represents this sense by the word "community".

If Dr. Fleet had searched the *Mahābhārata* further, he might have found other passages having a bearing upon the meaning of the word. First of all the *Utsavaśaṅketas* themselves (if we are to take the word here as really a proper name) recur in ii, 31. 9 (ii, 1191) as *gaṇas*, and immediately after (1192) we have "the powerful village peoples who dwell by the Sindhu's bank, and the Śūdra and Ābhira *gaṇas*, both those who by the Sarasvatī live on fish and those who inhabit the mountains"; in ii, 26. 12 (ii, 1021) occurs the phrase *deśān pañcagaṇān*, "districts having five *gaṇas*." But the most interesting instance is *Śānti-parvan*, *adhy.* 107, which is wholly devoted to the *gaṇas*. Here the translation published by Pratap Chandra Ray, the same translation which is quoted by Dr. Fleet, has a note as follows: "The word is *Gaṇa*. It literally means an assemblage. There can be no doubt that throughout this lesson the word has been employed to denote the aristocracy of wealth and blood that

surround a throne." That this interpretation is correct appears from the fact that the *gaṇas* are described in the text as "the multitude of courageous men that assemble round a king", and that "possessed of wealth and resources, of knowledge of the scriptures and of all arts and sciences, the aristocracy (*gaṇa*) rescue the ignorant masses from every kind of distress and danger". They "are equal to one another in family and blood", but have leaders, and their danger is disunion; it is an evil when they are at variance with the king. It will be seen that by many traits they associate themselves with the descriptions of the Vajjians and Sākyaas occurring in the Pali books; but they are not, though in cases they might be, tribes.

Now what is the link of meaning which connects these aristocracies with the mountaineer *gaṇas* of the passage ii, 1025?

*Pauravaṃ yudhi nirjitya dasyūn parvatavāsinaḥ
gaṇān utsavasamketān ajayat sapta Pāṇḍavaḥ.*

"Having overthrown the Paurava in battle, the Pāṇḍava conquered the mountain *dasyus*, *utsavasamketa gaṇas*, seven (the seven?) of them."

Is it not clear that the common notion (since the most general sense of *gaṇa* is a class) is absence of internal distinctions among the members? Thus it comes about that the same word which in the one case denotes an aristocratic order in the other is applied to an unorganized, quasi-democratic community. And why does the *Mahābhārata* use the word in this instance? For the same reason that the *Mālava gaṇa* issues official documents in its name, and that the Yaudheyas put their designation upon coins, namely the actual non-existence of a superior, royal, authority (local, for the possibility of a suzerain is not excluded). This appears from the passage itself, as the *gaṇas* are obviously contrasted with the conquered monarch, the Paurava, whose own army, it may be remarked, is designated *śūrānpārva tīyān*

mahārathān, "heroes (or lords), mountain-men (Pārvatīyas), with great chariots." Accordingly we have in this passage a clear justification of Mr. Jayaswal's view that the word *gaṇa* may denote both aristocracies (or oligarchies) and quasi-democracies, and we see that in both cases the sense is that of groups consisting of theoretically equal members. The idea is everywhere a constitutional one; and it is not the idea of "tribe", whereof the main factor is relationship by descent.

Concerning the *Raghuvamśa* passage, where in fact Mr. Nandargikar and Shankar Pandit (and some other Indian editions less known in Europe) have in translation employed the word "tribe", it is not necessary to say much. K. M. Banerjea, however, has "hosts", agreeing with that excellent scholar Stenzler, whose Latin word is *caterva*. Though a military sense of *gaṇa* "troop" (generally and technically) is well established, I feel that here and in the *Mahābhārata* a more permanent form of grouping is required, and accordingly I prefer the word "communities".

I must not omit a word concerning the dictionaries. It is not correct to say (p. 803) that the St. Petersburg Lexicon (1855-75, and reinforced with additions up to the end) "was made some forty years earlier" than that of Monier-Williams (1872). The second edition of Monier-Williams appeared in 1901, and in the interval (1879-89) came the smaller St. Petersburg dictionary, also innocent of the meaning "tribe", which is further absent from the works of Apte (1890), Vaidya (1889), and Macdonell (1893). The "good choice of English renderings" supplied by Monier-Williams is indeed a convenience (though bewildering to the learner); but, when precise meanings and relations of meanings are sought, it is often rather a spreading discharge than a rifle shot.

Dr. Fleet seems (p. 802) to find this discussion unprofitable. But the word and fact *gaṇa* are both in their

respective spheres important; and those "sensible" (p. 804) persons who are willing to consult the works of Professor Rhys Davids and Mr. Jayaswal, to which I have more than once referred, will find considerable profit in exchanging a *prima facie* impression for one based upon a real examination of the facts.

Note.—Dr. Fleet remarks (pp. 802–3) that he "would not have taken part at all [in the discussion], but that Dr. Thomas, in starting it, did not state rightly something that I had said". Now, I wrote (1914, p. 413) "... Dr. Fleet, who had previously translated *mālava-gaṇa-sthityā* by 'the tribal [*gaṇa*] constitution [*sthiti*] of the Mālavas'; he now prefers 'the usage [*sthiti*] of the Mālava tribe [*gaṇa*]' ", and on the next page "justifying the substance" (i.e. plainly not the form or detail, so far as it disagrees with the above) "of Dr. Fleet's original rendering, 'the continuance [*sthiti*] of the tribal constitution [*gaṇa*] of the Mālavas.'" Even at this moment I am unable to see in these sentences anything which is not correct; nor, in fact, did Dr. Fleet in his first note (1914, pp. 745–7) make any reference to such an incorrectness.

In his second note (1915, pp. 138–40) he denies (p. 138) that the substance is as I stated (which is obviously a mere question as to what is to be thought the substantial part of his rendering), and protests against an expression in my second note which under the circumstances (for I had already distinguished his two views, as above) could not have the wide meaning which he finds in it—even if the word "and" is used a little idiomatically—but is necessarily confined to the word *gaṇa*, in regard to which I do not find or gather that his view has changed.

As to the word "misrepresent" (p. 803 n.), it means no more than "to represent improperly or imperfectly"—it does not imply intention.

F. W. THOMAS.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

INDIAN THOUGHT, PAST AND PRESENT. By R. W. FRAZER,
LL.B., C.E., I.C.S. (Ret.). London, 1915.

In this work Mr. Frazer aims at giving a clear and connected account of the thought of India in its relation to the social and religious situation of India to-day. It is his aim to present the history of that thought at once concisely and objectively, and in the attempt he has been well served by his extensive study not merely of the literature bearing directly on the history of Indian religion and philosophy but also of the general literature of philosophy; and his extensive acquaintance with Tamil literature has enabled him, especially in the sections of his work dealing with Śaivism and Viṣṇuism, to contribute matter of special interest. The mode of exposition chosen is excellent: it discards the formalities of each system, and confines itself to the essential doctrines, a method of procedure which is much more attractive and practical than any effort to expound a system in its native setting, and which is fully justified by the aim of the work. At the same time the different expositions of the several philosophies which have been set out are frankly recognized: Mrs. Rhys Davids' idealistic view¹ of Buddhism is treated as impartially as the more subdued enthusiasm of Oldenberg or Oltramare. The treatment of the subject is, though brief, comprehensive: the Vedas, Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads, Vedānta, Sāṅkhya, Vaiśeṣika and Nyāya, Yoga, Buddhism, and Hinduism are dealt with in succession, and a chapter on the position of women in India precedes an account of the movements in modern Indian thought seen in the Ādi Samāj and its offshoots.

¹ pp. 174, 175, 287.

The chapter regarding Indian conceptions of the duty of women seems at first a little incongruous in its setting, but the obvious explanation of its presence is that it rectifies the grave defect of all the philosophical systems of India of the period before the last century: in their disregard of ethical problems and in their excessive intellectualism these philosophies had no occasion seriously to study the position of woman in the universe, and Śāṅkara, who is after all the greatest of Indian philosophers, refused to allow the study of the Vedānta to women, a view in which he was plainly and undeniably in full accord with the general tendency of Indian thought, despite the grudging concessions made by Buddhism and Jainism. With his wonted impartiality the author is careful to present the best side of the Indian ideal of women: he allows Dr. Coomaraswamy¹ to point out the ideal of Sati, and almost to say that the Native States are ruled by the queen-mothers from behind the Purdah, without pointing out that the last-mentioned fact may, in consequence of the ignorance and incapacity of women who have been brought up under the Purdah system, explain the fact that the Native States are much less well ruled than British India. Sir Lepel Griffin² is also allowed to express opinions on the comparative social and legal position of married Muhammadan women which suggest that he was imperfectly acquainted with either the English law of property and status or with the Muhammadan law on the same subjects, or with both. But the author provides ample evidence to counterbalance these assertions by the simple record from the census report of 1913,³ that only ten females in a thousand were then able to read or write a simple letter, while the number in the case of men was 106. The same judicial impartiality displays itself in the treatment of the modern developments of Indian thought: due regard

¹ pp. 303, 304.

² p. 292.

³ p. 302.

is given to the effect of Dayānanda's teaching, though the author is perfectly aware that his interpretation of the Veda is a monstrosity to which no value whatever can be attached, and that in so far as the teaching rests on this view of the Veda it is fundamentally unsound.¹

Mr. Frazer everywhere shows his readiness to balance opposing views: he sets out quite fairly the evidence regarding the position of Kṛṣṇa and the possibility of the relation of the Kṛṣṇa cult to Christianity, and if he assigns more weight to some of the evidence adduced for the early presence of Christian teaching than Garbe does, that is matter for legitimate difference of opinion.² It is more doubtful whether the acceptance of the view³ that Vāsudeva was a Kṣatriya born about the fourth or the third century B.C. can be taken as legitimate: if he were a real man born at that date it is curious in the extreme that we have so little evidence regarding him of the historical type which makes us feel the reality as men of the Buddha and of Mahāvira, despite all the mythology which has sprung up around them. Mr. Frazer doubtless can claim the high authority of Bhandarkar for the historical reality of Vāsudeva, but on this point it seems clear to me that Sir R. G. Bhandarkar is distinctly wrong.

Special interest attaches to Mr. Frazer's examination of the problem presented by the Upaniṣads and Śaṅkara, and his views on these questions are clearly and effectively expressed. He does not directly deal with the theory which Jacobi⁴ patronized that the doctrine of Māyā owed its acceptance to the nihilism and the Vijñāna doctrines of the Buddhist schools, but he would probably agree with de la Vallée Poussin,⁵ whose comparison of Nāgārjuna and Śaṅkara he quotes⁶ in another

¹ pp. 317-23.

² pp. 200 seqq.

³ pp. 147, 148.

⁴ JAOS. xxxiii, 52-4.

⁵ JRAS. 1910, pp. 129, 130.

⁶ p. 182.

connexion with just approval, that the two doctrines have an essential basis of difference. Śāṅkara he treats sympathetically, and even points out that his view of time and space, apart from the question of final reality, has closer affinities to some streams of modern thought than the view of Kant: perhaps more stress might have been laid on the fact that the Kantian doctrine, while denying that things in themselves can be subjects of our knowledge, yet does not assert in any sense the unreality of the world, and that in the sphere of ethics Kant finds a doctrine which supplies us with a positive moral law, and gives a real meaning to life. The doctrine of Śāṅkara, on the other hand, is fatally handicapped in dealing with any question of ethic. On the one hand, in the highest sense ethical action has no existence and no meaning; in the other there can be no criterion of good or bad, since all is equally derived from the *Māyā* of the *Īśvara*. The Kantian philosophy is very imperfect and unsatisfactory, but in a far less degree than that of Śāṅkara, apart from the grave defect that Śāṅkara argues from the holy scriptures, and not from a logical basis.

Some minor points will doubtless be reconsidered in a later edition. The derivation of *putra* (p. 273) is from *put*, not *pu*, the etymologists taking advantage of the spelling with double *t* before *r*. The account of the practice of widow-burning (p. 279) is unduly lenient on the older practice, which undoubtedly contemplated burning, but merely as a usage which was out of date, the wife being made to rise from the side of the dead, in place of fulfilling the ancient practice and dying with her husband, and it attaches undue importance to the alteration of *agre* to *agneh* in the funeral hymn of the *Rgveda*,¹ which was only apparently made at quite a late date and rather as a result of

¹ x, 18. 7. See FitzEdward Hall, JRAS. n.s. iii, 183-92.

the practice of widow-burning than as a cause of it. The assignment (p. 284) of Brhaspati to the sixth or seventh century B.C. is a slip: his date is rather about 600 A.D., nor can Āpastamba in my opinion be placed much before 300 B.C. and he may perhaps be as late as about 250 B.C. The doctrine (p. 286) that the place played by the wife of Yājñavalkya in the Upaniṣad of the White Yajurveda is due to the free thought of Kṣatriyas, embodies a doctrine which seems to me to be wholly wrong, despite the considerable body of opinion in its favour: at any rate, in this case it is remarkable that the person whose wife is concerned should be the chief ritual authority of the first part of the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*. The free thought of Kṣatriyas as regards the treatment of women is also hardly consistent with the picture of the position of women presented in the epic, where we find in some passages clear traces of something very like the Zenana system, though other passages present a different condition of affairs: in any case the reference at p. 290 to the introduction of this system through Muhammadan influence must be modified in emphasis.

There is an obvious slip in the date of Tirumūlar on p. 267, and on p. 109 it might be well to remember that there is some evidence¹ against the identification of the Śaṅkara of the comment on the work of Gaudapāda and him of the *Bhāṣya*.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF INDIAN MUSIC. By
E. CLEMENTS. (Foreword by A. K. COOMARASWAMY.)
pp. ix, 104. London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1913.

The sub-title of this work is, "An attempt to reconcile modern Hindustani music with ancient musical theory,

¹ Cf. Jacobi, JAOS. xxxiii, 52, n. 2.

and to propound an accurate and comprehensive method of treatment of the subject of Indian musical intonation." The question of intonation, the relative position of the series of musical notes, is the fundamental one in Indian music. For European music it is at present only theoretical, owing to the prevalence of the system of equal temperament. In the latter we have an octave divided into twelve equal semitones, of which not one of the notes within the octave is correct, when compared with those of the "exact" scale, as determined by ratios. The third is too sharp, the fifth is flat, and each of the chromatic notes has to do duty for two others. It is against the imposition of this system on the Indian that Mr. Clements raises a most emphatic protest, as well as against the use of unmodified European notation for Indian music.

The modern Indian system has an octave of twenty-two intervals (*śrutis*). Mr. Clements' book consists of an exposition of this system as found in Hindustan (i.e. excluding South India), a system for adapting the staff notation to Indian music, and an account of the ancient system found in the oldest classical texts with speculations on its origin. Until Mr. K. B. Deval commenced his researches, says Mr. Clements, "the subject of Indian intonation had baffled all inquirers." Unfortunately the inquirers did not know that they were baffled. From the time of Sir W. Jones a mass of blunders has been handed down, and the author is on the right lines for clearing them away; but it would have been better if he had explicitly mentioned these erroneous views and refuted them instead of dogmatically stating his own. The blunders are not dead, and they will be found in a work more recent than the present one. The author hardly ever allows his opponents to speak for themselves. Of Rajah S. M. Tagore he says, "Rajah S. M. Tagore's argument is apparently as follows: 'Our scale of Bihāg must be the same as that of Shadjī. If we take the

śrutis of sâ, which are four in number, to be those above it instead of those which separate it from ni, the śrutis allotted to each note work out the same.' " But it is surely not the best way to refute an opponent by putting into his mouth an apparent argument. The error of Tagore here referred to consisted in his reckoning the number of *śrutis* between each diatonic note upwards instead of downwards; but he took it from Sir W. Jones, who first made the mistake. Rao Sahib P. R. Bhandarkar has shown¹ that Tagore also discovered the error, but did not recognize it as such. He was content to describe the erroneous interpretation as the modern arrangement of *śrutis*. There are other errors also that need to be definitely dealt with before they are destroyed.

An important chapter is that on the interpretation of the ancient textbooks, that is, the translation of relevant passages from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata and the *Saṅgītaratnākara* of Śārṅgadeva, with the author's comments. It embraces conclusions as to the ancient system of tuning, propounds the theory that the ancient system required twenty-five *śrutis* (not twenty-two as the textbooks say), and offers a theory as to the origin of the Indian scales. In the commentary on v. 25 of Bharata's ch. xxviii an interesting experiment is described, showing the relation of the *śrutis* by taking two *vīṇās* tuned in unison, and re-tuning one of them in successive stages. The experiment works out on the theory that the *śrutis* are equal. As Mr. Clements says, they are not so, and the experiment is probably a merely theoretical one. But it has been the subject of great misinterpretation, and it would have been interesting to know the author's views on it. Unfortunately he breaks off his translation at this point. He has even been reproved by a critic for saying that Bharata thought the *śrutis* were equal in size, and the critic adduced this passage to prove that Bharata taught

¹ *Ind. Ant.* 1912, p. 188.

the very opposite. The text, it is true, is slightly corrupt, but it is in such a case where an interpreter, or at least a sound translator, is most wanted. The text of Bharata translated is said to be that in the *Kāvya-mālā* series, but in more than one case it is clear that the translation has another text behind it. This may depend on preferable readings, but it is hardly satisfactory to adopt them silently.

The work also contains a discussion of practical questions, the modification of the staff notation for Indian requirements, a description of the Indian harmonium, and the adaptation of Western keyed instruments to Indian music. These should be of very positive value in checking the degeneration of what Dr. Coomaraswamy calls "the most continuously vital and most universally appreciated art of India".

E. J. THOMAS.

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1. SOUTH INDIAN BRONZES: a historical survey of South Indian sculpture, with iconographical notes based on original sources, by O. C. GANGOLY. With an introductory note by J. G. WOODROFFE. 4to; pp. xiii, 80, with 26 + 95 plates. Published by the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta, 1915.
 2. MEMOIRS OF THE COLOMBO MUSEUM. Series A, No. 1: BRONZES FROM CEYLON, chiefly in the Colombo Museum, by ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, D.Sc. 4to; pp. 31, with 28 plates. Printed for the Colombo Museum, University Press, Oxford, 1914.

The khaki cover of Mr. Gangoly's book, with its title in large gilt letters tortured into a spurious imitation of Tamil characters, is displeasing to the eye; and his promise of "a historical survey of South Indian sculpture" is somewhat imperfectly fulfilled in the 80 pages of text. The reader will probably have a shock when he turns

to the first chapter and finds how utterly uncritical Mr. Gangoly is in his treatment of tradition. For *à propos* of Agastya our author tells us that "evidences are sufficient . . . to show that he actually lived in the South about the time of Rāmā's journey to the South" (p. 3), and seems to ascribe to him in seriousness all the works current under his name. He similarly treats the equally mythical Kaśyapa (whom in the caption of the paragraph he styles "Kasyapat"), and he has equally no doubt, as it would seem, regarding the historical character of Maya. And as he frankly admits that he knows no Tamil, and hence has been unable to obtain first-hand information on many essential points, it is evident that his ability to present "a historical survey of South Indian sculpture" suffers from serious limitations. Another peculiarly trying feature of the book is its method, or lack of method, in the transliteration of Indian words. Mr. Gangoly is a Bengali, and he thrusts the rough pronunciation of colloquial Bengali upon the fine phonetics of Sanskrit words, clipping vowels and transmuting consonants to an appalling degree, sometimes even to the extent of becoming unintelligible; nay, he even in his ignorance of Tamil treats with the same rude familiarity the delicate vocalism of that melodious tongue.¹ Combining this original sin of transliteration with a singular slovenliness and inaccuracy in all the technical details of book-making, and crowning the combination by his ignorance of Tamil, Mr. Gangoly has given us a book that arouses in the reader at the outset a feeling of strong dissatisfaction.

¹ We may mention as examples the following monstrosities of transliteration: *Deb jāni* and *Balliramayee* (p. 10), *Raj Raj* (p. 12), *Narashinha Varmana* (p. 13), *Vahishyottara purāna* (p. 26), *Chillopp-āti-Kāram* (p. 56). So reckless is Mr. Gangoly in his passion for the vernacular Bengali pronunciation that he even ascribes it to other writers innocent of it: thus he quotes the paper "Artha-pañcaka" in this Journal (1910, p. 576) as "Aratha Pancak".

Now this is most unfortunate, for the work really has considerable merit. While the first two chapters, dealing with the history of Southern culture and religion in general, are of little value,¹ there is a good deal of interesting and useful information regarding the canons of the native artists in his third chapter, which is well illustrated by numerous plates and diagrams. Chapter iv, treating of the Śaiva schools of sculpture from the sixth century onwards and finally touching upon Vaishnava art, is interesting, though sketchy and inadequate even as regards Śaiva art, and lamentably insufficient for other branches of Indian iconography;² and the general principles of criticism set forth in chapter v are an able exposition and defence of the æsthetic basis of Indian art. Finally we must express our gratitude to the author for the numerous plates depicting typical works of South Indian bronzecraft.

Dr. Coomaraswamy's able memoir well illustrates and describes the Sinhalese and Indian bronzes in the Colombo Museum, together with a few others. They comprise 6 figures of Śiva, 2 of Śiva and Pārvatī, 9 of Pārvatī or other consorts of Śiva, 1 of Kārttikēya, 1 of Gaṇeśa, 7 of famous Śaiva votaries, 1 of Nandi, 5 of Pattini, 2 of Viṣṇu, 1 of Lakṣmī (?), 3 of Kṛiṣṇa, 1 of Hanumān, 1 of Sūrya, 11 of Buddha, 11 of Bōdhisattvas and Buddhist deities, 13 of Lōkapālas, and a considerable number of animal figures and minor objects; and the materials are not only bronze, but likewise in many cases copper or brass, and sometimes even silver and gold. Many of them are of considerable antiquity: the specimens from Anuradhapura cannot be later than the eleventh century,

¹ For example, the date ascribed by him to *Mānikkavāchakar* is quite wrong: it is now demonstrable that he flourished between 800 and 1000 A.D.

² The Vaishnava schools are scarcely mentioned, and there is not a word said about such typical developments as e.g. the sculpture of the Hoysala artists.

and for the most part are probably earlier, while most of those found at Polonnaruva are apparently not later than the thirteenth century. It is interesting to find among the Buddhist figures numerous Bōdhisattvas and female deities of the Mahāyāna, which, as Dr. Coomaraswamy justly remarks, prove how incorrect it is to identify Northern Buddhism with Mahāyāna and Southern Buddhism with Hīnayāna. Many of the Śaiva bronzes from Polonnaruva, like some of the Buddhist figures, are of extremely high artistic excellence; Dr. Coomaraswamy even maintains with generous enthusiasm that the Śaiva saints, the Hanumān, the Pattini in the British Museum, the little Avalōkitēśvara and Jambhala, and the two feet of a Natarāja are "of spiritual and æsthetic rank nowhere surpassed". The plates are admirable, and Dr. Coomaraswamy's identifications sound and convincing; his introduction also is able and interesting, though on some minor points, notably the history of the Śaiva saints, we regret that we are unable to agree with his views. The book is one that will be indispensable for the future study of Indian and Sinhalese iconography.

L. D. BARNETT.

RAMBLES AND RECOLLECTIONS OF AN INDIAN OFFICIAL.
Oxford, 1915.

This is a reprint of Sir William Sleeman's excellent book. Mr. Vincent Smith has added many valuable notes, and has corrected Sir William's occasional errors.

Sleeman was one of the finest specimens of the Honourable East India Company's servants, and worthily takes rank beside such men as Bishop Heber, Sir Mark Cubbon, Jenkins of Assam, Scott of the Cossyeh Hills, James Forbes of Gujerat, Sir Henry Ricketts, Colonel Haughton, and others, whose merits cast into the shade the somewhat mythical Cleveland. Of Sleeman's book it may be

said with truth that it is one of the four pleasant books about India written in the first half of the nineteenth century, the other three being Fanny Parkes' *Travels*, Heber's *Journal*, and Forbes' *Oriental Memoirs*. Sleeman's was first published in 1844, but was mostly written nine years before. He prefixed to it a charming dedication to his sister, Mrs. Furse, in which he said that no brother ever had a kinder or better correspondent than she, and that his book was a kind of atonement to her for having, in the press of official duties, left many of her letters unanswered.

The weakest part of Sleeman's book is the historical notices, and here Mr. Vincent Smith's amending hand has been especially useful. Amid so many notes, crowded with facts, one or two mistakes were unavoidable, and may be mentioned here, if for no other reason, to show that the reviewer has gone through the book. According to Stirling of Keir, in his *Cloister Life of Charles the Fifth*, such a procedure on the part of a reviewer is an extraordinary phenomenon. In a note at p. 527 it is stated that Bābar was the sixth in descent from Timur, and that his grandfather was Abū Sayyid. In fact, Bābar was the fifth in descent, and his grandfather was not Abū Sayyid, but Abū Sāid. The account of the Koh-i-Nūr diamond in the note at p. 290 does not give all the wanderings of that gem, and is not, I think, correct. The Koh-i-Nūr is probably the diamond brought from the Deccan by that arch-robber Alāu-d-din Khiljī, and which afterwards passed into the hands of the Rajah of Gwalior, and was given by the family of the last Rajah to Humāyūn. Humāyūn dutifully surrendered the diamond to his father, who returned it to him. Humāyūn took it with him to Persia, and gave it, when hard pressed and a fugitive, to Tahmāsp Shāh. The latter was too much of a bigot to care about a stone, and sent it as a present to a co-religionist in the Deccan. Possibly Mir Jumla

obtained it afterwards and presented it to Shah Jehan. Mr. Vincent Smith relies upon Valentine Ball, but as Mr. Stanley Lane Poole remarks in a note at p. 167 of his monograph on Bābar, Professor Ball did not know that Bābar's diamond had been sent back to the Deccan.

H. B.

INDIA AND THE WAR. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

This is a beautiful book, and Lord Sydenham has contributed an interesting introduction. It is sad to think of so many of the magnificent soldiers here depicted having been slain in a European quarrel far from their native land. But *noblesse oblige*.

H. B.

MEMOIRS AND CORRESPONDENCE OF MAJOR-GENERAL
BABBAGE. London, 1910.

This book should be interesting to Qui Hyes, and even to young Anglo-Indians. It is the autobiography of a military and civil officer who spent most of his life in India, and who is the son of the Charles Babbage who invented the calculating machine and wrote the Ninth Bridgewater Treatise. It is a minute and singular record of the life of an able man who served his country well, but who never quite succeeded in making his merit known. General Babbage was born in 1824, and is still, I am glad to say, among us, and is a member of our Society. He spent most of his boyhood in London, and it is one of his curious reminiscences that the Regent's Park was at that time not open to the public. His father obtained a cadetship for him, and he was sworn in, in March, 1843, in the East India House, that sombre building in Leadenhall Street, abounding, like Spenser's wood, "in pathes and alleys," with which is associated so much of

the romance of Britons' careers. Babbage sailed for India in the following month, and a significant passage in the book says that the boy, who had lost his mother when he was three years old, was bidden good-bye by his father in the library. "He did not see me into the cab."

The autobiography cannot be described as exciting reading. It is rather long, and has not much sparkle, but we read on, as it is the veracious record of an able Englishman who exemplified the remark of Trollope's brickmaker that "it's dogged as does it". There were, however, two shining points in the career. One was when Babbage had a successful brush with the Abors of Assam in 1847, and the other was the Indian Mutiny. At that eventful time Babbage was on the North-West Frontier at Nowshere and Hoti Mardan.

The autobiography recalls to us another straightforward book, namely the *Memoirs of Mark Pattison*. Perhaps the two men were not unlike in character, but Babbage was mathematical, and apparently had no taste for the classics or for general literature. He studied Bengali, but saw no beauty in the *Ramayan*.

The book contains some interesting references to Sir Hugh Gough and Lady Canning and Bishop Wilson and Archdeacon Pratt and Sir John Lawrence and Sir Robert Montgomery.

Like nearly every middle-class Englishman, Babbage had relations who had been in India before him. Sir Edward Ryan, the Chief Justice of Bengal, was his uncle. Babbage has not much to say about his father, genius though that parent was. As a boy, he says, he used to fear him and to avoid meeting him. After his return from India they were good friends.

H. B.

THE TEMPLE OF DERR. By A. M. BLACKMAN. pp. 128, with 71 plates. Cairo: Service des Antiquités, 1913.

The reviewing of a book of this kind is a difficult task, and one can really say little more than that it is an admirable work of its kind and so cordially recommend it to all students of the details of Egyptian archæology. Mr. Blackman has already contributed a similar volume on the temple of Dendûr to Sir Gaston Maspéro's series of descriptions of "*Les Temples Immergés de la Nubie*", to which this book also belongs. "Derr" is exactly similar to "Dendûr" in its scope and aim. It is simply a full and detailed catalogue of the temple, giving descriptions of every relief scene on its walls and the text of every inscription accompanying them with translations. Constant repetition is inevitable, but this is the fault of the ancient Egyptians, and Rameses II, who built the temple of Derr, was much given to vain repetitions. The book is a plain statement of the facts regarding this temple, and as such is a good example of hard work thoroughly carried out by the author, and completely illustrated by sixty-four plates of fine photographs and seven of like drawings. Mr. Blackman expresses his obligations to Miss Bertha Porter, who has provided him with all the bibliographical particulars, as in the case of the former volume on Dendûr.

H. R. HALL.

THE ROCK TOMBS OF MEIR. Parts I and II. By AYLWARD M. BLACKMAN, M.A. Volumes xxii and xxiii of the Publications of the Archæological Survey of Egypt, edited by F. LL. GRIFFITH.

The first two volumes of Mr. Blackman's *Rock Tombs of Meir*—Nos. xxii and xxiii of the annual publications of the Archæological Survey of Egypt—take us to the most interesting but comparatively unexplored site of

the tombs of the rulers of the fourteenth nome. There is no more fascinating or profitable study than to look into the monuments of these local chieftains who, in the Middle Ages of Egyptian history, succeeded in establishing an almost sovran sway over the demesnes granted them in fee by the Pharaohs. Their rapid rise to power under the fifth and sixth dynasties is attributable not only to their own energies and the favour of their royal masters, but perhaps still more to the local and particularist feeling of the nome with its possibly half-conscious memory of independence in historical or legendary times and its certainly acutely felt distinction as a definitely marked religious unit. There is no sufficient evidence at Meir that the barons of the twelfth dynasty are lineal descendants of those of the sixth, but in other nomes this continuity is to be found and Mr. Blackman is willing to concede it.

After opening with an illuminating account of what is known from the tombs discovered of the nomarchs of the Old and Middle Kingdom—the characteristic name of the former is Pepi-ankh, of the latter Ukh-hotp—Mr. Blackman briefly reviews previous work on the site. The chief of his predecessors were Messrs. Chassinat, Legrain, and Clédat, who in the years 1899–1900 carried out excavations and more particularly made copies and drawings of inscriptions, reliefs, and frescoes there, calling attention first to the highly original and naturalistic character of the local art which under the Middle Kingdom seems to have established something like a school of its own. Of the humour and spirit of these artists Mr. Blackman gives a good idea, alike in his illustrations and in his translations of the tomb-inscriptions, which better than anything else bring home to the reader the life of nearly 4,000 years ago on a feudal baron's estate. Mr. Blackman's subject in the first volume is in particular the tomb of Senbi, son of Ukh-hotp (twentieth century B.C.) and apparently the

first of this line of nomarchs under the twelfth dynasty. In the second volume he deals with the chapel of Senbi's son and successor, Ukh-hotp. This alternation of names in a dynastic list is frequent in Egyptian history, and the twelfth dynasty with its Sesostrises and Amenemhets presents a striking example of it to which, however, parallels can be found in the histories of most countries, as for instance modern Denmark, where for the last 400 years the kings have borne alternately the name Kristian and Frederik. Of Ukh-hotp curiously enough Mr. Blackman finds no mention in the inscriptions of Senbi's tomb.

From both tombs he illustrates excellently the characteristics of the art of Meir under the twelfth dynasty. He points out that towards the end of the dynasty a "preciousness" and over-fastidiousness of work makes itself evident, the forerunner of decadence.

But the information of greatest value to be derived from Mr. Blackman's work is the new light it throws on the social conditions and religious beliefs of the time, and the fresh confirmation of what was already known or suspected. On p. 16 of the introduction to the second volume Mr. Blackman adduces new evidence in corroboration of the well-founded hypothesis that the written or pictorial descriptions of food offerings were believed to possess a magic power to supplement—why not completely replace?—the actual food offerings in sustaining the spirit of the deceased. The fresh evidence in support of this hypothesis is most welcome. Particularly valuable again is what Mr. Blackman has to say on the ethnological problems presented in the reliefs of the tombs. A typical instance of his skill in dealing with these questions is his discussion of the use of the word Aamu, which appears to be applied not only to the mainly Semitic nomads of Asia but also to the Beja type of nomads to be found between the Nile and Red Sea. Mr. Blackman compares the modern

Egyptian use of "Arab" to include the Hamitic "Ababdeh". It is, in fact, merely a widening of the meaning of the word, so that it labels a sociological rather than an ethnic group. We can easily find parallels to this; for instance, chroniclers of the First Crusade—e.g. the author of the *Gesta Francorum*—habitually speak of the Turks as Saracens and Hagarenes, while, conversely, the sixteenth century Englishman, when he prayed for the conversion of all "Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics", included under Turks all the Moslem world. Mr. Blackman, however, thinks it quite possible that there were already Syrian immigrants in the country east of the Nile who had begun to filter in during the Egyptian Dark Ages between the sixth and eleventh dynasty. The story of Abraham's visit perhaps lends the support of legend to the other proofs Mr. Blackman produces. And of the great Semitic migration of the Amorites (c. 2500 B.C.) into Palestine and Syria some part may well have reached Egypt.

To this short notice of Mr. Blackman's account of Meir it may be added that the drawings, photographs, and coloured facsimiles of the reliefs in the two tombs (the last are the work of Mr. F. Ogilvie) are not the least attractive part of an attractive work. In part xxiv of the Archæological Survey's publications Mr. Blackman is continuing his account of Meir.

A. W. A. LEEPER.

THE BIBLICAL LESSONS: A CHAPTER IN BIBLICAL
ARCHÆOLOGY. By MOSES GASTER, Ph.D. pp. 97.
London, 1913.

This interesting essay deals with the history of the reading of portions from the Pentateuch during public worship on Sabbath days. The author calls attention to the ancient character of this custom, which Josephus traces back even to Moses himself. At the time of the Mishnah these readings were regulated by fixed rules.

Opinions differ, however, as to the length of the divisions, because this bears on the question whether the whole Pentateuch was completed in one year or in a longer period. The chief object of the above treatise is to prove that the divisions were so arranged as to finish the Pentateuch in one year. The question is complicated, not only by the scantiness of reliable sources, but also by the existence of one statement in the Talmud to the effect that the cycle of reading covered the space of three years.¹ The author's task is therefore to disprove this statement and to establish his own theory. The best way to do so, he finds, is to look for parallels, and these he discovers in the usage of the Samaritans and Qaraites. As the annual cycle is an established fact with these two sects, he concludes that it is quite plausible that they as well as the Rabbanite Jews followed an older custom, although differences developed in some details. Dr. Gaster justly lays stress on the uncanonical character of the names of the Pentateuch itself as well as of the five books. These names have always been quite conventional. Even so late an authority as Sa'adyāh does not use any of these names in his Arabic version of the Tōrah, and to Genesis he gives the heading "The first book, which is the book of creation".²

We must, however, distinguish between a custom and the terminology employed for the same. Whilst the former may be old, the latter is subject to the changes of time and circumstance. This is visible in the use by the Samaritans of the term *qissa* for a small section, be it a group of verses or a single phrase. This word is not Samaritan, but Arabic, and superseded any older term, when Arabic became the vernacular. Sa'adyāh and

¹ See Büchler, "The Reading of the Law and Prophets in a Triennial Cycle": JQR. v, pp. 420 seq.

² This heading is not to be found in Derenbourg's edition, but is given in a MS. copy in my possession.

Qaraite authors use it frequently in the sense of the Hebrew פסוק, even in the arabicized forms **الفاسوق** and **الفاسوق**. The author then turns his attention to the relation between *pārāshāh* (or should it not rather be *p'rāshāh*?) and *sēder*, and here his views are undoubtedly correct. The latter word means nothing but "arrangement", "order", and may be used for a compilation of parts of the Bible, or prayers, or poems, as well as for the order of proceedings on particular occasions. The general conception of *pārāshāh* is that of a section of the Pentateuch, either dealing with one topic or serving as a weekly lesson. The term has not, therefore, any definite meaning. The other question dealing with the "open" or "closed" breaks in the text will probably always remain unanswered, unless a codex of much greater age than now extant is discovered. At any rate Dr. Gaster's comparison with the Samaritan division is interesting.

Of real importance is the Appendix to the book, containing a Samaritan calendar table for the Mohammedan year 1329 (1910-11). Something of this kind has never been published before. The names of the months are Arabic, all the rest is Hebrew, but the writing is in Samaritan characters. A facsimile of the pages 3 and 4 (seventh and eighth months) is given on the fly-leaf of the book, which, taken as a whole, is a valuable contribution to the history of the canon of the Bible.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

BABYLONISCHE BRIEFE AUS DER ZEIT DER HAMMURABI-DYNASTIE. Bearbeitet von ARTHUR UNGNAD. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1914.

The "Dynasty of Babylon", which, for the sake of stating clearly the period, is generally called "the Hammurabi-dynasty", was one of considerable importance

in many ways. It is noteworthy from the fact that it was really a foreign (western or south-western Arabian) dynasty, and because it included Hammurabi, whom the Assyrians, and probably, also, the later Babylonians, called Ammurapi (see the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, May, 1901, p. 191, text and 1st footnote). That the final element is really *rabi*, however, is implied by the translation of its elements as *Kintarapaštu*^m, "my family is wide-spread," or the like, in Babylonian.

The present work, which consists of 450 pages, contains 270 documents (pp. 1-239), transcription on the left, translation on the right, notes at the foot. This is followed by a glossary which extends to p. 404, a list of proper names (two pages), ideographs in transcription (3 pp.), and some additions and corrections. The texts are arranged as far as possible in chronological order. The introduction (pp. ix-xxxiii) deals with the period, the publications in which the texts are found, their place of origin, the earlier attempts at translation, and the contents of the series.

In such a mass of material, it is naturally impossible to do more than indicate the general contents, with one or two specimens. The following is the author's abstract of the first letter dealt with:—

"1. It deals with the calling up of ships and crews for a warlike undertaking. The king blames the receiver for his neglect hitherto, and warns him to carry out instructions more carefully. Otherwise he will be made responsible for the death of those who fall in the course of the expedition."

The document itself is from Larsa (Ellasar), and is supposed to have been written either by or for Rīm-Sin, the brother of Eri-Aku (Arioch), or Rīm-Anu. The person addressed was named Nūria, and the ships were to have been handed by him to Mannu^m-kima-Šamaš, but

Nûria had not carried out the order. The ships, ten in number, were to have all needful tackle. "Thy soul is with the crews who die."

This inscription, which was first published by Langdon, of Oxford, is somewhat defective.

Another text (No. 3) is the celebrated letter, which was at first supposed to refer to Chedorlaomer, and of which King, who revised it from a photograph taken at Constantinople, published the first really trustworthy copy:—

Ana Sin-idinna^m kibi-ma umma Hammurabi-ma. Îlāti^m ša Êmutbāli^m ša liti-ka ummānu^m ša-piḥāt Inuḥ-samar ušallamaku^m Inuma issankunikku^m ina ūmmāni^m ša gati-ka ūmmāna^m luput-ma îlāti^m ana šubti-šina lišallimu.

"Say to Sin-iddina, thus (says) Hammurabi: 'The goddesses of Êmutbālu, which are under thy protection, the troop which is under the authority of Inuḥ-samar shall deliver safely to thee. Touch the troop with the troop which is under thy command, then shall the goddesses be brought safely into their dwellings' (dann soll man die Göttinnen wohlbehalten in ihre Wohnstätte bringen)."

In a footnote to *luput* the author says, "As long as the meaning of *luput* in this connection is not clear, conclusions concerning the relations of this letter are most uncertain. Does it deal with the cure of sickness by the power of the idols, or the consecration of troops?"

But troop was to touch troop, and the result was that the idols would enter their dwellings safely—surely this means that their safe transit was to be secured by this double guard.

Another inscription of an historical nature is a text in the British Museum from Hammurabi to Sin-idinna^m, as above (No. 8). It shows the great Babylonian legislator as determined to work justice:—

*Rabiān ālu Medēm ki aššum hibilti-šu ulammidanni
annumma rabiān ālu Medēm ki šuati ana širi-ka aṭṭar-
dam warkaszu puruṣ šupur bēl awati-šu litrunikkumma
dīna^m kima šimdati^m šūhiszunuti.*

"The Prefect of Police of Medū^m has informed me of an injury which has been done to him. I now send that Prefect of Police of Medū^m to thee. Examine his complaint. Send, that his opponent(s) may be brought to thee. Then judge them according to the laws."

For the sake of comparison I add a direct translation from the original Babylonian into English:—

"The Prefect of Medū^m has informed me concerning the injury done to him. I send that Prefect of Medū^m to thee—examine his complaint. Send, let them bring to thee his accuser, and let them have judgment according to the law."

Whether it was a moral or a physical injury is not stated, but the context points to the former. In this case *bēl awati-šu* would seem to mean "his accuser(s)". Ungnad seems to be right in rendering *šimdatum* as "law". He points out that the full phrase is *šimdat šarri^m*, "law of the king." This may refer to the celebrated Code of Hammurabi, which, however, is called *dīnāni* in the colophon of the British Museum fragmentary copy (see the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology, November, 1902, p. 304).

The contents of these letters vary greatly, but they are mostly of a private nature. No. 14 refers to an intercalary month; Nos. 49-51, 74, 148, etc., refer to ships; No. 58 refers to sheep-stealing; No. 88 deals with an expected attack on Sippar; and No. 238 with a plot to overthrow Babylonian authority.

It would be ungenerous to find fault with such an excellent work, but a subject-list would have been a convenience.

T. G. PINCHES.

LE PALAIS DE DARIUS 1^{er} À SUSE, V^e SIÈCLE AV. J.C.
Simple Notice par M. L. PILLET, Architecte diplômé
par le Gouvernement. Paris: Geuthner; Mai, 1914.

The cover and the title-page of this book, representing a seated Persian man-headed lion (from the bas-relief on p. 75) looking backwards, towards his outstretched wing, accompanied by the above title, innocent of accents because drawn in capitals, give an impression of the antique and the bizarre which, in all probability, is not unintended.

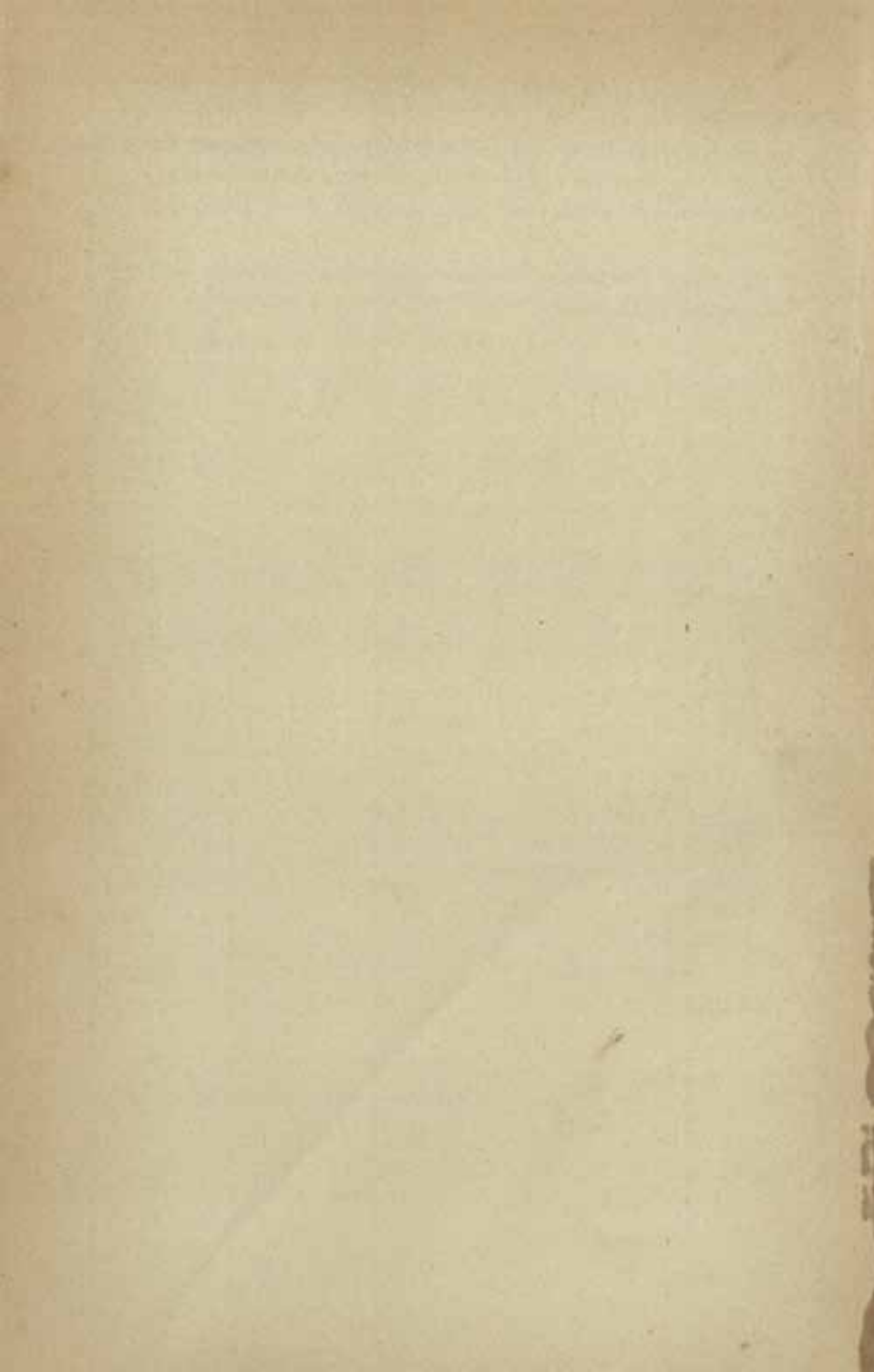
It is a modest work of 107 pages, 8½ by 5½ inches, with 31 illustrations, the whole, text and pictures, being printed in brown to imitate sepia. As these pictures have caused a considerable sacrifice of space, the amount of letterpress may be regarded as being about 60 pages.

What the book lacks in quantity, however, it makes up in that quality which is needed for "une simple notice destinée aux visiteurs du Salon des Artistes français". It deals with the site, the plain, and the ruins of Susa; the excavations undertaken there, in which full credit is given to Loftus; the discovery of Darius's palace and its "general aspect"; the northern portion of the same, and the *apadāna*. The pictures, both the photographs and the author's water-colours, are especially good, though some of them are wanting in contrast. The *serkar* smoking the *kalian* as he walks is an example of the dignified way in which Orientals do what we regard as comparatively trivial things. The plans and views, both of antiquities and modern things, are excellent. Striking is the Imam-Zadeh Shush, from a water-colour drawing by the author. This shows the lower part of the walls of the building completely demolished, and it seems a wonder that they remain in position. It is of baked brick in plaster, but the base of the walls is sapped by the nomads, who come

to fetch the material for their burial-places. Moreover, the winter rains always carry away a part of these ruins, and no attempt is made to stop the ravages of time and weather.

M. Pillet has succeeded in producing an artistic and interesting little book.

T. G. PINCHES.



NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(October-December, 1915)

I. GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

September 21, 1915.—Colonel Plunkett in the chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:—

Pandit Rati Lal Antani.

Mr. V. Natesa Aiyar.

Pandit Shiv Kumar Chaturvedi.

Professor Jogindranath Sammadar.

Mr. H. Lee Shuttleworth read a paper on the Masrur Rock Temple and other Hindu Temples of the Kangra Hills, Punjab.

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Cousens and Mr. Coldstream took part.

November 1, 1915.—Sir Charles Lyall in the chair.

Fifteen nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Pandit Shyam Shankar read a paper entitled "Some Chronological Assumptions in the History of Sanskrit Literature".

A discussion followed, in which Dr. Thomas, Professor Hagopian, and Mr. Setlur took part.

December 14, 1915.—The following were elected members of the Society:—

Mrs. Mabel Holmwood.

Maulavi Bashir-ud-din Ahmad.

Shreemat Nirmal Chandra Banerji.

Mr. Brindaban Chandra Bhattacharya.

Mr. H. R. Batheja.
 Mr. M. Atul Chandra Chatterjee.
 Babu Hemanga Chandra Chaudhuri.
 Babu Hirankumar Ray Chaudhuri.
 Mr. Banarsi Lal Garr.
 Mr. G. H. Hargreaves.
 Mr. Puran Chand Nahar.
 Mr. Lakshmana Sarupe.
 Thakur Rajendra Singh.
 Babu Kshitindra Nath Tagore.
 Mr. F. Rushbrook Williams.

Eight nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Sir Charles Lyall read a paper entitled "Some Experiments in adapting Arabian Metrical Forms to English Verse".

A discussion followed, in which Professor Margoliouth spoke.

II. PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

- I. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. Série XI, Tome IV, No. iii.
 Przyluski (J.). Le Nord-Ouest de l'Inde dans Le Vinaya des Mūla Sarvāstivādin.
 Senart (E.). Notes d'épigraphie indienne: L'inscription du vase de Wardak.
 Rœské (M.). L'Enfer Cambodgien d'après le Trai Phum "Les trois Mondes".
 Huart (Cl.). Documents de l'Asie Centrale: Trois actes notariés arabes de Yarkend.
 — Le ghazel heptaglotte d'Abou-Ishaq Hallādj.
 Vissière (A.). La marine chinoise et sa nouvelle nomenclature.
 — Orthographe officielle chinoise des noms de capitales étrangères.

II. T'OUNG PAO. Vol. XVI, No. ii.

Laufer (B.). Optical Lenses.

Cordier (H.). Les Correspondants de Bertin.

Rockhill (W. W.). Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago. Part II.

III. JOURNAL AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL. Vol. IX, Nos. iii-iv, v-vi.

Vidyabhusana (S. C.). So-sor-thar-pa; or Code of Buddhist Monastic Laws.

Smeeth (W. F.). The Geological History of S. India.

Hornell (J.). Recent Pearl Fishery in Palk Bay.

Nanjundayya (H. V.). Some Aspects of Ethnographic Investigations.

Batabyal (B. C.). Dakshindhar, a Godling of the Sunderbuns.

IV. MEMOIRS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL. Vol. V, No. iii.

Banerji (R. D.). The Palas of Bengal.

V. JOURNAL OF THE PANJAB HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Vol. III, No. ii.

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VI. INDIAN ANTIQUARY. Vol. XLIV, Pt. dlix.

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Zimmermann (R.). Some Remarks on the Chronology of the Upanishads.

Luard (Major C. E.). Gazetteer Gleanings.

VII. CEYLON ANTIQUARY AND LITERARY REGISTER. Vol. I, Pt. i.

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Sumangala (Rev. S.). The Dhammapada and its Commentary.

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 Meerwarth-Levina (Mrs. L.). The Hindu Goddess Pattini
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 Nanissara (Ven. Sri). Saranankara Sangharaja.
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 Gunawardhana (W. F.). Parakrama Bahu VI and his
 "alter ego".

- VIII. RIVISTA DEGLI STUDI ORIENTALI. Vol. VI, Fasc. iv.
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Tyler (W. F.). On a large Meteorite.

XI. BULLETIN DE L'ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTRÊME ORIENT.
Tome XIV, No. viii.

Maspero (H.). Rapport Sommaire sur une Mission
archéologique au Tcho-Kiang.

XII. TRANSLATIONS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE JAPAN
SOCIETY, LONDON. Vol. XIII, Pt. i.

Blane (W.). Tsingtao.
Gowland (W.). Metals and Metal Workers in Old Japan.
Hall (Miss L.). Avocations of Japanese Women.
Kato (Naoshi). Eastern Ideas and the Japanese Spirit.

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JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

1916

VI

THE INDO-GERMANIC ACCENT IN MARATHI

By R. L. TURNER

1. The following article is primarily an attempt to explain the equations, Sanskrit *mārjārah* = Gujrāti *mājār* = Marāṭhī *mājar*; Sanskrit *śmaśānāḥ* = Gujrāti *masāṇ* = Marāṭhī *masaṇ*; Sanskrit *palāśāḥ* = Marāṭhī *paḷas*; Sanskrit *upasthānam* = Marāṭhī *vathāṇ*.

2. I have made use of the following abbreviations for the names of languages.

Skt.	Sanskrit	G.	Gujrāti
Pkt.	Prākrit	S.	Sindhi
Mh.	Mahārāṣṭri	P.	Pañjābī
Ś.	Śaurasēni	H.	Hindi
M.	Marāṭhī	B.	Baṅgālī.

For transcription I have used the system of the JRAS., adding a mark of length over *ē* and *ō*; for phonetic representation that of the Association phonétique internationale. | in front of a syllable indicates the main stress; | the secondary stress; ' over a vowel the chief tone. "Stress" is used for the stress or energy accent, "Druck"; "tone" for the musical accent.

3. With regard to the part that accent has played in the development of the modern Indo-Aryan languages

there have been three sharply divided opinions, one represented by Pischel, the second by Jacobi, and the third by Bloch.

4. Pischel¹ maintained there are certain sound-changes in the Prākṛit dialects which can be ascribed only to the influence of an accent corresponding in position with that of Vedic Sanskrit.

5. Jacobi,² on the other hand, denies the existence of this accent or its effects in Prākṛit, and in return argued that the accent of Prākṛit was a stress, corresponding in place with that usually ascribed to Classical Latin. Grierson,³ amongst others, has accepted Jacobi's view, and has endeavoured to show that this stress has been responsible for further development in the modern languages.

6. Lastly, Jules Bloch⁴ points out that we know nothing certain about the accent in ancient times; that there is much that is doubtful and inconsistent in both Pischel's and Jacobi's theories; that the modern languages possess no stress; that an accent theory is not necessary to explain Marāṭhī phonology, and finishes by saying: "Dès lors il convient de considérer les variations régulières de quantité et même de timbre des voyelles comme dependant d'un rythme purement quantitatif."⁵

¹ *Grammatik der Prākṛit-sprachen*, passim.

² The only article by Jacobi that I actually have before me is that in ZDMG. xlvii, pp. 574 ff. It is from this and from antagonistic remarks in Pischel's *Grammar*, and from conversation with Professor Jacobi himself, that I have gathered what his views on the subject are. I must further apologize for the sad incompleteness of this article with regard to references. But in the case of comparative philology, unless I happen to possess a particular book myself, there is little hope that I shall find access to it in India. For further insufficiencies I must plead the exigencies of military service, which make a return to England and libraries a matter of doubt.

³ "On the Phonology of the Indo-Aryan Vernaculars": ZDMG. xlix, pp. 393 ff.; I, pp. 1 ff.

⁴ *La Formation de la langue marathe*, §§ 32 ff.

⁵ Op. cit., § 36.

7. It is therefore my object to attempt to determine how far one or the other of these views is correct, or whether, as is often the case with apparently conflicting contentions, there may not be some truth in all three.

8. The accent of Vedic Sanskrit, it is generally acknowledged, as far as can be gathered from a comparison with the accentuation systems of Greek, Balto-Slavonic, and Primitive Germanic, in the main represents that of the parent Indo-Germanic language, at least in its later stage. Our knowledge of this Vedic accent is obtained from the various accented texts such as the *Rgvēda* or the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*, from Vedic scansion (e.g. Vedic *gām* = Greek *βῶν*, scanned as a disyllable), and from the notices and discussions of grammarians such as Pāṇini, in whose day this accent still appears to have been in use, or the authors of the *Prātiśākhya*s and *Śikṣā*s, etc.¹

9. As described by Pāṇini, the chief points in this system were as follows:—

A. Each accented word had either the *udātta* or the *svarita* accent as its chief accent.

i. The *udātta* was the highest tone of the word. A few words had two *udātta* syllables.

ii. The *svarita*, as an independent accent, fell on the syllable following an elided *i* or *u* with *udātta*: e.g. *tanúah* (: *tāná*) > *tanvāh*.

B. There were three grades of accentuation among the other syllables. The one immediately following the *udātta* possessed a falling tone, also called *svarita*. Of the syllables following this *svarita* the lowest tone was that immediately preceding the next *udātta*. Thus *dyāvāprthivī* may be numerically represented, where 4 is the highest tone, as 4 3 2 1 4.

10. It is, however, important from the point of view of this investigation that the systems of the accented texts and of Pāṇini do not altogether agree among

¹ See Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, i, §§ 243 ff.

themselves. These differences may be classed under two heads according to A, the nature of the accent; B, its position.

A. i. In the *Rgvēda*, *Taittirīyasaṃhitā*, *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa*, *Taittirīyāranyaka*, the svarita was the highest tone; while the udātta was in the middle.

ii. In distinction to Pāṇini and RV., the Kāśmīrī MSS. of RV. and Atharvavēda and the grammarian Kātyāyana distinguish the independent svarita sharply from the svarita which followed an udātta syllable.

iii. The *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* marks only the accented syllable and makes no distinction among the unaccented, though this may be a matter of writing only, not of speech.

B. There were differences, also, in the position of the accent.

i. Vedic *saptá* Gr. *ἐπτά* : Classical *sápta*; Ved. *aṣṭáu* Gr. *ὀκτώ* : Cl. *áṣtau* (cf. *dāśa* : Gr. *δέκα*); *tilá-* : Cl. *tila-*; Ved. *sīdati* : Cl. *sīdati* or *sīdāti*; AV. *gáhvará-* : Cl. *gáhvara-*.

ii. A final svarita becomes udātta: e.g. *dīyauḥ* > *dīyāuḥ* > *dīyáuḥ*.

iii. The syllable preceding the svarita takes udātta regularly in ŚB., and also sometimes according to Pāṇini's rules: e.g., *-tavyā-* : *-távya-*; Ved. *vīryā-* : P. *vīrya-*; *manuṣyēṣu* : ŚB. *manúṣyēṣu*; *ēvā etád* : ŚB. *ēvaitád*.

iv. In some passages of the ŚB.,¹ particularly where a word is often repeated, the accent is liable to be changed.

v. Sometimes in the ŚB. in reduplicated formations and long compounds, which normally have the accent on the reduplicating syllable or on the first member of the compound, a second accent is added later in the word, e.g. *bálbālīti*, *ēkasaptatīḥ*. Occasionally this second accent

¹ Wackernagel, op. cit., i, § 252d.

becomes the chief: e.g. *ēkasaptatīh* besides *ēkasaptatīh* and *ēkasaptatīh*.¹

11. This is the accent whose action Pischel² claims to trace in certain phenomena of Prākṛit phonology. To it he ascribes the following sporadic changes in Prākṛit:—

(a) Final accented *-am* remains, when emphasis is laid on the word: *ēvām*, *ahām*, *sayam* (< *svayām*).³

(b) Postaccentual long vowels were shortened: *ūtkhāta* > *ukkhā-*, *ānika* > *aṇia-*, *śīriṣa* > *sirisa-*, *ūlūka* > *ulua-*, etc.⁴

(c) Preaccentual long vowels were shortened: *acāryā-*, i.e. *ācāria* > *āyariya-*, *kumārā* > *kumara-*, *pravāhā* > *pavaha-*, *gabhirā* > *gahira-*, *nītā* > *ṇia-*, *mārjārā* > *maṇjara-*, etc.⁵

(d) Preaccentual long vowels followed by a single consonant were shortened and the consonant doubled: *ēvām* > *evvām*, *kācā* > *kacca-*, *tailā* > *tella*, *krīdā* > *kiddā*, *tuṣṇikā* > *tuṇhikka-*, *sthūlā* > *thulla-*, *stokā* > *thokka-*, *prēmāṇ* > *pemma-*, *khātā* > *khatta-*, *dhmātā* > *dhatta-*, etc.⁶

(e) A stop after a preaccentual short vowel was doubled: *jītā* > *jitta-*, *ṛjū* > *ujju*, **hṛdakā* > *haḍakka-*, *Mālatī* > *Mālatti*, *duritā* > *duritta-*, *sphuṭātī* > *phuṭṭai*, etc.⁷

(f) Postaccentual *ā* > *i*: *tēsām* > *tēsīm*, *tāsām* > *tāsīm*, *jālpāmaḥ* > *jaṃpimō*, *nāmāmaḥ* > *namimō*, *bhāṇāmaḥ* > *bhaṇimō*, **vāndāmaḥ* > *vandimō*, **lābhāmaḥ* > *lahimu*.⁸

(g) Preaccentual *a* > *i* or *u*: *aśanā* > *asiṇa-*, *uttamā* > *uttima-*, *katamā* > *kaīma-*, *kṛpāṇā* > *kiviṇa-*, *ghraṃsā* > *ghim̐sa-*, *caramā* > *carima-*, *pakvā* > *pikka-*, *majjā* > *mim̐jā*, *arpāyati* > *uppēi*.⁹

12. To account for such changes as these, Pischel

¹ For all this see Wackernagel, loc. cit.; Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, §§ 83 ff.

² Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākṛit-sprachen*, § 46.

³ Op. cit., § 349.

⁴ Op. cit., § 80.

⁵ Op. cit., § 81.

⁶ Op. cit., § 90.

⁷ Op. cit., § 194.

⁸ Op. cit., § 108.

⁹ Op. cit., §§ 101 ff.

supposes that the Vedic tone had become a stress, but that it had kept its place in the word. Most of these sound changes are such as are commonly met with in the history of stressed languages. But groups *d* and *e*, perhaps, need some discussion. Does a following stress ever lead to the doubling of a preceding consonant? On this point Jespersen's words are enlightening: "Man lenkt . . . die Aufmerksamkeit dadurch auf das Wort, dass man einer von den Silben, die in der Normalform des Wortes den Druck nicht hat, einen Extradruck gibt; in zweisilbigen Wörtern also der ersten Silbe; in längeren Wörtern meist . . . so, dass man die erste Silbe wählt, die mit einem Konsonant beginnt, z. B. *le* 'miserable, *c'est* 'parfaitement vrai, aber *c'est* ab'solument faux. Der Anfangskonsonant der so verstärkten Silbe wird oft verlängert oder geminiert."¹ Further he says: "Lange Konsonanten auf zwei Silben verteilt (doppelte) haben wir . . . endlich auch unterm Einfluss der Stimmung: *c'est désolant* [sed'dezälä]: in der Volkssprache ist die letzte Erscheinung ziemlich weit verbreitet."²

It is, then, possible that such changes as *tailā* > *tella*-, *ēvām* > *evvām*, *jītā* > *jitta*-, may be due to the following stress. That the doubling was real may be seen from the modern equivalents: e.g. G. *tēl* (not **tēl*); H. *jītnā* (not **jīnā* or **jēnā*): *jitta*-; M. *phuṭṇē* (not **phuṭṇē*). But against this speak a number of words in Gujrāṭi: e.g. *kāl* (not **kāl*) < *kālāḥ*, *śiyāl* < *śṛgālāḥ*, *mēle* < *mēlāyati*. Similarly M. *kāl*, *mēlaviṇē*, *śil* < *śilā*. Pischel's theory does not therefore explain why in one case we have -ll- > G. M. -l- (*tailām* > *tellām* > *tēl*), and in the other -l- > G. M. -l- (*śilā* > *śil*). And in at least one other case Pischel's theory seems to break down: *yauvanā*- > *jovvaṇa*- (not **jōvaṇa*-) > H. *jōban*, with -b- < -vv- as opposed to -w- < -v- in *jīwē* < *jīvati*.

¹ Jespersen, *Lehrbuch der Phonetik*, 14. 9.

² Op. cit., 12. 64.

13. But other explanations for this consonant doubling can be made; and although at present it seems impossible to decide which is right, it may be that more than one is responsible.

(a) Bloch, speaking of the correspondence between M. -k- and Skt. -k-, says: "Le *k* de pkr. *mukka-* ne devrait pas s'interpréter phonétiquement: ce serait une simple graphie de *k* Sanskrit rendue nécessaire par la règle du prākṛit qu'il n'y a à l'intervocalique que des occlusives geminées. C'est ainsi que s'expliquent également *lākaḍ* (pkr. *lakkuḍa-*, skr. *lakṣa-*), *mukā* (pkr. *mukka-* à côté de *mūa-*, skr. *mūka-*), surtout *ēk* (pkr. *ekka-*, skr. *ēka-*) mot particulièrement indispensable qui ne pouvait se maintenir qu'au prix d'un artifice."¹

But though this may apply to double stops, it does not afford an explanation for -vv-, since -v- was known to Prākṛit: yet we have *evvaṃ* < *ēvaṃ*. Compare also Braj *karāwan* < **kārāpana-*, H. *pāwe* < *prāpayati*, etc.

(b) I suggest that in some cases there may have been a different suffix from that of the Sanskrit: that e.g. **aivyaka-*, not **ēvaka-*, is the direct ancestor of G. *ēvo*. On this point, too, Bloch's words may be compared: "Il (-kk-) sert fréquemment de morphème en Prākṛit classique . . . En Marathe . . . on le trouve dans *thāknē* (*sthā-*: cf. Apabhraṃṣa *thakkēi*), dans des mots expressives comme *khudaknē*, *cadak-*, *micaknē*, *phatak-* . . . Ce morphème remonte sans doute en partie à skr. -*kya-*: le mot *pārkā* le prouve clairement: mais d'autres influences ont pu agir: . . . on sait que -kk- est un morphème courant en dravidien."²

¹ *La Formation de la langue marathe*, § 94. It does not seem to me that Bloch's contention that Pischel is wrong in the particular case of deriving Prākṛit *mukka-* from **mukna-* is particularly happy in the face of Sanskrit forms like *bhagna-*, *bhugna-*, *vykna-*, *akna-*, etc.; in all there are about seventy such participles, and one at least, *akna-*, has a second form *acita-* *añcita-*. See Whitney, § 957.

² Loc. cit.

Such an explanation may account for such forms as *evam*, *hadakka-*, *phuttai*, etc., but not for *dhatta-*, *khatta-*, *hitta-*, where *-tya-* would > *-cc-*.

(c) These, if not put down to the explanation given in section a, were possibly formed on the analogy of *dhattā-* (*dhā*), *datta-* (*dā*), *utta-* < *ukta-*, *sutta-* < *supta-*, *ratta-* < *rakta-*, etc., where *-tt-* is phonetically regular.

(d) The exchange of length between a short vowel followed by a long consonant (compensatory lengthening) or, more rarely, between a long vowel followed by a short consonant, is a well-known phenomenon. The first is amply illustrated in all the modern Indo-Aryan languages except Pañjābī, e.g. Pkt. *hatthō* G. H. *hāth*. The second process may be illustrated from Latin, e.g. *cūpa*, *bāca*, **gnārō* > *cuppa*, *bacca*, *narro*.¹ It is possible that here also may be the explanation of some of the above changes of quantity: *ēvam* [*ewam*] > *evvam* [*ewam*]. This would explain the two words *yauvanam* > *jōvvaṇam*, *Draupadī* > *Dovvadī*, which cannot fall under any of the other categories.

14. It is, however, of the greatest importance to note that these changes are not universal in the Prākṛit dialects. Beside *kumarō* < *kumārāḥ*, *sirisō* < *śirīṣāḥ*, *evvam* < *ēvām*, *thokka-* < *stokā-*, *bhaṇimō* < *bhāṇāmaḥ*, *pikkō* < *pakvāḥ* we find *kumārō*, *sirisō*, *ēvam*, *thōa-*, *bhaṇāmō*, *pakkō*. At first sight it might be maintained that the *kumārō*-series was only a previous stage in evolution, when the accent had not yet performed its work of change. But on further examination it will be found that the modern languages reproduce this differentiation, e.g. M. *kāvar*, *mājar*, *śiras* (< **śirisu*), *pik*: G. *kumāro*,

¹ It must, however, be admitted that Latin similarly doubles consonants after short vowels: *aqua* < *aqua*, *anima* < *anima* (cf. *jitta-* < *jīta-*?). But the majority of instances are of words with a long vowel, while words with the short vowel belong to the later period, when the stress was becoming strongly developed. See Sommer, *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre*, § 160, 2 ff.

mājār, śirīs, pāko. We are then plainly dealing with a divergence of development.

15. Pischel had already noted this fact, although he did not in his grammar develop it further than to say: "Der Accent von Mahārāṣṭri, Ardhamāgadhi, Jainamahārāṣṭri, dem poetischen Apabhraṃśa, voraussichtlich auch Jainaśaurasēnī, entspricht wesentlich dem vedischen. . . . In Śaurasēnī, Māgadhi, Dhakki ist der Accent des classischen Sanskrit nachweisbar, der mit dem des Latein meist übereinstimmt."¹ And, indeed, a careful study of the examples given in his book, despite the enormous mixture of dialect inevitable in a country with such fluctuating political boundaries and such numerous and strong literary traditions, will soon show that the isogloss line of this phenomenon runs as he says, having on the one side Mh., AMg., JM., A., JŚ., and on the other Ś., Mg., Dh. Of the examples illustrating the sound changes dealt with in § 11 Mahārāṣṭri has forty-six with only the form presupposing the Vedic place of accent, eight with both forms; Śaurasēnī has three examples giving both forms, and five with the double consonant only (*kacca-, tella-, pemma-, jevva-, jovvaṇa-*), for which causes other than the accent have already been suggested, and indeed shown to be necessary.

16. On the other hand, Jacobi denies the continuation of the Vedic accent in the Prākritis, beginning his article with the words: "Die ursprüngliche, musikalische Betonung, wie sie für die älteren Theile des Veda überliefert ist, scheint im epischen und klassischen Sanskrit aufgegeben worden zu sein. Auch sind uns keinerlei Nachrichten über den Accent im Pāli und in den Prākrit-sprachen erhalten."² Grierson³ follows Jacobi,

¹ § 46.

² ZDMG. xlvii, p. 247; cf. also his *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Mahārāṣṭri*, § 14, 3. Bloch quotes articles by him: *Indogermanische Forschungen*, xxxi, p. 219; Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, xxxv, p. 568; but these I have not been able to see.

³ ZDMG. xlix, pp. 393 ff.; L, pp. 1 ff.

and ascribes all the changes attributable to accent to a new stress quite independent of the older tone. This stress corresponded more or less in place with that of Classical Latin, that is to say, it depended on the quantity of the penultimate syllable. In his general thesis (though with certain of the details, which I shall specify later, I am unable to agree) Grierson is undoubtedly right with regard to most of the modern languages, but not, as I believe, with regard to all. The language which I propose to isolate from the section of his law is Marāṭhī, while I shall take Gujrāṭi as a type of those generally conforming to it.

17. It is a point worth noticing that in Marāṭhī there appears to be little or no word-stress (here I differ from Grierson, who has perhaps tended to confuse stress with length, a mistake very easy for English ears). Bloch quotes Navalkar as saying: "En marathe, chaque mot est prononcé sur un ton égal, la syllabe initiale étant seule dans l'effort de la prononciation levée légèrement au-dessus des autres; mais l'accent, dans le sens d'une *intensité accrue* comme en anglais, est inconnu au marathe, sauf dans les trois cas suivants"¹ (in which three cases there is not properly a question of accent at all). On the other hand, Gujrāṭi undoubtedly has a stress in a fixed position in the word. And it is worthy of note that Gujrāṭi speakers accuse Marāṭhī speakers of talking in a sing-song way, as an unstressed, perhaps musically toned, language does seem to speakers of a stressed language; and Marāṭhī speakers accuse Gujrāṭi speakers of talking jerkily, as a stressed language does sound to one acquainted only with an unstressed language. Another Marāṭhī speaker informed me that while he cannot easily distinguish Marāṭhī and Hindustānī when heard from

¹ *La Formation de la langue marathe*, § 34, a translation of Navalkar, *The Student's Marāṭhī Grammar*, § 39.

a distance, he can easily distinguish Marāṭhī and Gujrāti under similar circumstances.

18. I propose now to examine the question as to whether the stress of Gujrāti does bear any relation to the stress hypothecated by Jacobi for later Sanskrit¹ and for Prākṛit.

In Gujrāti the accent is a not very pronounced stress. As a rule words are stressed on the last syllable but one : e.g. *ḥkamal*, *ḥdādam*, *māḥjāro*. The inflected word retains the stress of the uninflected form, e.g. *ḥghōḍo* : *ḥghōḍāmā*, *ḥsamjhe* : *ḥsamajhto*. In some words, however, whose final syllable contains a long vowel, the stress falls on that syllable, particularly when it is followed by an enclitic ; otherwise the two syllables are liable to even stress, more especially when the first syllable is long,² e.g. *jalō*, *cakvā* [*dʒa*ḥlō, *tʃak*ḥva or *dʒa*ḥlō, *tʃak*ḥva], but *jalō che*, *cakvā che* [*dʒa*ḥlōtʃhe (*tʃ*), *tʃak*ḥvaḥtʃhe (*tʃ*)]. This class of word will be found to be derived from Sanskrit words with a long penultimate : Skt. *jalanukā*, *cakravākāḥ* > *jalō*, *cakvā*. Now this penultimate is the very syllable which according to Jacobi was stressed in Sanskrit ; and throughout the vocabulary, with comparatively few exceptions, the stressed syllable of Gujrāti corresponds with the hypothetically stressed syllable of the parent language.

¹ I have little doubt that Jacobi would agree that this stress developed in Sanskrit when the spoken language had already moved beyond the Sanskrit stage, and that it was introduced into the literary from the spoken language, just as all European countries have modelled their pronunciation of Latin on their own spelling ; e.g., Lat. *clavis* [*ki-wis*], pronounced in France [*si-vis*], in Germany [*tsi-vis* or *tsi-fis*], in England, except among a now fortunately increasing body of reformers [*saivis*]. Similarly, the stress accent has been introduced into the pronunciation of Greek in England and Germany ; e.g., *ἡδός*, modern Greek [*o'ḥos*], in England and Germany [*hodos*].

² This description of the stress in Gujrāti agrees in the main with that given by Taylor, *Gujarātī Grammar*, § 9, excepting that he makes no mention of an alternative even stress for words with final long syllable.

19. Below is a scheme in which this is set out. — represents a syllable long by the nature of its vowel or by position, × a syllable either short or long, ∪ a short syllable.

SANSKRIT	GUJRĀTĪ
i. × <i>dvē</i> <i>na</i>	× <i>bē</i> <i>na</i>
ii. × × <i>grāmaḥ</i> <i>jalām</i>	× <i>gām</i> <i>jaḷ</i>
iii. × ∪ × <i>matkunaḥ</i> <i>kamalaḥ</i>	× ∪ <i>mākaṇ</i> <i>kamaḷ</i>
iv. × ∪ ∪ × * <i>garbhinikā</i> <i>kumalakaḥ</i>	— ∪ <i>gābhṇi</i> <i>kumḷo</i>
v. ∪ — × a <i>ranyam</i> ja <i>laukā</i>	—, ∪ — <i>rān</i> ja <i>ḷō</i>
vi. — — × sa <i>ubhāgyam</i>	∪ — so <i>hāg</i>
vii. × — ∪ × * <i>kaṭhānikā</i>	∪ — ∪ ka <i>hāṇi</i>
viii. × × — × ca <i>kraṇvākaḥ</i> pri <i>yaṇkāraḥ</i>	× — ca <i>kṇvā</i> pi <i>ār</i>
ix. × × — ∪ × pri <i>yaṇkāraḥ</i>	× — ∪ pi <i>āro</i>

20. If, then, for the moment we suppose that the stress which we find in modern Gujrāṭī fell on approximately the same syllables when the language was still in what may be called the Sanskrit stage, or at any rate in that stage in which the length, neither of syllables nor of vowels, had been disturbed to any appreciable extent, we

shall be able to say that this earlier language possessed a stress which fell on the penultimate syllable of the word if it were long; if short, then on the antepenult; probably if that were short, on the fourth syllable from the end: e.g. as above: *'na*, *'grāmaḥ* *'matkunaḥ*, *a'raṇyam* **'garbhīṇikā*.

21. But even if a language, whose history is being investigated, does not at the moment of investigation possess a stress, it may still be necessary, when comparing its present form with some past form, to postulate the former existence of a stress in order to explain certain sound changes. For example, the word-stress of French is very weak, so weak that some deny its existence. Yet a comparison of French with Latin would force the observer, although he knew nothing of the existence of a stress in Latin (and indeed its existence has been denied by some for Classical Latin) to form the conclusion that at some period between, say, the writing of the plays of Plautus and the earliest records of French a stress must have existed in the language. Only in this way could he explain the difference between *vient* > *'venit* and *venir* > *ve'nīre*, or the different fate of the *e*'s in *'vere'cundia* > *vergoigne*.

22. In the same way we have before us a considerable number of words in the Sanskrit stage, which we find again in modern Gujrāṭi, but in a somewhat different form: e.g. Skt. *garbhāgāram*, G. *ga'bhār*; Skt. **'garbhīṇikā*, G. *'gābhni*. Can these various changes be explained without having recourse to the hypothesis of a stress? And does this supposed stress fall on the same syllables as those on which the stress in Gujrāṭi actually falls?

23. It is true that the phenomena usually associated with the presence of a stress are also found as the result of other causes. For example, shortening or even disappearance of final syllables, particularly when they are formed by final vowels, is found in languages which

have no pronounced stress.¹ Long vowels are shortened irrespective of accent, as e.g. in Bihāri the initial long vowel of a word with three or more syllables: *dēkhab*, but *dekhaba*.² Syllables are lost, as e.g. in Greek, when three short syllables come together: **τοφι-ρα* > *τόφρα*, **φιλοτερος* > *φίλτερος*.³ But these phenomena are not found in great abundance in any one unstressed language; so that their presence in considerable number will justify the assumption of a stress, if it can be shown that the changes are consistent with its supposed position.

24. In the following treatment of the history of stressed and unstressed syllables in Gujrāti I shall ascribe to the Sanskrit-like language from which it sprang the penultimate stress accent described above. It can then be seen whether such a theory is justified or not.

25. Stressed vowels remain.

(a) Short vowels:

Type:—

| — : *ḥna* > *ḥna*.

| — × : *ḥalam* > *ḥal*, *ḥṣanam* > *ḥhan*, *ḥīrah* > *ḥīr*,
ḥīram > *ḥīr*, *ḥkulam* > *ḥkul*.

| — — × : *ḥkamalah* > *ḥkamal*, *ḥjvalati* > *ḥjale*, *ḥtilakah* >
ḥtīlo, **ḥchinati* (: *chinatti*) > *ḥchīne*, *ḥpuṭikā*
> *ḥpuṭi*, **ḥsupati* (: *svapiti*) > *ḥsuve*.

| — — — × : *ḥanaśanam* > *ḥaṣaṇ*, **ḥśvaśurakah* > *ḥsasro*,
ḥkumalakah > *ḥkumlo*.

(b) Long vowels:

| — : *ḥmā* > *ḥmā*, *ḥdvē* > *ḥbē*, *ḥnō* > *ḥnō*.

| — × : *ḥgrāmah* > *ḥgām*, *ḥnāśah* > *ḥnās*, *ḥhīnah* > *ḥhīn*,
ḥkṣīram > *ḥkhīr*, *ḥdhālīh* > *ḥdhāl*, *ḥpūrah* >
ḥpūr, *ḥmēghah* > *ḥmēh*, *ḥdēvah* > *ḥdēv*, *ḥśōṣah*
> *ḥśōs*, *ḥkrōśah* > *ḥkōs*.

¹ Cf. Gauthiot, *La fin de mot en indo-européen*, p. 194.

² Cf. Grierson, *Seven Grammars of the Bihāri Language*, pt. i, § 36.

³ Cf. Ehrlich, *Untersuchungen über die Natur der griechischen Betonung*, ch. i.

× | — × : mār¹jārah > mā¹jār, vyāk¹h¹yānam > va¹khān,
ā¹bhīrah > ā¹hīr, maj¹jūṣā > ma¹jūs, kar
| pūrah > ka¹pār.

| — — × : |vālukā > |vālu, |bhrātṛkaḥ > |bhāi, |kēvalaḥ
> |kēval, *|gōrasaḥ > |gōras.

i and ū belonging to this type, though retained in old Gujrāti, have now become i and u.¹

× | — — × : *ka¹thānikā > ka¹hāni.

| — — — × : *|garbhīnikā > gābhni, *|kēśarikaḥ > |kēsri.

26. One other fact in connexion with the stressed syllable must be noticed. When intervocalic -m- precedes the stressed syllable it becomes -v-, in common with all the other modern Indo-Aryan languages excepting Singhalese² and some North-West dialects³ but including Gypsy:⁴ ku¹māra- > kāvāro, sa¹marpayati > sōpe, sa¹marghakaḥ > sōgho. But if the stress precedes -m-, the -m- is retained : |grāmaḥ > gām : H. gāū ; |kamalaḥ > kamal : H. kaūl, kāwal ; |vyāmaḥ > vām : M. vāv.⁵ This applies not only to -m- immediately following the stress, but also to the second syllable after the stress, provided it is not part of an inflectional suffix : |pañcamakaḥ > pācmo : H. pācwā ; |saptamakaḥ > sātmo : H. sātawā ; |dādimaḥ

¹ See below, §§ 27 ff.

² Most of the evidence which I have available seems to show, as Bloch, op. cit., § 137, says, that Singhalese preserved -m- universally, even in inflected syllables : gamak : grāmaḥ ; namanu : namati ; bāmba : vyāmaḥ ; kami : khādāmi ; kamu : khādāmaḥ. There are, however, one or two words which show -v- : navanu beside namanu ; and two with -m- for -v-, nama (subst.) beside nava (adj.) "9" ; nimenū beside nivenu : nirvāti ; ruanmāli beside ruanvāli (see Geiger, *Literatur und Sprache der Singhalesen*). In pāminenu : prāpnōti, Pāli pāpundati, I see a compromise between pam- (cf. G. pāmū < prāpn-) and pāvīn- < pāpūn-. Cf. G. sāmū "dream", a compromise between *sāmū < svapnakam and *sivū < siviṇa- < Idg. supno-.

³ Bloch, op. cit., § 137, refers to Grierson, *Pisāca Languages of North-Western India*, p. 118. Unfortunately I have not the book here.

⁴ e.g. German Gypsy, gāv < grāmaḥ ; Rumanian Gypsy, gav ; tn < Pkt. tumam ; korlo < *kōmalakaḥ.

⁵ For full lists of words see my article in JRAS., 1915, p. 20 ff.

> *dādam*. I have only found instances of this in the ordinal numbers and in the word *dādam*. It is just possible that the ending *-mo* for ordinals is borrowed from Sanskrit (though on the whole not probable, since, as far as I know, no trace of a **pācvō* or **pācvaū* has been found in Gujrāti); and there is some reason to believe that *dādam* may represent an older **dādimba-* (cf. H. *dōm*, Syrian Gypsy *dom*, European Gypsy *rōm* : Skt. *dōmba-*; G. *sām*, beside *sāb* : Skt. *śambhā*), though in this case the Gujrāti word must be borrowed, as else we should have **dadīb* **dadīm*.¹ Doubtless the cause of this preservation of *-m-* is to be seen in a continuation of the general muscular intensity consequent on producing the stressed syllable, with the result that the closure of the lips was maintained.²

27. Long stressed syllables containing *ī* or *ū* need special mention. For at first sight they seem to contradict the rule that long stressed syllables retain their length in Gujrāti, inasmuch as these vowels, except in final syllables, always appear as short (though sometimes written long);³ e.g. *ṣuto* : < *ṣupṭaḥ*, *cuse* < *cūṣatī*, *uṇo*

¹ Fuller etymological lists of Gujrāti are necessary to solve this problem.

² Cf. Jespersen, *Lehrbuch*, 7. 32: "Akzent (Druck) ist Energie, intensive Muskeltätigkeit, die nicht an ein einzelnes Organ gebunden ist, sondern der gesamten Artikulation ihr Gepräge gibt. Soll eine starke Silbe ausgesprochen werden, wird in allen Organen die grösste Energie aufgewandt. In den oberen Organen zeigt sich die Energie in einer ausgeprägten Artikulation die alle Lautgegensätze scharf hervorsteht lassen."

³ In the "Rules of spelling for the Gujarāti reading series adopted by the Vernacular Text Books Revision Committee", as quoted by Taylor, *Gujarāti Grammar*, pp. viii ff., the following rules are laid down:—
"vii (1) the *i* sound in any other syllable except the final or the penultimate is *long* or *short* according as the following syllable is short or long, and should be expressed in writing by *ī* (long) or *i* (short). But before a conjunct consonant the *i* sound should be always short.
viii (1) Except in monosyllabic words like *sā*, *jā*, *lā*, *rā*, and except in dissyllabic words like दूध, कूट, गूड, मूड, etc. [These are, of course, really monosyllables: *dādḥ*, *cūk*, *māk*, *vūḥ*.—R. L. T.], the *ū* sound

< ¹ānakah, ¹puro < ¹pūrakah, ¹divo < ¹dīpakah, ¹kiḍo < ¹kīṭakah. In final stressed syllables, however, as seen above, the length is retained; e.g. ¹hīṇ, ¹śīl, a¹hīr, ¹dhāl, ¹dādḥ (written also *dudh*, but pronounced with *ā*) < ¹dugdham, ka¹pār.

28. On this point Grierson says: "In Sanskrit and Prākṛit there was also a secondary accent on the penultimate of a word . . . Sometimes this secondary accent was so strongly felt that it swallowed up the main stress accent and itself became the main accent, with the usual result of lengthening the accented syllable." The writer then quotes a number of Sanskrit doublets: "*jālpāka* or *jalpāka*, *dēvikā* or *dēvikā*, *kārira* or *karīra*, *ulūpin* or *ulūpin*, *vārtira* or *vārtira*, *vātūla* or *vātūla*."¹

Firstly, has the stress in the Indian languages the action of lengthening the short vowel it falls on? From § 25 (a) it would appear not, since there we saw short stressed vowels regularly appearing in Gujrāṭi as short vowels. Secondly, in the above list it is to be noted that all the examples, with the possible exception of *ulūpin*, are of vowels forming part of a recognizable suffix. Particularly is this noticeable in *dēvikā*, where we have side by side the two forms *dēvī* and *dēvikā*; *dēvikā* is the result of combining these two. For *-āka-* cf. *yusmāka-*, *asmāka-* (belonging to the early language, and therefore free from the influence of stress); for *-īra-*, *-ūla-*, cf. *asīla-*, *aśrīra-* (early), and the common ending *-ālu-*.

29. Grierson then quotes the Prakrit endings *-akka-*, *-illa-*, *-ulla-*, and *-attō* in "*savāttō* < *sārvātaḥ*, *ēkāttō* < *ēkātaḥ*".

The first has already been discussed.² *-illa-* and *-ulla-*

wherever it occurs is short in all words, and should be expressed by *u* (short). In my opinion the committee was still under the influence of tradition when dealing with *i* and *ī*, and that the facts for *i* and *ī* are the same as for *u* and *ū*.

¹ *Phonology of the Indo-Aryan Vernaculars*, § 13.

² Above, § 13.

are in all probability compound suffixes, *-īlya-*, *-ulya-*; or possibly diminutive doublings, as so often in pet names.¹ The *-tt-* of *savattō*, *ekattō* is undoubtedly connected with the *-tra* of *sarvatra*, *tatra*, etc.

30. Next comes a list of words of the type — $\sim \times$ with stressed \bar{i} , \bar{u} , which give *i*, *u* in Gujrāṭi and Marāṭhī, but in these languages only.

" <i>kāpākaḥ</i>	G. <i>kūvō</i>	[H. <i>kūā</i>
<i>cādākaḥ</i>	G. <i>cūdō</i>	H. <i>cūrā</i>
<i>cārṇākaḥ</i>	G. <i>cūnō</i>	H. <i>cūnā</i>
<i>kīṭākaḥ</i>	M. <i>kīḍā</i>	H. <i>kīrā</i>
<i>cītrākaḥ</i>	M. <i>cītā</i> , etc.	H. <i>cītā</i>]

To begin with, it should be noticed that Grierson maintains that the stress in these modern words falls on the last syllable. My own experience is contrary. The Gujrāṭi words at least seem to me to be *kuvo*, *cudo*, *cuno*. Secondly, this stress only seems to affect words with stressed \bar{i} or \bar{u} , not with stressed \bar{a} , \bar{o} , \bar{e} , e.g. *pakvakaḥ* > G. *pāko*, *gōsthakaḥ* > G. *gōtho*. It is here that the true explanation lies. The shortening of \bar{i} and \bar{u} has nothing to do with any secondary stress, but has its reason in the essential character of these vowels. On this point Jespersen says: "Nach E. A. Meyers Feststellungen ist auch unter sonst gleichen Umständen die Absolute Dauer eines Vokals von der Höhe der für den Vokal erforderlichen Zungenstellung abhängig: je höher giese ist, um so kürzer der Vokal. Ich gebe einige von den Zahlen fürs Norddeutsche (Hundertstel von Sekunden):

	[Difference
bīt 7·9 : bīt 16·9	9
but 8·7 : but 18·6	9·9
bat 10·9 : bat 21·5." ²	10·6]

¹ Cf. Sommer, *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre*, § 160, 1.

² *Lehrbuch*, 12. 23.

I have not quoted the whole series. Similar times are given for English :

	[Difference
"ī 13·9 : i· 20·1	6·2
u 13·3 : u· 21·3	8
o 20·1 : o· 29·8."	9·7]

From these tables it will be seen that not only are [i· or u·] shorter than [a· or o·], but that the distance between [i· u] and [i· u·] is less than the distance between [a o] and [a· o·]. There will therefore be more likelihood of confusion between i u and ī ū than between a and ā. Jespersen ends the paragraph by saying: "Die Beobachtung ist interessant, weil wir in der Sprachgeschichte sehr oft sehn, dass die hohen Vokale [i, u, y] sich anders verhalten als die übrigen." And this is what we see in Gujrāṭī (and Marāṭhī¹); there is no ī or ū, even in stressed syllables, except in the final syllable.²

31. Finally Grierson gives some words in which stressed ī, ū are shortened in Hindī, e.g. *juā* < ¹*dyūtakam*, *dīyā* < ¹*dīpakah*. Here, however, the shortening has nothing to do with the stress, but is an example of the phenomenon common in many languages of a long vowel shortened before another vowel independently of any stress. Latin provides a parallel of a distressed long shortened before another vowel, e.g. *fleo* < *¹*flēō* : *flēre flēbilis*; *deus* < *¹*dēus* **deivos* : Skt. *dēvah*; *oleum* < Gk. *ἔλαιον*, etc.³ Here, again, ī and ū are particularly liable to this shortening, since they may become, as in the two examples *iy* and *uw* (cf. Skt. *dhiyah* : *dhīh*; *bhuvah* : *bhūh*; Gk. *ἰσχύος* : *ἰσχὺς*), and thus preserve their time of pronunciation.

32. From what has been said, then, it may be seen that the treatment of stressed long syllables containing ī or ū does not differ as far as the effect of the stress is

¹ Cf. Bloch, op. cit., § 43.

² Cf. note to § 27.

³ Cf. Sommer, op. cit., § 84, 2.

concerned from those containing *ā*, *ō*, or *ē*, and that their shortening is due to reasons quite independent of the stress.

33. To turn now from those syllables which, being supposed to have borne the chief stress of the word, have preserved their length unimpaired in modern Gujrāti, I quote again some words of Jespersen: "Das wichtigste hierher (den physisch-physiologischen Druckverhältnissen) gehörende Prinzip ist jedoch das rhythmische: es ist anstrengend für die Organe zwei oder mehr starke Silben gleich nacheinander auszusprechen, and man erleichtert ihnen daher in der Regel die Arbeit, indem man mit dem Druck dergestalt abwechselt, dass zwischen zwei starke Silben eine oder mehrere schwachen zu stehen kommen."¹ "Wo zwei schwachen Silben zusammen stehn, wird diejenige, die von der starken am weitesten entfernt ist, den stärksten Druck erhalten."²

Let these principles be applied to the Primitive Indian words *cakravākaḥ*, *garbhīṇikā*. Arguing from the modern Gujrāti forms we have placed the main stress thus: *cakra*¹*vākaḥ*, *garbhīṇikā*. If Jespersen's statement is generally applicable, we may expect to find that of the three unstressed syllables of *cakra*¹*vākaḥ* the first is the stronger and the second and fourth the weaker, thus: *cakra*¹*vākaḥ*, or numerically 3 1 4 1. The question of the stress of final syllables will be discussed later.³ We may expect, therefore, a difference of development not only among stressed and unstressed syllables, but also among the unstressed syllables themselves. And this is actually found: *cakra*¹*vākaḥ* > *cak*¹*vā*, *garbhīṇikā* > *gābhṇi*, that is to say, *a* and *i* with No. 1 stress have disappeared.

34. The least stressed syllables, then, are those in immediate vicinity to the fully stressed. These are most liable to shortening and disappearance. Next come those

¹ *Lehrbuch*, 14. 72.

² *Lehrbuch*, 14. 73.

³ Below, § 34.

removed by one syllable from the main stress. The position of final syllables is in this respect peculiar. If the last two syllables of a word are unstressed, then the last is the weaker, e.g., *mat|kunaḥ* > *mākaṇ*, *ka|malah* > *kamaḥ*. The explanation of this is twofold. First the final syllable of all words tends to be absolutely shorter than any other; secondly, as a final syllable, it may immediately precede the chief stress of the following word, e.g. *kamalah|sundarō sti*. This in accordance with what has already been said concerning the peculiarly weak nature of final syllables.¹

35. Syllables with secondary stress:

i. Long syllables are shortened: *cakra|vākaḥ* > *cak|vā*, **pakṣa|vādyam* > *pakh|vāj*, *kiṭikā- + ā|gāra-* > *kiṭi|yārā*, **kukka|vādaḥ* > *kuk|vā*, *kōṣṭhā|gāram* > *ko|ṭhār*.

ii. Short syllables remain: *pari|vālayati* > *par|jāle*, *pari|ṇayati* (Pkt. *pari|ṇēdi*) > *parṇe*.

36. Unstressed syllables.

A. Preceding the main stress.

i. Long syllables are shortened: *ā|bhīraḥ* > *a|hīr*, *ā|vāsaḥ* > *a|vās*, *prak|śālayati* > *pa|khāle*, *pras|thāpayati* > *pa|thāve*, *dī|nāraḥ* > *dī|ṇār*, *nīṣ|vāsakaḥ* > *nī|sāso*, *ud|gāmayati* > *u|gāme*, **dur|bhāvakaḥ* > *du|bhāvo*, *gō|pālaḥ* > *go|vāl*, *sau|bhāgyam* > *so|hāg*.

ii. a. Initial short syllables beginning with a consonant remain, but *i u* > *a* (i.e. [A], the position of which is more neutral than that of [a]): *ja|laukā* > *ja|lō*, **ku|thānikā* > *ka|hāṇi*, **vi|bhānakam* > *va|hāṇā*, *vi|naś-yati* > *vaṇse* (< **va|ṇāse*²), **du|vēdaḥ* > *da|vē*, *dhu|rālūḥ* > *dha|rāl*. *i* immediately before a vowel and *av* < *um* remain: *vi|jāyatē* > *vi|āe*, *ku|mārakaḥ* > *kū|vāro*.

β. Short initial syllables beginning with a vowel

¹ Above, § 23. Cf. also Prim. germ. **blriði*, *bérome*, *ḡāstīmiz*, *nāminiz* > germ. *bāret bārt*, *bāren*, *ḡāsten*, *namen*. Kluge, *Ungermanisch*, § 89.

² See below, § 40. A. iii.

are lost : $a^1 ranyam > ^1 rān$, $*ada^1 maṅgakaḥ > ^1 dōgo$, $a^1 riṣṭhaḥ > ^1 rīṭh$, $a^1 lāta- : ^1 lāi$, $u^1 paskaraḥ > ^1 vākhero$. Even before a double consonant the vowel is lost : $adh^1 yakṣaḥ > ^1 jhākh$, $*adh^1 yadhyakaḥ (: adhyadhī) > ^1 jhājho$.

B. Following the stress.

a remains, $i u > a$ (i.e. all $> [A]$): $^1 kamalaḥ > ^1 kamaḥ$, $^1 prastaraḥ > ^1 pāthar$, $^1 tittiraḥ > ^1 titar$, $^1 hariṇī > ^1 haraṇ$, $^1 aṅguliḥ > ^1 āgaḥ$, $^1 mānuṣaḥ > ^1 māṇas$.

C. Between the main stress and the secondary stress short syllables disappear.

i. $—\smile\smile \times$: $^1 arga, ^1 likā > ^1 āglī$, $^1 aṅga, ^1 nakam > ^1 āgnā$, $^1 garbhi, ^1 nikā > ^1 gābhī$, $*^1 garhi, ^1 nikā > ^1 gharnī$, $*ca^1 turgu, ^1 rakāḥ > ^1 cōgṇo$, $*^1 prāṁśu, ^1 rakāḥ > ^1 pāsro$, $^1 śvaśu, ^1 rakāḥ > ^1 sasro$.

ii. $\times \smile — \times$: $^1 cakra, ^1 vākaḥ > cak^1 vā$, $*^1 rakta, ^1 vātaḥ > rat^1 vā$, $^1 pari, ^1 vālayati > par^1 jāḷe$.

37. D. Final vowels.

i. All final vowels following a Prākṛit consonant are lost : $^1 putra > pūt$, $^1 vidyut$ (Pkt. $vijju$) $> vij$, $^1 akṣi > ākh$, $^1 jīhvā > jībḥ$, $^1 gargarī > gāgar$, $^1 agniḥ > āg$, $^1 hastaḥ > hāth$, $^1 matkunaḥ > mākaṇ$, $^1 kalyam$ (Apabhraṁśa $kallu$) $> kāl$, $^1 dugdham > dūdh$.

ii. When through loss of a consonant a Prākṛit vowel immediately precedes, crasis takes place.

E. Vowels in contact.

I. i. Vowels of the same quality coalesce to form one long (final $i, ū, ē, ō$ are shortened in modern Gujrātī): $^1 chaganam > chāṇ$, $*mā^1 taṅgaḥ > māḡ$, $carma^1 kārāḥ > camār$, $*^1 dihitā (< duhitā) > dhī$, $bu^1 bhukṣā > bhūkh$.

ii. a. a + stressed or unstressed $i > ē$: $^1 khadirāḥ > khēr$, $^1 grathilakaḥ > ghēḷo$, $ga^1 bhīrakaḥ > ghēro$, 3rd sing. pres. $-ati > -e$, loc. sing. $-akē > -ai > e$.

β. a + stressed or unstressed $ū > ō$: $*ca^1 tuḥkam > cōk$, $ma^1 yūraḥ > mōr$, $^1 catur, ^1 māsam > comās$, $^1 bahulakaḥ > bōhḷo$, nom. sing. masc. $-akaḥ$ (Pkt. $-aō -au$) $> -o$.

iii. *a.* $\bar{e} + \alpha$ or $u > \bar{e}$: **dēva* | *gharakam* > *dēhrā*,
| *dvē* + *ubhan* > *bēhu*.

β. $\bar{o} +$ stressed or unstressed $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$: *sau* | *varṇakam*
> *sonā*, **sama* | *gandhakāḥ* > *sōdhā*, *yajñōpa* | *vītam* > *janōi*.

iv. *a.* $\bar{i} +$ unstressed \bar{a} or u ($< -\bar{o}$) > \bar{i} : | *mākṣikā*
mākhi, | *kōṣṭhikā* > *kōṭhi*, | *pathikāḥ* > *pahi*, | *matsikāḥ* <
māchi, | *pīṭalakaḥ* > *pīḷo*, | *nīyamah* > *nīm*.

β. $\bar{u} +$ unstressed \bar{a} or u ($< -\bar{o}$) > \bar{u} : | *vālukā*
> *vālu*, **śvaśrukā* > *sāsu*, | *gudaḥ* > *gū*, | *śukaḥ* > **sū* (in
su-ḍo), | *tuvarakaḥ* > *turo*.

II. \bar{i} or $\bar{u} +$ stressed $\bar{a} > i\bar{y}\bar{a}$ *uvā* (*iā uā*, *yā vā*):¹
śīta | *kālakāḥ* > *śiyāḷo*, *śr* | *gālah* > *śiyāl*, *vi* | *jāyatē* > *vi* | *āe*;
dyūta | *kārah* > *juār*.

38. It remains to be determined which of the two syllables, preceding and following the main stress, was the stronger. One fact points to it being the syllable following the main stress. -*m*- in the syllable preceding the stress > - \bar{v} -, e.g. *ku* | *māraḥ* > *kā* | *vāro*; but in the syllable following the stress it remains, e.g. | *pañcamakaḥ* > | *pācmo*, that is to say, some of the muscular intensity of the stressed syllable is carried on to the following one.² Against this, however, speaks the fact that in the syllable which follows the stress a nasalized vowel loses its nasalization: e.g. pres. part. in -*to*, | *karantakaḥ*³ (Pkt. *karantaō*) > | *karto*, *pañ* | *cāśat* > *pa* | *cās*, probably under the influence of *| *ēkpācās* > | *ēkpacās*. But this appears to have been a later change than that of pre-stress -*m*- - \bar{v} -. In old Gujrāṭi participial forms in -*āt*- (-*amt*-) still occur: e.g. Karmaṇamantri has *dēyātā*.⁴ In the earlier stage, therefore, the stronger of these two unstressed syllables

¹ $\bar{i} +$ secondary unstressed $\bar{o} > i\bar{y}\bar{o}$: | *vāniyo*: **vāni* (< | *vāniyaḥ*); | *ādhiyo*: **ādhi* (< | *svastikaḥ*). Similarly $\bar{u} +$ secondary $\bar{o} > u\bar{v}\bar{o}$: *jal jābuvo*: *jābu* (< | *jambukaḥ*).

² See above, § 26.

³ For the position of the stress see below, § 40, A. i.

⁴ In a passage quoted by Maṇilāl Bakōrbhāt Vyās, *Jāni Gujrāṭi Bhāṣā ane Jainasāhitya*, p. 19.

was probably that following the main stress, so that *|priya|kāraḥ* = 3 1 4 2 1.

39. Lastly, where did the syllabic division fall? According to Wackernagel, relying on the Indian grammarians,¹ it fell after the vowel in the case of single consonants, after the first consonants in the case of groups: e.g. *ta|pas*, *tap|ta-*, *as|tām|psiṭ*. That is to say, there is loose connexion (loser Anschluss) with the preceding vowel in the case of single consonants. But the history of *-m-* seems to me to contradict this. If the word *kumāraḥ* has loose connexion between *u* and *m*, the *m* will belong closely to the *ā*-syllable, and so will probably partake of its stress or general muscular intensity. In this case we should expect **kumār*, not *kāvār*. But if the *m* belongs to the unstressed *u*, *kāvār* as opposed to *|grāmaḥ* > *gām* is intelligible. It would seem, then, that the syllabic division for our language was *kum|āraḥ*. This is supported by a further fact. If the pre-stress syllable was long, *-m-* remained: e.g. *jamāi |jā|mātrkaḥ* (M. *jāvaī*): i.e. the syllabic division is *jā|mātrkaḥ*. This is comparable with the conditions in English and German, where there is close connexion (feste Anschluss) after a short vowel, loose connexion after a long: e.g. Eng. *better* [betə], *father* [faːðə]; Germ. *Ratte* [ratə], *rate* [raːtə].² The case of *|grā|maḥ*, etc., appears at first to contradict this; but it has already been seen that the following syllables partake of some of the muscular intensity of the preceding stress.³

40. There are a certain number of words which do not

¹ Wackernagel, op. cit., i, § 240b.

² Jespersen, *Lehrbuch*, 13, 61 ff. It would, however, be unwise to dogmatize finally from this isolated piece of evidence as to the syllabic division in the Sanskrit stage. Apart from the statements of the grammarians, whom we know to have been keen observers, there are other indications (e.g. the assimilation and simplification of consonant groups, see Jespersen, 13, 64) that there was loose connexion generally in the language.

³ See above, § 26.

appear to fit in with this theory of the penultimate stress in the parent language: e.g. (a) *ᵀkarto* < **kaᵀrantakāḥ*, *ᵀkarīś* < **kaᵀriṣyam*, *ᵀkarīśā* < *karīṣyāmaḥ*, *ᵀputō* < *putᵀrāṇām*, (b) *ᵀbālap* < *bāᵀlatvam*, (c) *ᵀaṇach* < *aᵀnicchā*, *ᵀalto* < *aᵀlaktam*, (d) *ᵀvaḷagvā* < *viᵀlagyati*.

I shall speak of these apparent exceptions under three heads: A. Analogy, B. Value, C. Borrowing.

A. The changes due to analogy can be divided into two classes: i. those due to the analogy of forms belonging to the same paradigm; ii. those due to the analogy of the same class of word.

i. In the case of verbs and nouns the stress is always retained on the root syllable. Thus from a paradigm such as—

<i>banᵀdhāmi</i>	
<i>ᵀbandhasi</i>	(replaced by <i>ᵀbandhahi</i>)
<i>ᵀbandhati</i>	
<i>banᵀdhāmaḥ</i>	
<i>ᵀbandhatha</i>	(replaced by <i>ᵀbandhathah</i>)
<i>banᵀdhanti</i>	(" <i>ᵀbandhahim</i>)

we get

<i>ᵀbandhāmi</i>	G. <i>ᵀbādha</i>
<i>ᵀbandhahi</i>	<i>ᵀbādhe</i>
<i>ᵀbandhai</i>	<i>ᵀbādhe</i>
<i>ᵀbandhāmō</i>	[<i>ᵀbādhiē</i>] ¹
<i>ᵀbandhahō</i>	<i>ᵀbādho</i>
<i>ᵀbandhahim</i>	<i>ᵀbādhe</i>

This accentuation is carried out throughout the whole verb: e.g., *ᵀbādhiś* < **ᵀbandhiṣyam*, *ᵀbādhiśā* < *ᵀbandhiṣyāmaḥ*, *ᵀbādhto* < **ᵀbandhantakāḥ*, *ᵀbādhyo* < **ᵀbandhitakāḥ*, *ᵀbādhvā* < *ᵀbandhitavyakam*.

¹ This may be a loan-form from another dialect, e.g. of Apabhraṃśa *bandhimō* -mu > *bādhi* -ī (for loss of nasalization see my article JRAS., 1915, p. 29), and then to distinguish it from the absolutive *bādhi* < *bandhiā*, the ending -ē of 3rd plur. was added.

Similarly with the nouns we have—

SKT.	PKT.	G.
¹ ghōṭakah	¹ ghōḍaō	¹ ghōḍe
¹ ghoṭa ¹ kāya	¹ ghōḍaāa	¹ ghōḍā
¹ ghōṭa ¹ kēna	¹ ghōḍaēna	¹ ghōḍe
¹ ghōṭakē	¹ ghōḍaē	¹ ghōḍe
¹ ghōṭakāḥ	¹ ghōḍaā	¹ ghōḍā
¹ putrah	¹ puttō	¹ pūt
¹ putram	¹ puttam	¹ pūt
¹ put ¹ rēna	¹ puttēna	¹ pute
¹ putrē	¹ puttē	[¹ pute]
¹ putrāḥ	¹ puttā	[¹ puto]
¹ put ¹ rānām	¹ puttānaṃ	¹ puto

ii. Analogy with cognate words: ¹bālap < *bā¹latvam : ¹bāl < ¹bālah; ¹kālap < *kā¹latvam : ¹kālo < ¹kālah; both these are opposed to ¹rā¹dāpo < *raṇ¹ḍatvakaḥ : ¹rād < ¹raṇḍā; ¹vaṇaj < vā¹ṇijyam > *va¹ṇijju : ¹vāṇiyo < ¹vāṇija-.

iii. The majority of Gujrāti verbs are descended from simple verbs: in these the stress fell regularly on the first syllable. Hence in those cases where the compound verb (in many compound verbs the stress in any case fell on the prefix: e.g., ¹prasaratī, ¹udbhavatī) in the Sanskrit stage had the stress on the root syllable, it was transferred in Gujrāti from the root syllable to the prefix, namely to the first syllable of the unchangeable body. Under this heading come ¹vaṇasvā < vi¹naśyati (cf. ¹nāsvā < ¹naśyati), ¹vaḷagvā < vi¹lagyati (cf. ¹lāgvā < ¹lagyati), ¹nipajvā < ni¹padyatē, ¹parakhvā < pa¹rikṣatē, ¹ōlakhvā < ava¹lakṣatē, ¹palatvā < Pkt. pal¹lattai (< *paryatyati), etc. In some cases the compound affected the vowel of the simple verb: e.g., ¹lakhvā < ¹lakṣatē, unless this is to be counted a semi-tatsama.

B. By shifting of the stress in accordance with value I mean the placing of the stress on a particular syllable of the word, because that syllable is felt to be especially

important for the comprehension of the whole, as for example Eng. *princess* > *prin|cess* to distinguish it from *prince*, particularly in the phrase *Prince and Princess of Wales*.¹ To this class in Gujrāṭi belong those words which preserve the privative *a-* *an-* immediately preceding the main stress: e.g., *anach* < *a|nicchā*, *abābh* < **ab|rāhmya-*, *aḷakh* < *a|lakṣyaḥ*. Some part in this may also be played by analogy with words like *anṣaṇ* < *anaśanam*: cf. the regular use of *an-* even before consonants as a privative prefix in Hindi. Conversely value-shifting may have had something to do with the foregoing classes.

C. Finally, as we shall see later, at least Marāṭhī had a different system of accentuation, leading to a different development of sounds. Probably as loan-words from some such language should be counted *aḷto* : *a|laktam*; *ani* : *a|nikah*; *kaḍcho* : Pkt. *ka|ḍucchaō*; *tircho* : **ti|raścakaḥ*. *uṭhal|pāthal* : Pkt. *ut|thalla|patthalā* is probably a case of assimilation in both members: *uṭhal-* for *u|thāl-* after *-|pāthal*, and *-pāthal* after *uṭhal-*.

41. From what has been said, then, it appears that the parent language of Gujrāṭi must have possessed a word accent in the shape of a stress falling on the penultimate, antepenult, or on the fourth syllable from the end, and conditioned by the length of syllable. That the language represented in literature by Śaurasēnī was the parent of Gujrāṭi there can be little doubt,² and, as has been seen, there is nothing in the phonology of Śaurasēnī to prevent us attributing a stress accent to it.

42. The other of the chief modern Indo-Aryan languages belonging to this stressed group are Sindhī, Pañjābī, Hindī, and perhaps Baṅgālī. I give below a comparative list of typical words:—

¹ Cf. Jespersen, *A Modern English Grammar*, 5. 58.

² I leave the discussion of this question to a later article.

SKT.	G.	S.	P.	H.	B.
<i>kumārāḥ</i>	<i>kūvāro</i>	<i>kūārō</i>	<i>kūārā</i>	<i>kūwārā</i>	
<i>prākṣālayati</i>	<i>pakhālvē</i>			<i>pakhālnā</i>	<i>pakhlan</i>
<i>śmaśāndh</i>	<i>masāṇ</i>	<i>masāṇu</i>	<i>masāṇ</i>	<i>mhasān</i>	<i>maśān</i>
<i>vijāyātē</i>	<i>viāvū</i>			<i>biānā</i>	<i>biān</i>
<i>prāsārayati</i>	<i>pasārvū</i>	<i>pasārṇu</i>	<i>pasārṇā</i>	<i>pasārṇā</i>	<i>pasāri</i>
<i>gōpālāḥ</i>	<i>govāl</i>	<i>gavāru</i>		<i>gwālā</i>	<i>gwālā</i>
<i>palāśāḥ</i>	<i>palās</i>	<i>palāsu</i>	<i>palāḥ</i>	<i>palās</i>	<i>palās</i>
<i>duṣkālāḥ</i>	<i>dukāl</i>			<i>dukāl</i>	
* <i>prāṇaptṛkā</i>				<i>panāti</i>	<i>panāti</i>
<i>jāmātr-</i>	<i>jāmāi</i>		<i>jawāi</i>	<i>jāwāi</i>	<i>jāmāi</i>
<i>yajñōpavitām</i>	<i>janōi</i>	<i>janōi</i>	<i>janēū</i>	<i>janēū</i>	
<i>prāsthāpayati</i>	<i>paṭhāvū</i>	<i>paṭhyu</i>	<i>paṭhānā</i>	<i>paṭhānā</i>	<i>paṭhān</i>

43. With regard to Singhalese it is hard to come to a decision, because firstly *all* long vowels have been shortened and secondly an extensive umlaut has taken place. It will not therefore be right to conclude that, because we have *mādīra* < *mārjārah*, this word is not descended from *mārjārah*; for the first syllable has been shortened equally with the second. Geiger's¹ contention is that the ancestor language possessed the penultimate stress, and he supports his theory with the statement that unstressed initial vowels disappeared, e.g. *hi'raṇyam* > *raṇa*, *sa'mēna* > *mēn* (through **ha'mēna*) as opposed to *vasēna* > *visin*, *sa'mūdhah* > *muḷu*, *ca'turdaśa* > *tudus* (through **sa'tuddasa* **ha'tuddasa*), *u'dumbaraḥ* > *duṁbul*, *u'pōsathah* > *poho* (in *pohodina*), *a'raṇyam* > *raṇa*, *a'riṣṭhah* > *riṭi*, *a'nantah* > *nat*, *a'nēkah* > *nē*, *anu'rāgaḥ* > *nurā*, *anu'rāpam* > *nuru*, *a'śōkah* > *hō*.

A complication is introduced by the fact that a small number of stressed initial vowels disappear: e.g. *'anilah* > *nal*, *'analah* > *nal*, *'ayah* > *ya*.

After the shortening of all long vowels this penultimate stress was replaced by a stress which fell either on the first syllable or on the nearest secondarily long syllable to the end: e.g. *'gamak*, *'pirimiyā*, *gi'yāya*, *Mi'hintalē*.

¹ *Literature und Sprache der Singhalesen*, § 4 ff.

As regards other languages, such as Kāśmīrī and Gypsy, I have not sufficient books or material to enable me to form a judgment.

44. The case of Marāṭhī must now be considered. Here also is found the type of sound change associated with a stress, namely the shortening and the loss of syllables, e.g. *āṭhī* < *aṅguṣṭhikā*, *mājar* < *mārjārah*, *gōḷī* < *gōpālīkā*, *vaṭhāṇ* < *upasthānam*, *pākhaṇṇē* < *prakṣālayati*, etc. But even from these examples it will be seen that the shortening does not always occur in the same syllable as in the case of Gujrāṭī. For G. *mājār* we postulated a form with stress *mār'jārah*, and found that this accent regularly explained all such changes in Gujrāṭī. But supposing a stress accent to be responsible for the shortening of the second syllable of *mārjārah* in Marāṭhī instead of the first as in Gujrāṭī, we must presuppose a stress either on the first or the third syllable: *'mārjārah* or *mārjā'rah*; and since the first syllable retains its length (as opposed, e.g. to *'akra'vākah* > G. *akvā*), the stress must probably at one time have fallen on the first. Now, although nothing is known of the origin of the penultimate stress of the Gujrāṭī group of languages, it is possible that an explanation can be found for the origin of this final or initial stress in Marāṭhī. It has already been seen that in the Prākṛit dialects there was a sharp distinction between, e.g., Śaurasēnī, the ancestor of Gujrāṭī, which had few signs of the working of a stress in the loss of length or of syllables, and another group in which there are a considerable number of indications that the length of syllables (even other than final) had been seriously affected: e.g. Ś. *maṃjārō*; Mh. *maṃjarō*; Ś. *kumārō*; Mh. *kumarō*; and, as we saw, Pischel attributed these shortenings to the presence of a stress which had taken the place of the Vedic tone; that in fact *kumārāḥ* > *kumā'rah* > Mh. *kumarō*; and *kumarō* is the predecessor of M. *kāvar*. For there is

no doubt that Marāṭhī is descended from a language which appeared in literature under the form of Mahārāṣṭrī.¹ It is true that in Mahārāṣṭrī we find a great number of forms, where length is retained, which contradict this theory. But it must always be borne in mind that Mahārāṣṭrī was a literary language, strongly influenced not only by Sanskrit, but also by the Prākṛit dialects, so that a *mhasāṇō* (< *śmaśānāḥ*) might easily be replaced by *mhasāṇō*, through the influence of Sanskrit *śmaśānāḥ*, and the other Pkt. form *mhasāṇō*. At the same time it is possible that for literary purposes Mahārāṣṭrī was becoming a fixed language at a time when the new stress was only just beginning to make itself felt.

45. The supposition of a change of tone to stress presents no linguistic difficulties. The phenomenon is clearly seen in modern Greek, in several Lithuanian dialects, in some Slavonic languages and in Primitive Germanic.² The question, therefore, that remains to be decided is whether in general the phonology of Marāṭhī is such as to justify us in assuming this change of tone to stress. In this a difficulty is presented by the fact that the number of words in Marāṭhī, descended from Primitive Indo-Aryan, whose accent in Sanskrit we can ascertain, is comparatively limited.

46. In Vedic Sanskrit the following rules governed the accentuation of the verb:—

(a) The simple finite verb was accented,

i. if it stood first in the clause, e.g. *āpnōtīmāṁ lōkām*.

¹ See Bloch, op. cit., Introduction.

² That the Indo-Germanic tone had become a stress in Primitive Germanic before the changes grouped under Verner's Law took place is plainly shown by Jespersen, *Lehrbuch*, 7. 34, and *Modern English Grammar*, 6. 9. To my mind he completely answers Gauthiot's contention (*Mémoires de la société de linguistique de Paris*, xi, 193) that the accent was still a tone. Cf. also my article in the *Classical Review*, August, 1912.

ii. if it immediately followed another verb, e.g. *tarāṇair iḥ jayati kṣēti pāśyati*.

iii. if it stood in a dependent clause, e.g. *sahā yān me āsti tēna*.

(b) The compound verb was accented,

i. on the prefix only, when in a main clause, e.g. *pārēhi nāri pūnar ēhi kṣiprām*.

ii. on prefix and verb, when in a dependent clause, or on the verb alone, e.g. *yēnāviṣṭitah pravivēśithāpāh*.

(c) Otherwise the verb was unaccented, e.g. *agnīm ilē purōhitam*.

47. I think it will not be illegitimate to assume that finally this may have resolved itself into a system in which all verbs were always accented, and compound verbs always on the prefix. This may seem to be a big assumption, and there is no definite proof of it beyond my general thesis. But much the same thing happened in early Latin, where originally the verb was enclitic, but later (under the initial stress) became orthotone, while in the case of compound verbs the prefix retained the stress, thus *caedō*, but **occaedō* > *occidō*, later *occidō*.¹ On the other hand, in Germanic the stress was retained always on the root syllable in simple and compound verbs alike: *lauben*: **urlauben* > *erlauben*, as opposed to the noun *urlaub*.² If this assumption is true with regard to Sanskrit, we should then have a stage when the accentuation was fixed thus: *bhāvati*, but *prābhavati*; *cinōti*, but *uccinōti*.

48. In the case of all forms of the present stem in the simple verb the place of the accent depended on the class to which the verb belonged.

A. In thematic verbs the place of the accent was fixed, either on the root or on the formative suffix, e.g.:

¹ Cf. Vendryes, *L'Intensité initiale en latin*, § 50; and Hirt, *Indo-germanischer Akzent*.

² Cf. Kluge, *Urgermanisch*, §§ 85-6.

<i>bhāvāmi</i>	<i>tudāmi</i>	<i>sārāyāmi</i>
<i>bhāvasi</i>	<i>tudāsi</i>	<i>sārāyasi</i>
<i>bhāvati</i>	<i>tudāti</i>	<i>sārāyati</i>
<i>bhāvāmaḥ, etc.</i>	<i>tudāmaḥ, etc.</i>	<i>sārāyāmaḥ, etc.</i>

B. In athematic verbs the accent fell sometimes on the root, sometimes on the termination, and its change of place was accompanied by a change in the root-syllable, e.g.:

<i>yunājmi</i>	<i>cinōmi</i>	<i>ēmi</i>
<i>yuñjmaḥ</i>	<i>cinumaḥ</i>	<i>imāḥ</i>

49. But in Sanskrit and the Sanskrit languages, as in all the other Indo-Germanic languages, the tendency has been to replace athematic by thematic stems. Thus in Sanskrit itself we have:—

<i>yunākti</i>	: <i>yuñjati</i>	<i>unātti</i>	: <i>undati</i>
<i>anākti</i>	: <i>añjati</i>	<i>pinasti</i>	: <i>piñṣati</i>
<i>prñākti</i>	: <i>prñcati</i>	<i>bhunākti</i>	: <i>bhuñjati</i>
<i>runāddhi</i>	: <i>rundhati</i>	<i>śinasti</i>	: <i>śiñṣati</i>
<i>inōti</i>	: <i>invati</i>	<i>ṛṇōti</i>	: <i>ṛṇvati</i>
<i>hinōti</i>	: <i>hinvati</i>	<i>mindti</i>	: <i>minati</i>
<i>śṛṇāti</i>	: <i>śṛṇati</i>	<i>mathnāti</i>	: <i>manthati</i>
<i>ubhnāti</i>	: <i>umbhati</i>	<i>stabhnāti</i>	: <i>stambhati</i>
<i>skabhnāti</i>	: <i>skambhati</i>	<i>badhnāti</i>	: <i>bandhati</i>
<i>dadāti</i>	: <i>dādati</i>	<i>dadhāti</i>	: <i>dādhati</i> ¹

Other verbs, though originally athematic formations, even in Sanskrit are found only in the thematic form, e.g. *tiṣṭhati* for **tiṣṭhāti*: Gk. *τιθημι*; *pībati*: *pāti* *pītāḥ*; *jighrati*: *ghrāti*.

This process is still further developed in Prākṛit, where only isolated remnants of the athematic classes are to be found;² and again further in the modern languages.³

¹ Cf. Whitney, §§ 611-732.

² Cf. Pischel, §§ 492-514.

³ Out of 181 Gujrātī verbs 94 are descended from simple thematic stems of the type *dāhati*, *nāmati*, *badhati*; 60 from stems with the formative suffix *-aya-*, such as *pālayati*, *mārāyati*, *lābhyati*; 12 from stems with the suffix *-ya-*, such as *yādhyatē*, *trutyati*, *mānyatē*; 15 from

50. There appears to have been a certain tendency to transfer the accent of all thematic verbs to the root-syllable. There are a considerable number of verbs in Sanskrit with the formative suffix *-yá-* or *-á-*. But even in Sanskrit there was a tendency to transfer this accent to the root-syllable.

A. *-á-* class, with weak root: *yácchati* for **yaccháti* < Idg., **im̐skéti*, *gácchati* < **g̑m̐skéti*, *kṛpatē* for **kṛpátē*, *gáhati* for **gūhāti*, *súmbhati* beside *śumbhāti*, cf. *lum-pāti*, etc.¹

B. *-yá-* class with weak root:

i. Among the passives, which regularly have *-yá-*, there are found *jāyatē* for **jāyátē*, and *mūcyatē* beside *mucyátē*.

ii. A large number of *-yá-* verbs have been transferred to the active conjugation, with change of accent to the root-syllable. Of these there are more than 130; over fifty signify a state of feeling, e.g. *kúpyati*, *klámyati*, *kṣúdhyati*; others have transitive meaning, e.g. *náhyati*, *ásyati*. Others are practically passive (cf. *mūcyatē*), but have assumed active endings.²

51. With regard to the third thematic class accented on the formative suffix, *-áya-* (in causatives and denominatives), there is no trace in Sanskrit of a change of accent. And there is some indication that this accent position was maintained into Prākṛit times: cf. Mh. *thavēi* < *sthāpáyati*. But it is unlikely that this class finally accepted the tendency to accent the root-syllable, especially as the simple causative form began to lose its causative meaning (e.g. Pkt. *kappēdi* "to cut" < *kalpáyati*).³ Further, it must pass participles, such as *údghata-*, *vr̥ṣṭá-*, *labdhá-*; 161 are simple verbs, 40 compound. There are no traces of any athematic verb; even *dati* has been entirely replaced by **acchati*, unless a last trace remains in the negative *nāhi*.

¹ Cf. Whitney, §§ 745-9.

² Cf. Whitney, § 761.

³ Cf. my article in JRAS., 1913, p. 300, where a list is given of thirty-three causative verbs used in the Dvāvimśatyavadānakathā with simple meaning.

be remembered that in the past tense the augment always bore the accent; in the infinitive the root; in the past participle the final syllable in simple, the first syllable in compound verbs. Hence there would be free play for analogy:

gamisyāti āgacchat gāntum gatāḥ gācchati
*cōrayisāti ācōrayat cōrayitum cōritāḥ *cōrayati*

52. So much for the present stem. As regards the other stems, in the future the accent always fell on the formative suffix; in the augmented tenses always on the augment; in the perfect either on the root or on the suffix; in the infinitive on the root of simple and the prefix of compound verbs; in the past participle on the suffix of simple and the prefix of compound verbs; in the indeclinable participle with *-ya* always on the root; in the gerundive with *-tavya-* usually on the last syllable of the suffix; in the verbal noun with *-na-* usually on the last syllable. The form which concerns us for the history of Marāṭhī are the present (including the imperative and participle); the past participle; the infinitive; and perhaps the indeclinable in *-tvā* (or a connected form); and the gerund in *-tavya-*; and lastly the verbal noun in *-na-*. Now with the exception of some present stems, even in Sanskrit all these forms have the accent either on the last or the first syllable.

53. It appears, then, that there was a strong tendency to accent every verbal form, simple or compound, on the first or last syllable. Therefore, if this tone became a stress, we should expect to find the second syllable of all Marāṭhī verbs weakened, and the first probably maintaining its length. In the main this is so.

Skr.	M.	G.
<i>āsphālayati</i>	<i>āphaḷṇē</i>	<i>aphaḷvā</i>
<i>ūdgḥāṭayati</i>	<i>ughadṇē¹</i>	<i>ughādṇvā</i>
(cf. <i>ughadṇē</i> < <i>ūdgḥaṭati</i>)		

¹ The remarks above, § 27 ff., on *ā* and *ī* in Gujrāṭi apply equally to Marāṭhī.

SKT.	M.	G.
<i>úthāpayati</i>	<i>uthaviṇē</i>	<i>H. uṭhānā</i>
<i>úttārayati</i>	<i>utarnē</i>	<i>utārvā</i>
(cf. <i>tārṇē</i> < <i>tārayati</i>)		
<i>úddhārayati</i>	<i>udharṇē</i>	<i>udhārvā</i>
<i>prāksālayati</i>	<i>pākhaḷṇē</i>	<i>pakhālvā</i>
<i>prāsthāpayati</i>	<i>pāthaviṇē</i>	<i>pathārvā</i>
<i>prāsārayati</i>	<i>pasarnē</i>	<i>pasārvā</i>
(cf. <i>sārṇē</i> < <i>sārayati</i>)		
<i>nīpātayati</i>	<i>nivadṇē</i>	cf. <i>nivāḍo</i>
(cf. <i>nivadṇē</i> < <i>nīpatati</i>)		
<i>útpātayati</i>	<i>upadṇē</i> (cf. <i>upadṇē</i> < <i>útpatati</i>)	
<i>nīrbhagna-</i>	<i>nībhagnē</i>	
<i>ūpalakṣatē</i>	<i>ōlakṇē</i>	
<i>āvalgati</i>	<i>āvagnē</i>	
<i>nīrvāyati</i>	<i>nivṇē</i>	
<i>abhīlagyati</i>	<i>hīlagṇē</i>	
<i>sāṃlagyati</i>	<i>saḷagṇē</i>	
<i>vijāyatē</i>	<i>viṇē</i>	<i>viārvā</i>
<i>ūnmagna-</i>	<i>umagnē</i>	
<i>ūmmajjana-</i>	<i>umajṇē</i>	
<i>unmāla-</i>	<i>umalṇē</i>	
<i>ūnmṛṣṭa-</i>	<i>umatṇē</i> (cf. <i>māṭhṇē</i> < <i>mṛṣṭā-</i>)	
<i>nīsrṣṭa-</i>	<i>nīsatṇē</i>	

Here appears the familiar spectacle of the stressed syllable retaining its length, the unstressed being shortened.

54. It is true that in simple verbs also we have cases of a short vowel where we expect to see a long: e.g. *ghaṭṇē* < *ghṛṣṭā-*, *kaṭṇē* < *kṛtyatē*, *sakṇē* < *śaknōti* < Pkt. *sakkai*, *khaṇṇē* < *kṣāpya-*. But these short vowels are due to analogy with those pairs of transitive and intransitive verbs, where the first has regularly *ā* and the second *a*: e.g. *mārṇē* < *mārayati*: *marṇē* < Pkt. *marēi*; *pādṇē* < *pātayati*: *padṇē* < *patati*, etc. Hence *a* was felt to be a distinctive sign of the intransitive. Cf. also *phuṭṇē* < *sphuṭyati*:

phōḍṇē < *sphōḍayati*; *tuṇṇē* < *truṭyati*; *tōḍṇē* < *trōṭayati*, etc. Further, there was the influence of the compound verbs: e.g. *sārṇṇē* < *sārayati*; *nisarṇṇē* < *nisarati* and *nīsārayati*, a confusion which produces *sarṇṇē* < *sārṇṇē*, and *nīsārṇṇē* < *nisarṇṇē*. In some cases, however, the *ā* is retained: *tāpṇṇē* < *tapyati* and *hākṇṇē* < Pkt. *hakkai* are more usual than *tapṇṇē* and *hakṇṇē*. *thākṇṇē* < Pkt. *thakkai* beside *thakṇṇē* is poetical, and therefore probably older; *khāsṇṇē* < *kāṣatē* is found beside *khaspṇṇē*. Two active verbs are also found with *ā*: *khacṇṇē*, which Bloch suggests may be a tatsama, and *vaṭṇṇē*, of which the derivation is unknown.¹

55. This tendency to differentiate *a*-verbs as intransitive and *ā*-verbs as transitive is found strongly in Hindi, less strongly in Gujrāṭi. G. *dhakhvū* < **dhakṣati*, *ghasvū* < *dharṣatē*, *ghasvū* < *gharṣati*. The question of literary Hindi is further complicated by the fact that a very large number of words have been borrowed from a source further to the north-west, where simplification of double consonants has not taken place: e.g. *makkhan* < *mrakṣaṇam*: G. Bihāri *mākhan*, *makkhī* < *makṣikā*, *patthar* < *prastarah*, all opposed to *hāth* < *hastah*, *āgē* < *agrakē*, etc. When these double consonants come at the end of a word or before another consonant they are shortened: e.g. *sac* < *sacc* < *satyah*, but *saccī bāt*; *rakhnā*, but *rakkhā*. In verbs examples of *a* for *ā* are the following: *bajnā* < *vādyatē*, *gajnā* < *gadyati*, *phatnā* < *phatyati*, *thaknā* < Pkt. *thakkai*, *lagnā* < *lagyati*. Probably also in the same way *u* for *ū* in *ugnā* < *udgata*, *uṭhnā* < Pkt. *uṭṭhēi*.

56. I have supposed that in early Marāṭhi the verb was stressed on its first syllable. If now we turn to the question of substantives, we are faced with another

¹ I do not agree with Bloch, § 48, that this variety need be the result of dialectical mixing, or that *a* in this position may represent a long vowel with a different timbre from *ā*. To me the *a* of *tapṇṇē*, e.g., sounds as short [ʌ].

problem. Here there appears recognizable no such tendency in Sanskrit, as in the case of the verb, to confine the accent to the first or any other syllable. The accent was free and might fall on any syllable of the word.

57. In the following words the Sanskrit tone fell on the first syllable. In these words it is the first syllable that has retained its length, and the second that has been shortened.

Skt.	M.
<i>cāturaśram</i>	<i>cauras</i>
<i>sāmantaḥ</i>	<i>sāvāt</i>
<i>pārāvataḥ</i>	<i>pārvā</i>

58. There are, however, a number of words which, having the tone on the final syllable in Sanskrit, have lost the final in Marāṭhī, but have been treated just like the preceding class in retaining the length of the initial.

Skt.	M.	G.
<i>gōpālā-</i>	<i>gōvlī</i>	<i>govāl</i>
<i>palāśāḥ</i>	<i>paḷas</i>	<i>paḷās</i>
<i>duṣkālāḥ</i>	<i>dukaḷ</i>	<i>dukaḷ</i>
<i>nanāndī-</i>	<i>naṇad</i>	P. <i>nanāṇ</i>
<i>mārjārāḥ</i>	<i>mājar</i>	<i>mājār</i>
<i>kumārāḥ</i>	<i>kūvar</i>	<i>kūvār</i>
<i>triparṇāḥ</i>	<i>tivan</i>	
<i>pupṇnāgāḥ</i>	<i>punav</i>	
<i>aṅgārāḥ</i>	<i>igaḷ</i>	<i>āgāro</i>
<i>śmaśānāḥ</i>	<i>masaṇ</i>	<i>masāṇ</i>
<i>jāmātī-</i>	<i>jāvaī</i>	<i>jāmāi</i>
<i>samarghāḥ</i>	<i>savāg</i>	
<i>āvāsāḥ</i>	<i>āvsā</i>	<i>avās</i>
<i>upavāsāḥ</i>	<i>ōsā</i>	
<i>yajñōpavītām</i>	<i>jānvē</i>	<i>janōi</i>

59. If the cases that we have already had in Mahārāṣṭri of shortening are a true guide, e.g. *kumarō* < *kumārāḥ*, then the shortening of the long syllable may have taken

place before the loss of the final syllable. But at some time or other the final syllable became much weakened—cf. the poetical form *kumaru* < *kumarō*—and finally disappeared altogether, mod. M. *kāvar*. This could hardly have happened if the final syllable had retained the chief stress of the word. At the same time the initial syllable retains its length, while the middle syllable is shortened. The presumption therefore is that at some time the chief stress was transferred from the final to the initial syllable, and that this change probably took place before the weakening of the final syllable. From § 33 it appeared that normally of the unstressed syllables of a word that furthest from the main stress is the strongest, i.e. bears the chief secondary stress. Hence if *mārjā/rah* has a stress on the last syllable, there is probably a secondary stress on the first, *|mārjā/rah*. Particularly when the main stress falls on a part of the word so liable to weakening and shortening as the final syllable, is it liable to be transferred to the syllable of secondary stress.¹

60. In support of this assumption of a secondary initial stress in the case of finally stressed words, there is our knowledge of the previous existence of a secondary tone.

(a) There are a certain number of copulative compounds in the R̥gvēda which are accented on both members.²

(b) In the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa in long compounds and in reduplicated formations a secondary accent was sometimes added. This accent occasionally takes the place of the original altogether.³

(c) There are a certain number of words accented differently in later Sanskrit from earlier: e.g. *gāhvarah*: *gahvarāh*; *āṣṭau*: *aṣṭāu*; *sāpta*: *saptā*; *tīla*:- *tīlā*:-.

Therefore, just as I supposed all verbs to be stressed on the first syllable, so too, though from a different reason,

¹ Cf. the change in English from *|autho|rize*, etc. (still so spoken in Scotland and North Ireland) to *|autho|rize*, etc.

² Cf. Whitney, § 1254.

³ See above, § 10, v.

all finally stressed (or toned) words became initially stressed (or toned), with the phonetic consequences noted above.

61. There remains the case of words in which the Sanskrit tone falls on an interior syllable: such an accented long vowel is retained:

SKT.	M.	G.
<i>upasthānam</i>	<i>vaṭhāṇ</i>	
<i>upakhyānam</i>	<i>ukhāṇ</i>	<i>ukhāṇū</i>
<i>nirvāna-</i>	<i>nivāṇē</i>	
(cf. the verb <i>nīṇē</i> : <i>nīrvāyati</i>)		
<i>vyākhyānam</i>	<i>vākhāṇ</i>	<i>vakhāṇ</i>

Compare these with the words in § 58.

62. When the accented vowel is *i* or *u*, it is retained; whereas if unaccented, it becomes *a*, as in all cases in Gujrāṭi.

(a) Accented *i* and *ū*.

<i>hastinī</i>	<i>hattin</i>	cf. G. <i>vēraṇ</i> < <i>vairinī</i>
<i>bhaginī</i>	<i>bahin</i>	
<i>prāvīṣā</i>	<i>pāūs</i>	

(b) Unaccented *i* and *u* < *a*.

<i>mānuṣaḥ</i>	<i>māṇas</i>	<i>māṇas</i>
<i>śrthilāḥ</i>	<i>sadhāḥ</i>	
<i>kurkurāḥ</i>	<i>kukar</i>	<i>kukar</i>
<i>hariṇī</i>	<i>haraṇ</i>	<i>haraṇ</i>
<i>ūnmīlati</i>	<i>umaḷṇē</i>	
<i>pāriṇayati</i>	<i>paraṇṇē</i>	<i>paraṇvū</i>

(a) Accented *i* and *ū* remain.

<i>gōdhāmaḥ</i>	<i>gahū</i>	H. <i>gohū</i>
<i>kharjūrah</i>	<i>khaḷūr</i>	<i>khaḷūr</i>

(b) Unaccented *i*, *ū*, *ē* < *a*.

<i>śirīṣāḥ</i>	<i>śiras</i>	<i>śirīs</i>
<i>agnīsthā-</i>	<i>agthī</i>	<i>āgithī</i>

(*āgithā* is a loan-word from H.)

* <i>unmūlayati</i>	<i>umaḷṇē</i>
* <i>gāvēṣayati</i>	<i>gavaṣṇē</i>

63. There remains the large class of Sanskrit dissyllabic words accented on the last syllable in Sanskrit, but appearing as dissyllables with an initial long in Marāṭhī: e.g., *māi* : *māṭṭi* ; *sāu* : *sādhū*-. These Marāṭhī words, however, are derived from extensions of the Sanskrit dissyllables : *mātrkā*, *sādhukāh*, etc.

64. Two factors come in to disturb the symmetry of this system : A. Analogy, B. Borrowing.

A. i. The fact that all verbs and all finally accented words ended by becoming initially stressed, and that the great majority of words were either initially or finally accented, tended to make the language chiefly an initially stressed language. In this way there must have been a strong tendency to place the stress on the initial syllable of even medially stressed words. Examples of this may perhaps be seen in :

<i>gōsthānam</i>	<i>gothan</i>
<i>pratiṣṭhānam</i>	<i>paithan</i>

But it should be remembered that there are considerable fluctuations even in the Sanskrit accent as handed down to us. Some of these apparent inconsistencies may date back to the time of the tone.

ii. As the result of special analogy we have *pasārṇē* beside *pasarnē* after the simple verb *sārṇē*.¹

B. Marāṭhī has on its northern and eastern boundaries closely connected languages of the penultimate stress type. From these it has borrowed words: e.g. *āgīthā* from H. *āgīthā* beside M. *agthi* < Skt. *agnīsthā*-. Similarly, it has been much influenced by the literary and religious language, Sanskrit. Perhaps here is the explanation of the length of the first syllable of *vākhāṇ* (where we should expect **vakhāṇ*) < Skt. *vyākhyānam*, while in *vaṭhāṇ* < *upasthānam* we see -a-. Similarly, *dukāl* by the side of *dukāl* < Skt. *duṣkālāh*. The question is, however, complicated by the fact that there are similar written

¹ See above, § 54.

lengths, pronounced short, in Bengālī: e.g. *paṭhāna*, *iāmāi* [paṭha'nə, d̪ama'i, not poṭha'nə, d̪əma'i] < *pras'thāpayati*, *jā'mātr-*. On the other hand, *pakhlāna* [pəkhla'nə] < *prakṣālayati*.¹

65. I shall now examine those words of whose Sanskrit accent we have no tradition.

i. Nomina actionis were accented for the most part on the root, nomina agentis on the suffix.² In the case of simple stems this would be of equal effect in Marāṭhī, for in both cases the result would be a stress on the first syllable. The case of compound stems is different. Here the accent fell chiefly on the final syllable, e.g. *saṃgamāḥ*. We have already had:

<i>āvāsā-</i>	<i>āvsā</i>	<i>avās</i>
<i>ūpavāsā-</i>	<i>ōsā</i>	

To them may be added:

<i>āvāda-</i>	<i>āvāi</i>	<i>avāi</i>
<i>prastāra-</i>	<i>pāthrā</i>	<i>pathāro</i>
<i>vyāpāraḥ</i>	<i>vāvar</i>	
<i>saṃghāṭaḥ</i>	<i>sāghaḍ</i>	<i>sāghāḍo</i>

There are, however, even in Sanskrit a certain number of these compound verbal nouns which have the accent on the root-syllable: e.g. *utpātaḥ*, *āśrēṣaḥ*. We have had *vyākhyānam*, *upasthānam*, *nirvāṇam*, *upakhyānam*. It is possible that an antithesis in accentuation arose between verbs and nouns of this type, the verb (the Marāṭhī infinitive is derived from this verbal noun in *-na-*) having the accent on the prefix, and the noun on the root: e.g., *nivṇē* (verb): *nivāṇē* (noun). On this point Bloch says: "Il semble que les substantifs verbaux aient de préférence la longue."³ Further it must be noted that many of these substantives are nomina actionis in Marāṭhī, whereas

¹ See above, § 42. The subject needs further investigation.

² Whitney, § 1148.

³ § 52, 4.

they were nomina agentis in Sanskrit, e.g., M. *utānā* ; Skt. *uttānā*. Thus:—

<i>uttānā-</i>	<i>utānā</i> : verb <i>utñē</i>
<i>udbhāra-</i>	<i>ubhārā</i> : „ <i>ubharnē</i>
<i>prasāra-</i>	<i>pasārā</i> : „ <i>pasarnē</i>
<i>nīśvāsaḥ</i>	<i>nīsās</i> (<i>nīsāsñē</i> is formed from <i>nīsās</i> , not < <i>nīśvāsayati</i>).

It will be noticed that in the case of *āvāda-*, *prastāra-*, *vyāpāra-saṃghāṭa-*, where the Marāṭhī form shows original initial or final accentuation, there are no corresponding verbs with a short medial vowel. Hence there would be no compelling force of analogy in the case of these words.

ii. When a stem is strengthened by *vr̥ddhi* and the suffix *-ya-*, the accent falls on the first syllable, e.g. *palitā-* : *pālitya*.¹ Here :

* <i>pārakya-</i>	<i>pārak</i>
<i>ālasyam</i>	<i>ālas</i>

iii. Derivatives in *-ya-* without *vr̥ddhi* have the accent either on the first or the last syllable.² Here :

<i>rahasyam</i>	<i>rahas</i>
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iv. Most compounds of *pāti-* and *pātnī* are accented on the first member.³ Here :

<i>sapatnī</i>	<i>savat</i>
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v. Dependent compounds of which the second member is a verbal stem are accented on the second member.⁴ We have had *aśvagandhāḥ*, *gōpālāḥ*.

<i>kalāpa-</i>	<i>kalvā</i>
* <i>rakṣapālāḥ</i>	<i>rākḥvaḥ</i> (cf. <i>gōpālāḥ</i>)
* <i>garhasthāḥ</i>	<i>gharat</i>

vi. Secondary adjectives in *-in* are accented on the suffix, with feminine *-īnī*, e.g. *balīnī*.⁵ We have had *hastīnī*.

¹ Whitney, § 1211a.

² Whitney, § 1267a.

³ Whitney, § 1230.

⁴ Whitney, § 1212.

⁵ Whitney, § 1270.

*sarpīnī**sāpīn*

Opposed to this is *haraṇ* < *hariṇī* : masc. *hariṇāḥ*.

vii. Where a long syllable immediately precedes a secondary derivative suffix, there seems to be some tendency to accent it.¹

*rasālah**rasāl**kṛṣānah**kisān**haritālah**haryāl*

On the other hand, *nārikēlah* > **nāriālu* > *nārel*.

*tuṣārah**tusār**taḍāgaḥ* (i.e. **taṭāka-*)*taḷāv*

viii. Other compounds :

*satkārah**sakār**araghaṭṭah**rahāt**nīhkarma-**nīkāmī*

On the other hand, with initial or final accentuation :

**matṛgharam* (: *grhā-*) *māher* *māhīrū*

praṇaptī *paṇat* H. *panātī*

ix. In a number of other words there is nothing beyond the vowel change to determine the original accent :

(a) On the initial or final syllable :

*kaṭāha-**kaḍhāi* *kaḍāi**mātulānī**māvlaṇ**Karṇāṭakah**Kāṇḍā* *Kanāḍo**hambhārah**hābar**kaparda-**kavḍā**varāha-**varaī**pulīnah**pulaṇ**laśunam**laṣaṇ* H. *laṣun**cipīṭah**civaḍ*Pkt. *kaḍantara-**kaḍtar*„ *kaḍappa-**kaḍap*

¹ Whitney, §§ 1222, 1227.

(b) On the interior syllable:

<i>hīngulāḥ</i>	<i>hīgūl</i>	
<i>karpūram</i> (cf. <i>kharjūra-</i>)	<i>kāpūr</i>	<i>kapūr</i>
<i>kārpāsah</i> (* <i>kappusō</i> ?)	<i>kāpūs</i>	<i>kapās</i>
<i>rāksasah</i> (* <i>rakhsisō</i> ?)	<i>rākhīs</i>	

66. In the type $\times \sim \acute{\times}$ or $\acute{\times} \sim \times$, the last syllable is dropped and the second is retained:

<i>prastarāḥ</i>	<i>pāthar</i>	<i>pāthar</i>
<i>gāḍabhāḥ</i>	<i>gāḍhav</i>	H. <i>gadḥā</i> < * <i>gāḍahā</i>
<i>karkarāḥ</i>	<i>kākar</i>	<i>kākar</i>
<i>kavalāḥ</i>	<i>kaval</i>	
<i>paraśūḥ</i>	<i>pharas</i>	
<i>sāgarah</i>	<i>sāyar</i>	
<i>lāṅgalam</i>	<i>nāgar</i>	<i>nāgar</i>
<i>pāṣkaram</i>	<i>pōkhar</i>	<i>pōkhar</i>

Similarly: *dāmanī* > *dāvaṇ*, *kacchapah* > *kāsav*, *kharparah* > *khāpar*, *śarkarā* > *sākar*, *cikkanam* > *cikaṇ*, *śrīṅkhalā* > *sākhāl*, *mṛakṣaṇam* > *mākhāṇ*, *argalā* > *āgal*, *kuṭṭanī* > *kuṭaṇ*, *saṅkataḥ* > *sākaḍ*, *kajjalam* > *kājal*, *barbarah* > *bābar*, *utkarah* > *ukar*, *kṣapaṇah* > *khavaṇ*, *panasah* > *phaṇas*.

67. There are a considerable number of cases that cannot be brought under these general rules. Some have already been mentioned,¹ and have been ascribed to analogical change of accent, to influence of connected forms, and to borrowing. There are, however, others.

A. Words which have *a* instead of *ā*. Bloch quotes a number of examples.²

i. The *ā* of a simple word is shortened to *a* in a derivative or compound: e.g. *khāt*:*khaṭāg*; *gāḍhav*:*gadḥā*; *phāṭṇē*:*phatakṇē*; *nāthā*:*nāthārā*. Here I am inclined to see a later tendency to shorten the first syllable of a long word, similarly as Bihārī shortens the first syllable in *ghoraṇwā*:*ghōṛā*.³

¹ See above, § 64.

² § 48 ff.

³ See above, § 23.

For some of Bloch's examples I should suggest special explanations. *vaṇaj* is < *vaṇijyām*, not *vāṇijyam*, *nāthā* < **naṣṭakāḥ*, *nāthārā* < **naṣṭakārah*. Under the first heading would come *cakvā* < *cakravākāḥ* for **cākvā*, if it is not a loan-word (cf. G.H. *cakvā* < *cakra*¹*vākāḥ*).

ii. A certain number of words must probably be attributed to borrowing as Bloch suggests. Among these I should place the monosyllabic words with *a* instead of *ā*: *khaj* < *kharjuḥ*, *nath* < *nastā*, *laṭṭh laṭ* < *yaṣṭih*, *sak* < *ṣaṭka*-, *hāt haṭ* < *haṭṭa*-. Literary and common Hindustānī shows the same phenomenon: *sac* *saccā* < *satya*-, *kal* < *kalyam*; Bihārī *kālī*.² These are borrowings from a north-western language like Pañjābī, which has *sace* *saccā*, *natth*, *kall*, *hatt*, *laṭṭhī*, etc.

iii. Fluctuation between *a* and *ā* in transitive and intransitive verbs was discussed above.³

iv. There is fluctuation of quantity in the initial syllables of words not covered by the previous classes: e.g. *ādḥā* (< *ardha*-) but *ād*, *āgaḥ* < *argalaḥ*, *āphalṇē* > *āspḥālayati*, *vākhāṇṇē*, *ākhā* < *ākṣata*- and some others. On this point Bloch says: "A propos de *ad(h)*- (*ardha*-) il [Molesworth] donne cependant une indication intéressante: après avoir établi une nuance de sens entre *ad*- et *ād*-, il convient que l'usage contredit ses définitions: en réalité *ad*- est la forme du *deç*, *ād*- celle du *Concan*. Est-ce là la clé de toutes les hésitations de la graphie de *a* en syllabe initiale? S'agit-il d'ailleurs d'une différence de timbre, ou de quantité, ou des deux concurremment? Ce sont là questions auxquelles l'expérience directe seule pourra répondre."³

(a) In some words there is *ā* in place of *a*: e.g. *pāḍṣī* (Pkt. *paḍicchiā*), *pāras* (*parikṣa*-), *pārusṇē* (*paryuṣ*-). Bloch says: "Il s'agit ici d'une action morphologique

¹ See above, § 55.

² See above, § 54.

³ § 49.

dont on retrouve la trace dès le prākṛit et jusqu'en sanskrit (v. Pischel, §§ 77-8)."¹

(β) In a number of verbs there is a confusion between *a* and *ā*: *khāṇṇē* and *khāṇṇē* "to dig", *harṇē* and *hārṇē* "to take", *carṇē* "to graze" and *cārṇē* "to graze or to cause to graze", *sarṇē* or *sārṇē* opposed to *tarṇē* "to swim" and *tārṇē* "to rescue". This confusion results from analogy with the compound verbs: e.g. both *nīsārayati* and *nīsarati* > *nīsarṇē* (as opposed to *sārati* > *sarṇē* and *sārayati* > *sārṇē*), *ūtārayati* and *ūtatarati* > *utarṇē*.² The difference of the simple verb is sometimes transferred to the compound: e.g. *utarṇē* or *utārṇē* after *tārṇē*. The *ā* in *visāṇṇē* < *visārāmayati* is due to the influence of the noun *visāṇṇā* < *visārāma*.³ *vākhāṇṇē* is formed from *vākhāṇ*, as the *ṇṇ* shows; *nīsāṇṇē* from *nīsās*.

v. There is hesitation between *i*, *ū*, and *a* in final syllables: e.g. *māṇūs* or *māṇas*, *lākūḍ* or *lākāḍ*, *kāpūs* or *kāpas*, *kivīṇ* or *kivāṇ*. The possibility of borrowing should be kept in mind: cf. G. *māṇas*, *lākāḍ*. But a Marāṭhī speaker informs me that whereas he says *māṇūs*, *lākūḍ*, *kāpūs*, etc., for the nominative, for the dative he says *māṇasālā*, *lākāḍālā*, *kāpasālā*, whether it is so written or not. We have here an indication of a later tendency (cf. initial *ā* > *a**) to slur vowels in the interior of a polysyllabic word. The case of *harāṇ* and *harīṇ* is other. *Harāṇ* when used alone, without suggestion from the context, means the female (i.e. < *harīṇī*). But *harīṇāḥ* also became *harāṇ*, and the word made no distinction between the male and female. To fill this gap the Skt. *harīṇa*- was borrowed and took the form of *harīṇ*. It is possible that here also we have the explanation of other variations between *i*, *ū*, and *a* in final syllables.

68. We are now in a position to attempt to determine

¹ § 49, 1. Cf. also my article in JRAS., 1915, p. 23.

² See above, § 54. ³ See above, § 65, i. ⁴ See above, § 67, A. i.

what happened to the first syllable in words of the type — $\acute{x} \times$. Was it shortened or not?

(a) i. Against shortening in — $\acute{\text{—}} \times$ speak the following words:

<i>vyākhyānam</i>	<i>vākhāṇ</i>	<i>vakhāṇ</i>
<i>karpūram</i>	<i>kāpūr</i>	<i>kapūr</i>
<i>kārpāsaḥ</i>	<i>kāpūs</i>	<i>kapās</i>

The case of *vākhāṇ* has already been discussed.¹ It may also have been influenced by a verb **vākḥṇē*, replaced later by *vākhāṇṇē*. The accent of *karpūram* is unknown; possibly *kāpūr* represents a **kāpar* influenced by Skt. *karpūra-*, G. *kapūr*: cf. *kāparvanī*, "camphor water." The question of *kāpūs* is very obscure, as no *ū* appears in Sanskrit.

ii. For shortening speak:

<i>upasthānam</i>	<i>vaṭhāṇ</i>
<i>satkāraḥ</i>	<i>sakār</i>
<i>gōdhāmaḥ</i>	<i>gahā</i>
<i>kharjāraḥ</i>	<i>khajūr</i>
<i>*naṣṭakāra-</i>	<i>naṭhārā</i>

cāmār < *carmakāraḥ* is doubtless due to analogy with *cām* < *carma*. Words in which the first vowel is *i* or *u* do not bear on the question, since in this position *i*, *ū* would in any case have been shortened.

(b) The case of — $\acute{\text{—}} \times$ appears to be different. Here the first syllable regularly retains its length:

<i>hastīnī</i>	<i>hattīṇ</i>
<i>prāvṛṣā</i>	<i>pāūs</i>
<i>sarpīṇī</i>	<i>sāpīṇ</i>
Pkt. <i>lakkūḍaṇ</i>	<i>lākūḍ</i>

69. Of the changes ascribed by Pischel to the action of the stress in Mahārāṣṭrī, except the shortening of syllables dealt with above, there is little or no trace in Marāṭhī. The doubling of consonants I have put down

¹ See above, § 64 B.

to other causes;¹ moreover, Marāṭhī does not show all pre-accentual consonants doubled: e.g. *pumṇāgāḥ* > *punav* not **punāg*, *sādhukāḥ* > *sāū* not **sāūk*, etc., etc. Of the change of pre-accentual *a* to *i* or *u*, only *pik* and perhaps *opṇē* is preserved in Marāṭhī: Skt. *pakvāḥ* > Mh. *pikkō* > M. *pik*, Skt. *arpāyati* > Mh. *uppēi* > M. *opṇē*. Of the change of post-accentual *ā* to *i*, there is no trace: 1st plur. pres. -*āmaḥ* (for which Pischel quotes -*imō*) > -*ō* or -*ū* not *-*ī*. Neither *kivīṇ* (beside *kivaṇ*) nor *kāpās* (: *kārpāsa*-) can be ascribed to this, since *krpānāḥ* > *kivīṇo* would give only M. *kivaṇ*; similarly, *kārpāsaḥ* > **kāppusō* > would give **kāpas*. It will be seen from this that the number of words in which this change would remain visible is very small.

70. To sum up: the original tone of Sanskrit, itself descended from the Indo-Germanic tone, became in the pre-Marāṭhī stage a stress.

i. In verbs the tone or stress was confined to the first syllable.

ii. In other words, when the accent rested on the last syllable, there was a secondary accent on the first. This afterwards became the chief stress.

iii. Initial syllables retained their length, if stressed; or if unstressed, when followed by a short stressed syllable. Otherwise they were shortened.

iv. Medial syllables retained their length, if stressed; if unstressed they were shortened or lost.

v. Penultimate *i* *u*, if stressed, > *ī* *ū*; if unstressed, > *a*.

vi. There was a later influence at work through which initial syllables, when a word was lengthened in any way, tended to become short, and interior syllables to be slurred.

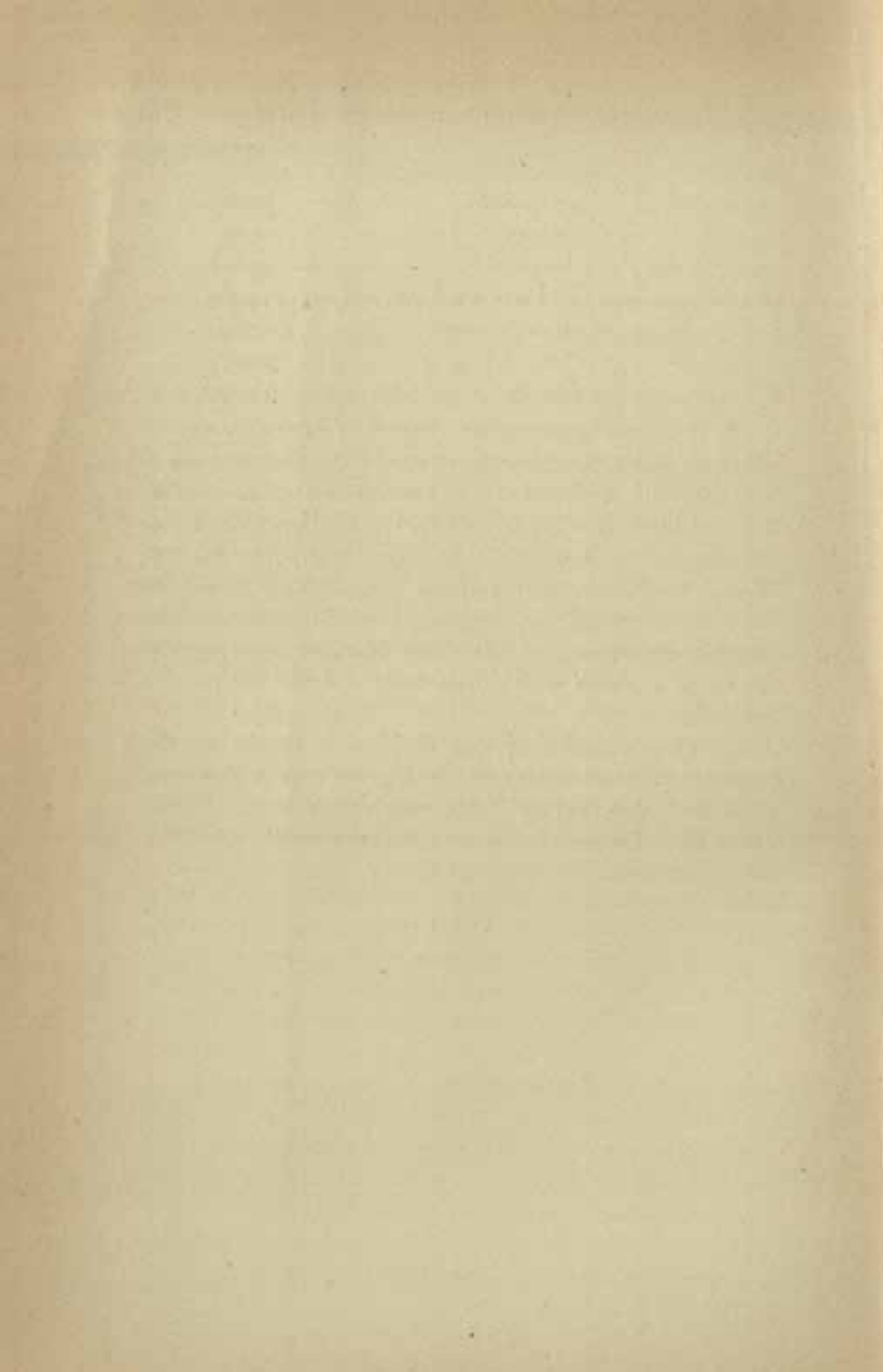
71. Thus we have the accent scheme for the history of Marāṭhī:

¹ See above, § 13.

Skt.	M.
˘ ˘ × <i>prásphuta</i>	— ˘ <i>pāphud</i>
˘ ˘ × <i>nísara</i>	˘ ˘ <i>nisar</i>
˘ — ˘ × <i>ásphālaya</i>	— ˘ <i>āphaḷ</i>
˘ — ˘ × <i>śmaśānāḥ</i>	˘ ˘ <i>masaṇ</i>
˘ — ˘ × <i>upasthānam</i>	˘ — <i>vathāṇ</i>
— ˘ × <i>*prāvīṣā</i>	— — <i>pāūs</i>
˘ ˘ × <i>bhagínī</i>	˘ — <i>bahīṇ</i>

72. If my assumptions are correct, a language can be added to those in which the effects of the Indo-Germanic tone can still be observed; and at the same time another line of demarcation is provided for the modern Indo-Aryan languages. On the one side Gujrāti, Sindhi, Pañjābi, Hindī, Singhalese, and perhaps Beṅgālī—all descended from a language or languages which possessed the penultimate stress; on the other Marāṭhī showing the effects of a stress which was derived from the tone of Sanskrit.

73. When considering this division, it should not be forgotten that the udātta of the R̥gvēda was a low tone, while that described by Pāṇini was a high tone. Is this a first sign of separation in accentual system?



VII

THE ARZAWAN LETTERS AND OTHER HITTITE NOTES

By PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE

IN the new volume of the *Vorderasiatische Schrift-
denkmäler der königlichen Museen zu Berlin* (Heft xii,
1915) Dr. Otto Schroeder has published a revised copy
(No. 202) of what is known as the Second Arzawa Tablet
found at Tel el-Amarna and now in Berlin. As I was the
first to point out many years ago (*Proceedings of the
Society of Biblical Archaeology*, xi, 1889), the text of
the tablet, like that of the First Tablet addressed to the
king of Arzawa, is in the Hittite language. The revised
copy of the Second Tablet is a great improvement on
what has been previously at our disposal, and with the
help of the Hittite Vocabularies (for which see *JRAS.*
October, 1914) and various other tablets from Boghaz
Keui, it is now possible to present a translation of it.
The tablet contains a letter from a Hittite named Labbaya
who was employed in escorting the caravans from Khali-
rabbat or Eastern Cappadocia to Canaan, and who with
his two sons was accused of intriguing with the enemies
of the Pharaoh and even occupying Canaanitish cities.
We hear a good deal about him in the Tel el-Amarna
correspondence, which includes two letters from him in
Semitic Babylonian, rebutting the accusations that had
been brought against him and protesting his fidelity to
the Egyptian Government.

Here is the letter in Hittite:—

1. D.P. a-ta-mu ki-i te-it D.P. Lab-ba-ya
To my lord thus says Labbaya:
2. . . . me-mi-is-ta U-an-wa-an-na-s
[I am] thy servant of the land of Uan:

3. is-kha-ni-it-ta-ra-a-tar i-ya u-e-ni
seven times seven I make prostration
-
4. [nu-mu] D.P. Lab-ba-ya-an u-ul kha-a-mi
 [To me] Labbaya do not write
5. sa-ya-at me-mi-is-ta a-na dub-bi-ma-at-ta-an
accusations (that) thy servant to thy letter
6. u-ul ki-it-ta-at
is not faithful.
-
7. nu ma-a-an kha-an-da-an am-me-el QAR-TAB-ya
As for that, a support like a footstool
8. sa-an-khi-is di(?)-si nu-wa-ta u-ul im-ma
providing I . . . to thee (?) not at all (?)
9. bi-ikh-khi bi-ikh-khi-it-ta
I . . . thy . . .
-
10. mu-mu-(ma) D.P. Lab-ba-ya-an EGIR-khat khat-ra-a
To me also Labbaya according to the custom
11. is-tu AMEL te-mi-ya li-li-wa-akh-khu-u-an-zi
of messengers entrust
12. na-i ku-un-na-mu me-mi-an
what for them I fulfil (in the way of) service
 dub-bi-az
even the letters
13. EGIR-khat kha-at-ra-a-i
for the messengers.
-
14. ki-i-gha dub-bi ku-is DUB-SAR-as
In respect of a letter being, the letters
15. as-kha-a-i na-an an pa-[it]
I have packed: this one which has given
16. Kha-at-ta-an-na-as SARR-us
the Hittite king,
17. [KUR]-KUR(?) -E(?) -na-as-ta AN UD-us
in [the mountain?] land the Sun-god,

18. as-su-u-li pa-akh-ta-an-ta-as
I have conveyed. (As) thy present
19. nu-ut-ta SU-ZUN-us a-ra-akh-za-an-da
to thee coins abundantly
20. as-su-u-li khar-gan-du
I have despatched: may they be sufficient (?)
-
21. zi-ik-mu DUB-SAR-as as-su-u-li
Behold me (?): the letters I have despatched
22. kha-at-ra-a-i nam-ma-za TAG (?) -an EGIR-an
to the messengers: thereupon the . . . in future
23. i-ya
I (?) perform.
-
24. DUB-ZUN . . . ku (?) -e u-da-an-zi
The letters give (me)
25. nu ne-es-ra-ni t[u]-qa kha-at-ri-es-ki
for in return ordering thus.

Notes

1. There was a verb *ki*, "to speak," as is shown by the Vocabularies, which give *bunus-kiuwar*, "to ask questions," *pakhkhes-kiuwar*, "to utter hostile words," *khuwarza-kiuwar*, *kharza-kiuwar* (SAHV., pp. 27, 29).¹ We cannot, however, read *ki-i-e-il*, since the mutilated third character is *te* rather than *e*.

2. Uan was the district westward of Aleppo.

3. The signification of the line is fixed by the Tel el-Amarna letters, which are in Semitic. With *iskhanittarâ-tar* compare *kuwabitt[â]rá*, "more times" (SAHV., p. 12). The Vocabularies have informed us that the verb *iya* (inf. *iya-u-war*) signified "to make", "do".

5. The meaning of this paragraph is furnished by the letters of Labbaya in Semitic Babylonian. *Sayat* is

¹ That is Professor Fr. Delitzsch's paper, "Sumerisch-akkadisch-hettitische Vocabularfragmente" (1914), for which see JRAS. October, 1914, pp. 965-72.

a plural like *bibbit*, "chariots." *Kittat*, 3rd pers. sing., is from the Babylonian *kittu*. The substantive *kittani* occurs in YUZGAT, *obv.* 18; *Khakhhkimas attissi annissi te-izzi ki azziki-ta-ni akkus kitta-ni kabbu-wa addin*, "Khakhhkimas at the word of his father (and) mother acting according to justice (and) faithfulness has said: I have given," etc. *Azziki* may also be a loan-word; in an unpublished text we have: AN UD-*us azziki sas attas* AN-MES *azzigha-te dheim* AN-MES *azzigha-te*, "May the Sun-god direct, may his divine fathers direct, may the gods direct the command!"

Dubbimattan is for *dubbiman-tan*. The plur. acc. of *dubbi* is *dubbiaz*; the sing. acc., however, is formed with the suffix *-ma*.

7. The signification of *khanda-n* has been furnished by the Vocabularies (JRAS. October, 1914).

8. I have no clue to the meaning of *nuwa-ta*, which is found in unpublished texts by the side of *nuwa-su* and *nu-su*, *nuwa-gha*, *nuwa-san*, etc. *Nuwa* is possibly an enlarged form of *nu*. In a text published by Boissier (*Babyloniaca*, iv, 4; iii, *rev.* 11) we read: *däir nuwa abénu*, "for ever the *nuwa* of our father."

9. *Bikhhkhi* (and *bakhhkhi*) occur in the text I have published, JRAS. October, 1912, p. 1030. *Bikhhkhi* may be a 2nd pers. imp.

10. The signification of *khatra* is given by the Vocabularies, where the abstract derivative *khattri-essar* is translated by the Ass. *tertum* and *urtum*.

11. *Temiya* is from the Ass. *dhemu* like *dheim* above (note on line 5). *Lili-wakhhkhu-anzi* is a compound of *lili* and *wakhhkhu* found in *wakhhkhu-tagga* of a Vocabulary I have published, JRAS. October, 1912.

12. *Kunna* is literally "completion". According to the Vocabularies the verb *kunnu-war* is the Ass. *malú*, "to be full."

10-13. EGIR-*khat* is to be read *makhkhat*.

14. *Kuis* is the participle of the verb "to be", of which *kuit* is a 3rd pers. sing. Both are used as pronominal particles in sentences difficult to translate. Thus, in the Vocabularies, *ûl kuis wakkissaras* and *ûl segganza* are alike translated by the Ass. "not strong"; "he has no rival" is given as *âanza kuis*, "being first"; *kuid* is "who", "something", "nothing", and *nu kuid* "wherefore", "when". Literally it would be "it is (that)", "is it (that)?"

The borrowed Assyrian *kî*, with the Hittite suffix *gha* or *gan*, is used as it is by Labbaya in his letters in Semitic Babylonian.

15. In the Vocabularies (SAHV., p. 18) KHAR-KHAR *askhani-suwar* is coupled with *anda-tarubbûar*, "to collect." The ideographic KHAR-KHAR signifies "together", "collection", "completeness", and *suwar* in compounds seems to mean "to make"; hence the root *askha* would have some such signification as "packing".

18. *Pakhtantas* would be a form similar to *aniattas* for *aniantas* in the First Arzawan letter, with which DUMUQ-*anda* may be compared. It seems to be the plural of a form in *-anda* or *-anta*. Dr. Knudtzon, however, reads *pakhtan-ta-ki*, which would give a better sense, "according to thy wish" (?).

21. In unpublished texts I find *zik*, *ziq-qa*, and *zik-mas*.

23. It is possible that *iya* is the 2nd pers. imperative.

24. *Tuqa* is also written *tu-uq-qa* in unpublished texts, *tug-qa* in the First Arzawan Letter.

THE FIRST ARZAWAN LETTER

- | | | | |
|---------------|----------------|-----------------|------|
| 1. um-ma D.P. | Ni-mu-ut-ri-ya | sarru rabu | sar |
| Thus | Neb-mât-Ra, | the great king, | king |
| mat | Mi-iz-za-ri | | |
| of | Egypt | | |

2. [a]-na D.P. Tar-khu-un-da-ra-ba sar
to Tarkhundaraba, king
mat Ar-za-wa ki-be-ma
of Arzawa, says that
3. kat-ti-mi DUMUQ-in BIT-ZUN-mi DAM-MES-mi
Unto me are prosperous my houses, my wives.
TUR-MES-mi
my children,
4. AMEL-MES-GAL-GAL-as ZAB-MES-mi
the generals of my army,
ANSU-KUR-RA-ZUN-mi
my horses,
5. bi-ib-bi-id-mi KUR-KUR-ZUN-mi ga(n)-an-da
my chariots, my dominions, for ever
6. khu-u-ma-an DUMUQ-in
exceedingly are they prosperous.
-
7. du-uq-qa kat-ta khu-u-ma-an DUMUQ-in
In return to thee exceeding prosperity
e-es-tu
mayest thou have;
8. BIT-ZUN-ti DAM-MES-ti TUR-MES-ti
of thy houses, thy wives, thy children,
AMEL-MES-GAL-GAL-as
the generals
9. ZAB-MES-ti ANSU-KUR-RA-ZUN-ti bi-ib-bi-id-ti
of thy army, thy horses, thy chariots,
10. KUR-ZUN-ti khu-u-ma-an DUMUQ-in
thy dominions, exceeding prosperity
e-es-tu
mayest thou have!
-
11. ka-a-as-ma-at-ta u-i-e-nu-un D.P. Ir-sa-ap-pa
On thy account I am charging Irsappa

12. AMEL kha-lu-ga-tal-la-a-mi-in a-u-wa-ni
my envoy with the request (?)
 TUR-SAL-ti
Thy daughter
13. AN-UD-mi ku-in DAM-an-ni u-wa-da-an-zi
of my Sun-god to be the wife deliver!
14. nu-us-si li-il-khu-wa-i ZAL-an SAG-DU-si
To him I have entrusted the oil of her head.
15. ka-a-as-ma-ta up-pa-akh-khu-un I. šu-kha-la-li-ya
On thy account I am presenting 1 brick
 AZAG-GI-as
of gold
16. DUMUQ-ta
as thy gratuity.
-
17. a-ni-ya-at-ta-as ma-mu ku-e-da-as
Thy dowry-gifts together with (?) long
 kha-at-ra-a-es (?)
messages
18. ub-bi wa-ra-at-mu ne-it-ta up-pa-akh-khi
I have received; my replies to thee I will present
 EGIR-an-da
afterwards.
19. na-as-ta AMEL kha-lu-ga-tal-la-at-tin am-me-el-la
When thy envoy like
20. AMEL kha-lu-ga-tal-la-an EGIR-khat khat-ra-a
an envoy according to custom
 khu-u-da-a-ak
thou seest
21. na-i na-at u-wa-an-du
to him them let them deliver.
-
22. nu-ut-ta u-wa-an-zi u-da-an-zi ku-sa-ta
As for thee, deliver (and) give thy dowry (and)
 TUR-SAL-ti
thy daughter.

23. AMELkha-lu-ga-tal-as-mi-is AMELkha-lu-ga-tal-la-sa

My envoy,

an envoy

24. ku-is tu-el u-it na-as ag-ga-as
(really) being, hereafter brings these gifts.

25. nu-mu an-tu-ukh-su-us ga-as-ga-as
As for me, the men, the artizans(?)

KUR-ya-as ub-bi is-ta-ba-as-su-un
of the country, I have received; the number

26. zi-in-nu-uk khu-u-ma-an-da
thou hast supplied exceedingly.

27. nu-kha-ad-du-sa-as-sa KUR-e i-ga-id
Of the mines of the mountains the products

28. nu-ut-ta ka-a-as-ma bi-ib-bi-es-sar up-pa-khu-un
to thee for chariotry as a present
 as-su-li . . .

I have despatched [by the hand]

29. ki-is-sa-ri-is-si D.P. Ir-sa-ap-pa
of the noble (?) Irsappa

AMEL kha-lu-[ga-tal-la-mi]
my envoy:—

30. I-EN šu-kha-la-li-ya AZAG-GI KI-LAL-BI-SU
one brick of gold, its weight

31. XX ma-na AZAG-GI III KITU DI(?)
20 manehs of gold; 3 . . . garments;

III KITU UD-DU-A- . . .
3 . . . garments;

32. III KITU khu-uz-zi VIII KITU ku-si-it-ti-in
3 . . . garments; 8 . . . robes;

33. IC KITU an-wa-al-ga-an IC KITU kha-ap-pa . . .
100 . . . robes; 100 . . . robes;

34. IC KITU mu-as-tal-li-ya-as-sa . . .
 100 . . . robes . . . ;
35. IV ABNU ku-ku-bu GAL ZAL DUG-GA
 4 stone jars, large ones, (of) good oil ;
 VI ABNU ku-ku-[bu] . . .
 6 stone jars . . .
36. SA ZAL DUG-GA III GIS-GU-ZA GIS
 of good oil ; 3 thrones of wood
 sar-khat pa-na-[si-na]
 with splendid fronts ;
37. X GIS-GU-ZA SA GIS-KAL is-tu
 10 thrones of ebony with
 KA-PIR-bi-[ri] . . .
 ivory
38. u-ukh-khu-uz IC GIS-KAL as-su-li
 inlaid ; (and) 100 ebony-logs I have despatched.

Notes

2. The second element in the name of Tarkhun-daraba is found in the Greek Cilician names *Ῥων-δέρβε-μις* and *Τερβέ-μασις*.

3. DUMUQ-*in* seems to be an accusative governed by *estu* understood.

6. *Khuman* is strictly an adjective agreeing with DUMUQ-*in*.

7. *Es-tu* is literally "thy possession". The verb *essuwar* or *esuwar* is given in the Vocabularies, as well as the substantive *essai* (UD-KAM-as *anian kuis essai*, "daily wage for possession," Sumerian A-GIS-GAR-RA, SAHV., p. 19).

11. *Kāsmatta* for *Kāzman-ta*.

Uienun may be from the same root as *ueni* above (Second Arzawan Letter, l. 3). There was a 1st pers. of the verb ending in *-un* (e.g. *nakhaddakhkhun*, YUZGAT,

rev. 5), but here *uienun* may be an accusative or an adverb (like *kinun*, "now"). However, *uppakkkhun* (in l. 15) favours the verbal termination, unless the latter is peculiar to the (causative ?) form in *-kkkh-*.

14. We learn from the Vocabularies that the Hittite word for "head" was *khalanda*.

15. In unpublished inscriptions the place of *šukhalaliya* is taken by the ideograph of "brick".

18. The signification I assigned many years ago to *ubbi* has been verified by the Vocabularies, which give the Assyrian *subultum* as the equivalent of *ubbis(sar)* (SAHV., p. 12).

The sing. acc. *waran* is met with by the side of the plural *warat*. *Nu-warat* is found in the sense of "on the contrary", as in the two texts which I have published in JRAS. October, 1914, pp. 971, 972, where I have left the expression untranslated.

Nétta is probably for *nutta*, since we have other examples of an interchange of *ne* (or *i*) and *u* (i.e. *ū*), as in *e-izza* and *u-izza*, "old."

19. *Nasta* is probably the demonstrative pronoun *nas* with the locative suffix *-ta*.

20. *Khudak* is used for the 2nd pers. sing., though I suspect that it is really a passive gerund, like *zinnuk* below (l. 26). Its signification is determined by the following passage in an unpublished text:—

i-na	UD-III-KAM	ma-a-an	lu-uk-kat-ta
On	the third day	if	a meteor (?)
	ka-ru-u-wa-ri-wa-ar	khu-da-ak nu	MAS-GAL
	in the morning	thou seest, to	a grown kid
I	LU-SIQQA	u-un-ni-an-zi	
a	goat	bring.	

In the text I have translated in JRAS. October, 1909, the place of *khudak* is taken by the ideograph SI, "is

seen" (*lukkatta-ma ina samu* SI, "if a meteor (?) in the sky is seen" ¹). In YUZGAT, rev. 40-1, we have:—

ma-a-an lu-uk-kat-ta be-el AN-lim pa-ni AN-lim
 If a meteor(?) the lord of the gods before the gods
 iz-gha(?)-zi sa-na-iz-zi sa-me-se-iz-zi khu-uk-ma-
 displays in a clear(?) sky (and) causes
 us khu-uk-zi III SU ir-kha-iz-zi
 thunder(?) 3 times in the evening(?).

The suffix *-zi* denotes the 3rd pers. sing. of the conditional or relative tense, as in *e-es-zi*, " (he who) has."

21. *Nat* refers to *warat*. *Nai* occupies the same place as above in Arzawa, ii, 12, and *uwundu* seems to be a 3rd pers. plur., but the sense of the passage is obscure to me.

22. *Kusu* is the *kussa*, "wage" or "payment" (Ass. *idu*) of the Vocabularies.

24. *Aggas* is the *aqqat* of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, which the context of the passage in which it occurs prevents us from explaining as *ana qat*, as Dr. Knudtson has recently suggested.

25. The abstract *antukhsa-tar* is given as equivalent to *tenisu*, "mankind," in SAHV., p. 29. "Man" is *pan*, as in *uizza-pan*, "old man."

Gasgas may be a corrupted form of the Assyrian *kiskattê*, "workmen," which appears as *kis-kat-ta-ri-as* in one of the Liverpool Hittite tablets (*Annals of Archaeology*, iii, 3, pl. xxvi, ii, 8).

Istabassun is a compound of *istabba* and *assu(war)*, which we find in an unpublished tablet: I-LU-BIT *sa-ra-a is-tab-ba a-as-su-wa-te an-da* KUR-ak-ku, "round the threshold of the house let them heap up a store . . ."

26. According to the Vocabularies *zinnu(war)* is the Ass. *gamâru*, "to complete."

¹ It will be noticed that the suffixed *-ma* takes the place of *man*, which is the equivalent of the Assyrian *summa*.

27. In the text I have published in JRAS. October, 1913, p. 1043, *khaddi* must signify "open" rather than "shut". Hence in *nu-khaddusa-assa* I see a compound of *nu* and *khaddu* in the sense of "openings" or "mines". For the suffix cf. *aranza-sa*, "strong" (Ass. *gasru*).

28. We learn from the Vocabularies that the suffix *-(e)ssar* is used to form abstracts.

29. The Vocabularies give *wal-kissaras* as the equivalent of the Ass. *leû*, Sumerian *agal*, and couple it with *watar-nakhhkanza*, "ambassador." For the termination see the passage I have quoted in JRAS. October, 1913, p. 1045 n. 1: AN ALU-MAT-sa-as-si AMEL [SANGU], "of the [priest] of the god of the city-land."

33. According to the Vocabularies *khapanzuwar* meant "to be trustworthy" (Ass. *daglu*), while *anda khapatiya-war* was "an assassin" (Ass. *mutikkû* from *dakû*).

34. *Muastalliya* is probably the Assyrian *mustallu*, as "the judge's robes" are meant.

36. Dr. Knudtzon is doubtless right in supplying KAL after GIS. *Sarkhat pana* is Assyrian.

37. PIR (𐎱) is written inside KA, "tooth." In YUZGAT, *obv.* 31, *pi-ri* alone denotes "ivory".

WORDS FOR JARS

IM-*ya-as-sa-an* interchanges with *a-ya-as-sa-an*, which we find in the phrase *se-ir-as-sa-an a-ya-as-sa-an* UD-KA-BAR, "a bronze jug of sweet wine" (see JRAS. October, 1912, p. 1035). In another passage *ayassan* is replaced by IM-ZU, "clay jug," and elsewhere by *a-te-es-sa-an* (UD-KA-BAR), "bronze jug," also written *a-ti-is-sa(n)*. The ideograph GA is sometimes prefixed to *kukub*, "a (stone) jar," as well as to *khubbar*, the plural of which is *khubrus*. Another word for a jar or jug is *gagial*. The Assyrian *passur* was borrowed under the form of *passu*.

KHADDU-WAR, "TO OPEN"

I have said above that *khaddi* must signify "open". This throws light on a passage in YUZGAT, rev. 37-9, where we read:—

sa-ne-iz-zi	sa-me-si-iz-zi	nu	SAL su-gi	be-el
<i>In a clear(?)</i>	<i>sky</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>the priestess</i>	<i>the lord</i>
AN-lim	khu-uk-ma-a-us	khu-uk-zi	II su	
<i>of the gods</i>		<i>(gives signs)</i>		<i>twice</i>
ir-kha-a-iz-zi		BIT-AN-lim		
<i>at evening (?)</i>		<i>when the temple of the gods</i>		
kha-ad-ki	na-as-ta	khat-ra-a	u-iz-zi	
<i>is opened</i>	<i>according to(?)</i>	<i>law;</i>	<i>in old days</i>	
a-bi-ya	ut-ti	u-ul ku-it-ki	i-ya-zi	
<i>my father</i>	<i>thus (?)</i>	<i>it was not that</i>	<i>he did.</i>	

Can *nasta* here be equivalent to *natta*, "not"?

Uizzi is "old" (see JRAS. October, 1912, p. 1035, *eizzazzi*); according to the Vocabularies *uizza-pan* is "an old man".

FRAGMENT OF A VOCABULARY

The fragment of which I have given a copy in JRAS., October, 1912, p. 1038, is part of a Vocabulary. It reads:—

[wa]-akh-khu-tag-ga	. . .
wa-akh-khu-tag-ga	. . .
GUD QAR-QAR	"image of an ox."
QAR-QAR	"image."
AN-KAL	"colossus."

The signification is that "the image" and "the divine colossus" have the same meaning as "the image of an ox".

THE COLOPHON OF THE ARNUWANDA TABLET

As a consequence of the fact that *ûl* is the Assyrian particle "not", my translation of the colophon of the

tablet with a hieroglyphic attached, which I have given in JRAS. October, 1912, p. 1036, must be corrected. It should be:—

DUB II-KAM	u-ul qa-ti	sa
<i>The second tablet</i>	<i>I have not copied.</i>	<i>Belonging to</i>
D.P. Ar-nu-wa-an-da-[as SARRU]		Kha-ti-qi-is
<i>Arnuwanda [the king]</i>		<i>Hittite</i>
u-nu-ut	BIT	ABNU-DUB
<i>the furniture</i>	<i>of the house</i>	<i>of inscribed stone.</i>

"The house of inscribed stone" probably had its walls lined with slabs containing hieroglyphic inscriptions like those discovered at Carchemish.


ATA, "LORD"

It is possible that the word *ata* is contained in the fragment of a Vocabulary which belongs to Miss Dodd. This reads:—

Col. III (?).

Col. IV (?).

.....	e-ru (?) . . .
.....	kha-u-ar . . .
..... kam	kha-u-ar . . .
... is-ki-mi	kha-u-ar . . .
..... al-li ab-na	a-ta . . .
... e-ne-e-ta-a-
... ut
.....

In the Vocabularies *kharuar* as well as *khuwar* can be represented by  *khur* and *khar*. *Khar-na-nza* is "enmity", *khar-na-in* "war", *khar-pa-na-l* . . "hostile man", *khar-za-kiuwar* "to speak hostile (words)", *khar-sa-llanza* "angry", *khar-ta-is* "a curse".

"THE LANGUAGE OF THE SCRIBES"

From one of the Liverpool tablets (*Annals of Archaeology*, iii, 3, pl. xxvi, 1) I gather that the literary language of Boghaz Keui, with its borrowed Assyrian words and ideographs, was known as "the language of the scribes". We read:—

a-na SAG (?) MES AN-MES ALU Khat-ti . . .
For the chief (?) gods of the city of the Hittites . . .
 ku-e-[es] DHUR-BI DI-ZUN EGIR-[khat khatra ?]
being all of them complete, according to
 EME sa AMEL-MES-DUB kul sa . . .
the language of the scribes all of . . .
 u-lu ku-is pa-iz-zi PAQID-[an-zi]
the oil which (is) for a gift inspect,
 wa-as-su-us ku-i-e-es ka-ru . . .
The clothes which . . .
 na-as PAQID-an-zi
these inspect

Karu . . is probably the *karu-ssi-ya-war* of the Vocabularies (see Delitzsch, *SAHV.*, p. 7).

KUIT AS AN ADVERB OF TIME

Kuit is sometimes used as an adverb of time. Thus, in one of Winckler's tablets we have:—

sa ALU Mi-iz-ri-wa-as-si AMEL te-kas Kha-a-ni-is
Of the Egyptian interpreter Khani,
 be-lu GIS-[PA] an ma-a-i-it
the master of the scribe's art whom loved
 a-bu-ya ku-wa-bi I GIS-PA AMEL-in
my father more than any other scribe
 i-na MAT ALU Mi-iz-ri-is-me na-an ki-us-sa-an
from the land of the Egyptians him addressing
 ku-it wa-tar-na-akh-sa a-na
when as ambassador [he brought] to
 a-bu-ya SAL SARRU ALU Mi-iz-ri dub-bi-a-az
my father of the queen of Egypt the letters.

Tekas could also be read *tebi*. *Kiussan*, the participle of *kiuwar*, agrees with the accusative *pan-in*. According to the Vocabularies *watar-nakhhka-nza* is the Assyrian *múteru* (Sumerian *a-ag-ga*) "ambassador", *nakh-sara* being *palkhu* "reverend".

The colophon of the tablet reads: DUB VII-KAM *a-na dub-bi UD-KA-BAR na-a-u i-ni-ya-an*, "the seventh tablet; after the bronze tablet I have copied the text." The original letters, therefore, must have been engraved on bronze or copper plates and preserved in the royal archives of the Hittite capital.

VIII

AN EARLY TEXT OF THE SADDHARMA-PUNDARIKA

By A. F. R. HOERNLE

IN the course of my registering and describing the collection of manuscripts of Sir Aurel Stein's second expedition in Eastern Turkestan, I have come across two sets of fragments which appear to me to preserve portions of an early recension of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka; earlier, that is to say, than the ordinary recension published by Professor Kern in the *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, x. They were discovered by Sir A. Stein in September, 1906, in the sand-buried ruins of Khadalik, as described by him in his *Ruins of Desert Kathay*, vol. i, pp. 239 ff.

The First Set

The first set (Kha. i. 185, c.) consists of two large pieces, measuring about $6\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ inches. As their text quoted below shows, they belong to the middle of two consecutive folios of a pothī of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka. They are damaged at their bottom, where only some illegible traces of a sixth line survive. That there never existed a seventh line is evident from the circumstance that one of the two pieces preserves a portion of the string-hole standing between the third and fourth lines. Seeing that in a pothī, as would naturally be the case, the string-hole is always placed just in the middle of the width of its folios, it follows that there cannot have been any seventh line. In other words, no seventh line can have broken away at the bottom of the obverse, or conversely a first line at the top of the reverse of the surviving fragment. Moreover, it is known that the position of the string-hole in the Eastern Turkeṣṭānī

pothis is always about the middle of the left half of its folios. From these considerations it is easy to determine that the full width of the folio must have been about 2½ inches, and its full length about 12 inches; and that, since the number of the surviving akṣaras varies between sixteen and twenty-four, at the average of twenty, the entire line would have contained from forty-two to forty-four akṣaras, of which about one-half are lost.

I now quote the surviving text of the two pieces. It is a mere transcript, not an edition. The latter I will leave to be done by Professor Lüders, who, I am informed, is making a special study of the recovered fragments of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka. In the transcript the circlelets indicate the limits of the fragment, and the dotted circle the position of the string-hole; the asterisks indicate illegible, and the brackets semi-legible akṣaras. The text is from the beginning of the tenth chapter of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, and corresponds in Professor Kern's edition to pp. 224-6, the text of which I transcribe below in parallel columns, and in which identical portions are shown in italics.

Fragment I. Obverse

Kern Edition, p. 224, l. 3

1. 1. °pratyekabuddhayānikā vā
bodhisatvayānikā *****

*** °

1. 2. °rvbām vā sarvbe te bhaiṣa-
jyarāja samām bodhisatvā
mahāsatvā°

1. 3. ° ⊙ gātham api śrūtām eka-
padam api śrūtā ~ a(num-)
o(ditam idam sūtram)°

*pratyekabuddhayānīyān bo-
dhisatvayānīyānīś ca yair
ayam dharmaparyāyas tathā-
gatasya sammukham śrutam |
āha | paśyāmi Bhagavan paś-
yāmi Sugata | Bhagavan āha |
sarve khalv ete bhaiṣajyarāja
bodhisattvā mahāsattvā yair
asyam paśady antaśa ekāpi
gāthā śrūtāikapadam api śru-
tām yair vā punar antaśa eka-
cittōpādenāpy anumoditam
idam sūtram sarvā etā aham
bhaiṣajyarāja*

1. 4. ° ⊙ catvāraḥ pariśā ahaṁ
vyākaroṁi anuttarāyāṁ
(sa)myaksambo°

1. 5. °tasya imaṁ dharmā-
paryāyāṁ °ṇa °°°°°°°°
°°°°°°°°

1. 6. °°°°° (in ya)°

*catasraḥ paśādo vyākaroṁy
anuttarāyāṁ samyaksambo-
dhau | ye pi kecid bhaiṣajyarāja
tathāgatasya parinirv-*

*ṭasy = émaṁ dharmaparyāyāṁ
śroṣyanty antaśa ekagāthāṁ
api śrutv = āntaśa ekenāpi cittō-
pāden = ābhyanumodayiṣyanti
tān api ahaṁ bhaiṣajyarāja
kulaputrān vā kuladuhitṛ vā
vyākaroṁy anuttarāyāṁ sam-
yaksambodhau | paripūrṇa bud-
dha-koṭīnayaṭaśatasahasra-par-
yupāsītāvinas te bhaiṣajyarāja
kulaputrā vā kuladuhitaro vā
bhaviṣyanti | buddhakoṭīnaya-
ṭaśatasahasrakṛtaprapañdhānās
te bhaiṣajyarāja kulaputrā vā
kuladuhitaro vā bhaviṣyanti |
sattvānām anukampārtham
asmiṁ Jambudvīpe manuṣyeṣu
pratyājñātā veditavyāḥ | ya ito
dharmaparyāyād*

Reverse

1. 1. °°°°° (dvīpa)°

1. 2. °antamaśa ekāṁ gāthāṁ
a(pi dhāra)yi(ṣyanti)°

1. 3. ° ⊙ likhitāṁ vā anusmarīṣ-
yanti ~ vyapalokayi-
(ṣyanti) tatra°

1. 4. ° ⊙ tpādayiṣyanti satkarīṣ-
yanti ca gurukarīṣyanti
ca (dāni)°

1. 5. °bhi dhūpebhi cūrṇebhi
vādyebhi vastrebhi ccha-
trebhi dhvajebhi°

*antaśa ekagāthāṁ api dhāra-
yiṣyanti vācayiṣyanti prakā-
śayiṣyanti saṁgrāhayiṣyanti
likhiṣyanti*

*likhitvā c = ānusmarīṣyanti
kālena ca kālāṁ vyavalokayi-
ṣyanti | tasmīnś ca pustake
tathāgatagauravam u-*

*tpādayiṣyanti śāstṛgauraveṇa
satkarīṣyanti gurukarīṣyanti
mānayiṣyanti pūjayiṣyanti |
tām ca pustakāṁ puṣpa-
dhūpagandhamālyavilepana-
cārṇacīvaracchatradhvajapatā-
kāvādyādibhir na-*

1. 6. °maskārebhi antamaśa
imāto dharmaparyāyāto
~(ekām gā)°

Fragment II. Obverse

1. 1. °jā yaḥ kaści anyo pi
puruṣa evaṁ vade(yā) (hy)
e(vam) * * * * °
1. 2. °evaṁ abhyanumoditvā ~
evaṁ tathāgatā bhaviṣyiti
(sic) ~ (an)yai * °

1. 3. °śāyitavyam ~

ayaṁ bho
puruṣa kulaputra anāga-
(te)°

1. 4. °paśyāmi ~ tat kasya heto
~ iti hi bhāi(śa)°

1. 5. °satkāraṁ karaṇīyaṁ (~ya)
i(t)°

1. 6. illegible

*maskārāñjalikarmabhiś ca pū-
jayiṣyanti | ye kecid bhāiṣajya-
rāja kulaputrā vā kuladuhitaro
v = ēto dharmaparyāyād antaśa
ekagāthām api dhārayiṣyanti
anumodayiṣyanti vā sarvāms
tān ahaṁ bhāiṣajyarāja vyāka-
romyanuttarāyām samyaksaṁ-
bodhau || Tatra bhāiṣajyarā-
ja yaḥ kaścid anyatarah puruṣo
vā strī v = āvaṁ vadet | kidrśāḥ
khalv api te sattvā bhaviṣyanti
anāgate 'dhani tathāgatā arha-
taḥ samyaksaṁbuddha iti |
tasya bhāiṣajyarāja puruṣasya
vā striyā vā sa kulaputro vā
kuladuhitā vā da-
rśayitavyaḥ | ya ito dharma-
paryāyād antaśaś catuṣpādikām
api gāthām dhārayitā śrāvayitā
vā deśayitā vā sagauravo v = ēha
dharmaparyāye | ayaṁ sa
kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vā yo
hy anāgate 'dhani tathāgato
'rhan samyaksaṁbuddho bha-
viṣyati | evaṁ
paśya | tat kasya hetoḥ | sa hi
bhāiṣajyarāja kulaputro vā
kuladuhitā vā tathāgato vedita-
vyaḥ sadevakena lokena tasya
ca tathāgatasy = āvaṁ
satkāraḥ kartavyo yaḥ khalv
asmād dharmaparyāyād antaśa
ekagāthām api dhārayet kaḥ
punar vādo ya imaṁ dharma-
paryāyaṁ sakalasamāptam
udgrhṇīyād dhārayed vā vāca-
yed vā paryavāpnuyād vā prakā-
śayed vā likhed vā likhāpayed vā*

Reverse

- l. 1. illegible
- l. 2. °lepanehi cūrṇehi (vādye)-
hi (vastre)°
- l. 3. °maskāryā pariniṣpannaḥ
so kulapu(tra)°
- l. 4. °śyī (*sic*) ca vedayitavyam
hitānukampakaścalokasya
praṇi°
- l. 5. °kāśanatāyām so svakaṁ
udāraṁ karmābhisam-
skāraṁ udāraṁ (ca)°
- l. 6. °(sya) samprakāśanabeto
mama paranīrvanasya
(*sic*) (sa)tvā(nām) hi°
- likhitvā c=ānusmaret tatra ca
pustake satkāraṁ kuryād guru-
kāraṁ kuryān mānanām pūja-
nām arcanaṁ apacāyanām
puṣpadhūpagandhamālyavi-
lepanacūrṇacīvaracchatradhva-
japatākāvādyādñjali na-
maskāraiḥ praṇāmaiḥ | pariniṣ-
pannaḥ sa bhaiṣajyarāja kula-
putro vā kuladuhitā v=ānutta-
rāyām samyaksaṁbodhau vedi-
tavyas tathāgatada-
rśī ca veditavyo lokasya hitā-
nukampakaḥ praṇidhānava-
śen=ōpapanno 'smiñ Jambu-
dvīpe manuṣyeṣv asya dharma-
paryāyasya saṁpra-
kāśanatāyai | yaḥ svayam
udāraṁ dharmābhisamskāraṁ
udāraṁ ca buddhakṣetrōpa-
pattiṁ sthāpayitv=āsyā dhar-
maparyāya-
sya samprakāśanahetor mayi
parinireṣṭe sattvānām hitār-
tham, etc.

It will be seen that in the fragments the text is generally much shorter than in the printed recension. As it happens, the shortness is particularly conspicuous at the bottom of the obverse and the top of the reverse of the first fragment. Here the printed text of the Kern edition comprises about 185 akṣaras, which, at the rate of forty-four akṣaras per line, would occupy in the fragment four lines; and this result, at first sight, raises the suspicion of two lines (seventh on obverse and first on reverse) being lost from the fragment. But that no such loss can have occurred is conclusively proved by the position, above explained, of the string-hole. Moreover, there is the fact

that in the same place of the second fragment the printed text comprises only about 113 akṣaras, which at the same rate allows only a fraction above two lines for the fragment; and that fraction is accounted for by the accumulation of phrases (from *dhārayed vā* to *likhāpayed vā*) in the printed text, which was probably absent from the text of the fragment.

Also, the striking differences in the structure of the text, in fragment I, reverse lines 5 and 6, and in fragment II, obverse lines 1-4, from the printed text may be noted.

The Second Set

The second set (Kha. i. 317) also consists of two pieces, of exactly the same shape, broken from the middle of two consecutive folios, and measuring about $5\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ inches. They both show, nearly in their middle, the string-hole with its enclosing circle, and constitute rather more than one-fourth of the complete leaf, the length of which accordingly may be taken to have been about 16 inches. The script on them is rather large, 12 akṣaras being on the longest extant line (frag. II, rev. l. 1). Accordingly on the average 35 akṣaras may have stood on the complete line of about 16 inches ($12 : 5\frac{1}{4} = 35 : 16$). There are five lines on the full width ($3\frac{3}{4}$ inches) of the fragments, being written in a different "hand" from that of the first set. The paper is soft and very thin, and the writing is much sand-rubbed, and in places difficult to read. The two sets, clearly, belong to two quite different pothis, though possibly they may contain the identical early redaction of the Saddharma-puṇḍarika.

The text of the two fragments is from the middle of the nineteenth chapter of the Saddharma-puṇḍarika, and corresponds in Professor Kern's edition to pp. 380-7. Both texts are transcribed below in exactly the same way as the texts of the first set.

Fragment I. Obverse

1. 1. °(bhūta a)bhū(van u(eche)-
da dharma)°

1. 2. °bahūni prāṇikoṭīna(yu)°

1. 3. • sa kha ⊙ lu punar ma°

1. 4. °Candrasūryapra(di)parājā
sa°

1. 5. °tathāgatakoṭīnayutaśata°

Reverse

1. 1. °(ny) ārayā(m)āsa sampra-
kāśayā°

1. 2. °(Du)ndubhisvararājā
samanā°

1. 3. °(tānām) ko ⊙ ṭīnayutaśa°

1. 4. °yāmāsa samprakāśayā°
(cf. 1. 1)

1. 5. * * * (dhārarājā) tathā°

Kern Edition, p. 380, l. 3

°bhūtā abhūvan dharmasrava-
ṇāya | sarve ten=ānyāni ca
bahūni prāṇikoṭīnayutaśataśa-
hasrāṇy anuttarāyām samyak-
sambodhan samādāpitāny a-
bhūvan

| sa khalu punar mahāsthāma-
prāpta bodhisattvo mahāsattvas
tataś cyavitvā

Candrasavararājasahanāmnām

tathāgatānām arhatām sam-
yaksambuddhānām vimśati-
koṭīśatā-

ny ārāgitavān sarveṣu c=ēmam
dharmaṇyāyām samprakā-
śayāmāsa | so 'nupūrveṇa te-
nāiva pūrvakeṇa kuśalamūlena
punar apy anupūrveṇa

Dundubhisvararājasahanām-
nām tathāgatānām arhatām
samyaksambuddhānām vim-
śatim eva tathāga-

takoṭīnayutaśatasahasrāṇy
ārāgitavān sarveṣu c=ēmam eva
Saddharmapuṇḍarikām dhar-
maṇyāyam

ārāgitavān samprakāśitavāmś
catasṛṇām parśadām | so'ne-
nāiva pūrvakeṇa kuśalamūlena
punar apy anupūrveṇa

Meghasvararājasahanāmnām
tathāgatānām arhatām samyak-
sambuddhānām vimśatim eva
tathāgatakoṭīśatasahasrā-

Fragment II. Obverse

- l. 1. °(ny āra)yāmāsa sa°
 l. 2. °yā(māsa)samprakāśa(yā)°
 l. 3. °*pā ⊙ riśuddhyā sa (ma)°
 l. 4. °hvāpāriśuddhyā kāyapari°

Reverse

- l. 1. °(kha)lu punar mahāsthā-
 maprāpta sadā°
 l. 2. °śatasahasrāṇām satkāraṁ
 gu°
 l. 3. °satkāraṁ ⊙ kṛtvā gurukā°
 l. 4. °(nām) pariśadām sampra-
 kāśi° (cf. above, frag. I,
 rev. l. 4, and frag. II, obv.
 l. 2; also in Kern ed.,
 p. 381, ll. 1, 2)
 l. 5. °(sa)mbuddha(h) • (syā)t
 khalu puna°

Kern Edition, p. 381, l. 1

ny ārāgitavān sarveṣu c=ēmam
 eva Saddharmapuṇḍarikāṁ
 dharmaparyāyam
 ārāgitavān samprakāśitavānś
 catasraṇām parśadām | sarveṣu
 c=āivamrūpayā cakṣuḥ-
 pariśuddhyā samanvāgato
 'bhūc śrotapariśuddhyā ghrā-
 ṇapariśuddhyā ji-
 hvāpāriśuddhyā kāyapari-
 śuddhyā manahpariśuddhyā
 samanvāgato 'bhūt || sa

Kern Edition, p. 381, l. 4

khalu punar mahāsthāma
 prāpta sadāparibhūto bodhi-
 sattvo mahāsattva iyatām
 tathāgatakoṭīnayuta-
 śatasahasrāṇām satkāraṁ gu-
 rukāraṁ mānanām pūjanām
 arcanām apacāyanām kṛtv=
 ānyeṣām ca bahūnām buddha-
 koṭīnayuta śatasahasrāṇām
 satkāraṁ gurukāraṁ mānanām
 pūjanām arcanām apacāyanām
 kṛtvā sarveṣu ca teṣv imam eva
 Saddharmapuṇḍarikāṁ dhar-
 maparyāyam
 ārāgitavānārāgayitvā satenāiva
 pūrvakeṇa kuśalamūlena pari-
 pakven=ānuttarām samyak-
 sambodhim abhi-
 sambuddhaḥ | syāt khalu punas
 te mahāsthāmaprāpt=āivam,
 etc.

The remarks made above with regard to the first set apply in a similar way to this second set. The text is

shorter than in the printed edition; also in structure it differs much, e.g. in obv. l. 5 and rev. l. 4 in both fragments. Also the difference in the names of Tathāgatas is noteworthy in Ia^{iv} and b^v, though the reading in Ib^v is uncertain; it might be *dhārathānā*. Besides, there are minor differences, such as *ārayāmāsa* in Ib^{i, iv} and IIaⁱ for *ārāgitavān* of the Kern edition; *samanā(mnām)* in Ibⁱⁱ for *sahanāmnām*; and *kṛtvā* placed differently in IIbⁱⁱⁱ.

IX

TWO KHAROSTHI INSCRIPTIONS FROM TAXILA

By F. W. THOMAS

1. A COPPERPLATE INSCRIPTION, *Μερίδάρχης*

This official designation, belonging to Seleucid and Ptolemaic times, is not a quantity that we should expect to see expressed in Indian letters; but to find it a second time is more than surprising, and it may be termed significant, more especially as both occurrences belong to the limited range of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions.

For a notice of its occurrence in one such inscription, with particulars of its use in Greek, I may refer to the article "A Greek Official Title in a Kharoṣṭhī Inscription", published in the *Festgruss für Professor E. Windisch* (Leipzig, 1914), pp. 362-5.

The second inscription was discovered at Shāh-Dheri, in a stupa, No. 14, next to the one, No. 13, from which was obtained the Taxila vase. In the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1855, pp. 328-9, Rajendralāla Mitra mentions it as follows:—

"No. 3 of Plate xv is the facsimile of an inscription found by Capt. Pearse, of the Madras Cavalry, in a small mound of Shah Dhairi, on the high road from Rawal Pindi to Hazara. The record was originally inscribed on a narrow strip of copper $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $1\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch, which has been, apparently by some accident, broken into four fragments: the characters are Arian and the language is Pali. I have seen a tentative reading by Mr. E. Thomas, of the Civil Service, in which occur the words 'āyanachandra', 'vivekayphala', but have not as yet been able to make out its purport."

The inscription was also described by Cunningham in vol. ii (pp. 124-5, with pl. lix) of the *Archæological Survey Reports*, and subsequently by Mahāmahopādhyāya

Haraprasād Śāstrī in the JASB. for 1908 (pp. 363-5, with photograph): from the latter account it appears to be now, in a defective condition, in the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Cunningham's reading was as follows:—

*samvatsara (dasa) miti 10 tena Sabhayakena
thuba pratistavito matapitu puyae agharaca
puyaye.*

This is greatly improved by the Mahāmahopādhyāya, who reads—

*. . . meti-akhena sabhayakena thubo pratistavito
matapitu puyae aghasa ca nayae,*

translating,

"(This) śtupa was erected by . . . metiakha, (an inhabitant of) Taba . . . together with his wife for the worship of his father and mother and for destruction of sin."

He remarks that the second and third remaining *akṣaras* look more like *ḍi* and *ca* than *ti* and *a*. But in fact the second is clearly *ri*; the third has in the photograph a form which might be read perhaps as *jha* or *ḍo*; I suspect, however, that it is really only a *da* or perhaps *ḍa* disfigured "by the twistings and indentations on the plate". Whether the fourth is really *khe*, or whether a careful examination would reveal traces of the *r*-curve, making *rkhe*, we have not the means of deciding. In any case, a comparison with the other inscription, in which all the *akṣaras* of *meridarkheṇa* are unmistakable, leaves no doubt that the same word, possibly in the form *meridakhena* = *meridrakhēṇa*, is intended here.

As regards the rest of the reading, I should propose to deviate from Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstrī (except perhaps as regards *na* (twice), which may be *ṇa*) only at the end, substituting

aghadacho (i.e. *chī*) *ṇayae* = *argha-dakṣiṇāyai*.

(or is it an engraver's error for *ārogyadakṣiṇāyae*?) in place of his

aghasa ca nayae.

The reading *ca* (for *cho*) is certainly due to an oversight; and, as regards the remainder, the unusual form *°nayae* for *°naya* or *nae* is calculated to mislead.

It is unfortunate that the first portion of the plate, containing the proper name, has disappeared. In Cunningham's facsimile appear three *akṣaras*, read by him as *savatsa*, of which the Mahāmahopādhyāya regards the first as certainly *ta*. The *tsa* may be read also in the plate published in the JASB. for 1855; but the name is imperfect and illegible (see the Plate attached to this article, which reproduces the beginnings of both the facsimiles). In the casket inscription the *Μερίδαρχης* is named *Theádora* = *Theodoros*.

I have pointed out (loc. cit.) that the casket inscription by the forms of its letters associates itself with the oldest Kharoṣṭhī records: combining with this fact the Greek official title and the Greek personal name, we could have little hesitation in regarding that inscription as, after the Aśoka Edicts, the most ancient of all. Similar arguments—to which we may add the “find-spot”, which seems to be between the first and second sites, the Bir Mound and Sir Kap, at Taxila—apply to this copperplate from Taxila, which is therefore a rival claimant to priority.

It is clearly not the case that the name in the copperplate inscription was the same as that on the casket, and that consequently one person was “Meridarch” both at Taxila and in the Pathan country, where the casket was found. Accordingly we conclude that under the Greek rulers of these regions the title of Meridarch was a regular official designation. Both inscriptions refer to Buddhist foundations and verify thereby the early penetration of Buddhism into the districts of the north-west.

2. INSCRIPTION ON A GOLD PLATE

This inscription has twice been published in facsimile; and the reader who consults the reproductions accompanying this note will ask himself what obstacle can have sufficed during fifty years to prevent the definitive interpretation of a document so clearly inscribed. In any case, however, it would seem that since the early days of Kharosthi decipherment the inscription has been altogether neglected. Perhaps others may now supplement my modest contribution to its interpretation.

Details concerning the inscription, which comes from tope No. 32 at Taxila, and of its discovery, are quoted by Rājendralāla Mitra in his article "On some Bactro-Buddhist Relics from Rāwal Pindi", published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1862, pp. 175-83. (See also Mr. G. D. Westropp's description in the *Proceedings* for 1861, p. 413, and Major Pearse's note in the *Proceedings* for 1865, pp. 111-13.) But for the sake of brevity we may be content to quote Cunningham's statement (*Archaeological Survey Reports*, ii, p. 130).

"The relics consisted of a circular stone box about 1 foot in diameter and 3 inches in depth, beautifully turned and polished, and covered by a slab of sandstone, inside which there was a small hollow crystal figure of a *hansa* or goose, containing a thin gold plate $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and nearly 1 inch broad, inscribed with Ariano-Pali characters. These letters have been punched on the plate from the back, so that they appear in relief on the upper side."

Cunningham adds that "the circular stone box and the crystal goose are now in the British Museum, but the inscription is not with them".

Of the inscription we have three readings—

1. That of Rājendralāla Mitra:

*Sirīe bhagava bodhavo prajña ratiyamatu
hasisapita hasasilu iva sasi atiyoha
viharati.*

I.

CUNNINGHAM

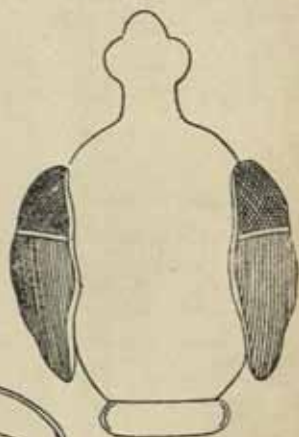
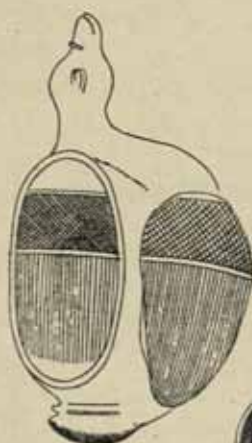
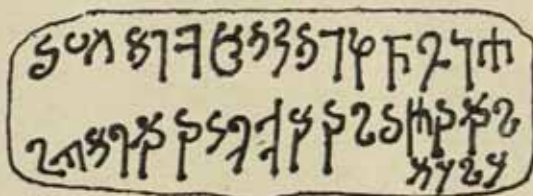
RAJENDRALALA MITRA



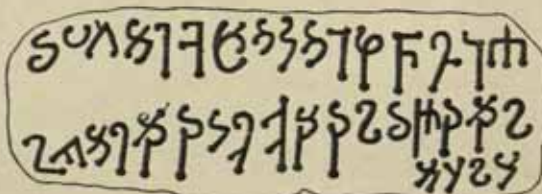
Missing
commencement
of Jhaoli Stupa
(No. 14) Inscription



2 GOLD PLATE &c. FROM GĀNGU STUPA (No. 32).
CUNNINGHAM.



The same (RAJENDRALALA MITRA)



TWO KHAROSTHĪ INSCRIPTIONS FROM TAXILA

2. That of E. C. Bayley, attached to Mitra's article :

*Sirae bhagava bodhabo (or ye) prevvavētiye matu-
ha sisa pituha sase loota sasi atiyō hra
tehajati.*

3. That of Cunningham (loc. cit.), who regards the inscription as difficult :

*Sirae bhagavato dhato prethavatiye matu-
ha sisa pitaha sasi Looa-sasi atiyō ha
tehajati.*

I propose to read as follows :—

1. 1, *Śirae bhagavato dhato prethavatiye matu-*
1. 2, *hasisa pituhasase loodasasi atiyohu*
1. 3, *dehajati*

wherein the following points of reading at once call for comment :—

1. *dhato*. The final *to*, not *tu*, is guaranteed by identity with the last *akṣara* of *bhagavato*.

2. *prethavatiye*. Although this word might find a Sanskrit equivalent in *presthāpatya*, "dearest offspring," no one would seriously doubt that it is really an erroneously inscribed *pratiṭhavayati* (stamped from the back), and we shall recall the errors which have been shown in Sir J. H. Marshall's silver scroll inscription from the same city. It would seem that work done in metals, or at least in the precious metals, was less reliable textually than that slowly wrought in stone.

3. *matu*, *pitū*, *ati*, *ja*, *tī*. In all these cases the proportions of the *akṣara* are in favour of recognizing *t* rather than *d*, and this is confirmed by the clearly different shape of the *d* in *deha* (Cunningham's facsimile).

We may now rewrite and translate as follows :—

1. 1, *Śirae bhagavato dhāto prethavatiye* [i.e. *prati-
ṭhavayati*] *mātu*,
1. 2, *ha[ṁ]sisa pituha[ṁ]sase* (i.e. "sa) *Loodasasi*
A[ṁ]ṭiyoha,
1. 3, *dehajā tī*.

"In Śīrā, A[m]tiyoha, sister of Looda,¹ daughter of a *haṃsī* mother and a *haṃsa* father, deposits relics of the Bhagavat."

In order to recognize the word *haṃsa*, we should not perhaps have needed anything beyond the impossibility of otherwise explaining the text; for the expedient propounded by Bayley (*mātuha* and *pituha* = "maternal and paternal relatives") would at this date be quite unacceptable. But for the sake of producing conviction it is clearly convenient to be able to figure in the Plate the actual receptacle in which the scroll was deposited. It speaks for itself.

But what is meant by a *haṃsa* father and a *haṃsī* mother? Let us remember that the *haṃsa* is white, so that it is an apt type of a spotless character; so the *Harṣa-carita*, c. vi (trans. p. 179), where referring to his murdered brother, Harṣa says: "In whose minds would my lord's heroic qualities, alighting like *rāja-haṃsas* upon the lake, find no favour?" Secondly, the *haṃsa* pair is famed in poetry for its affectionate union; see the verse 449 in *Kaṇḍavacanasamuccaya*. Thirdly, since the *haṃsa* is a migrant, which after a season takes its departure to Lake Mānasa (*Harṣa-carita*, c. i, v. 22), it is a fitly chosen synonym for friends departed to a better world. And, lastly, in the language of the *Upaniṣads* (e.g. *Chāndogya*, iv, 1. 2; *Kaṭha*, v, 2; *Śvetāśvatara*, i, 6; *Kṣurikā*, 22—see Colonel Jacob's *Concordance*) the word *haṃsa* is a common synonym for the embodied soul, *jīva*. I will quote only a passage from the *Pinḍa-upaniṣad*, brought to my notice by Mr. Barua:—

bhinne pañcātmake dehe gate pañcasu pañcadhā |
haṃsas tyaktvā gato dehaṃ kasmin sthāne vyavasthitaḥ ||

¹ If, after all, *ye* should be a relative and the reading should be *prethave[m]ti* (*pratiṣṭhāpayanti*), the translation would be "Loota and his sister". This, however, I feel to be less probable.

The *Paramahaṃsa* of later literature, on which Rājendralāla Mitra dwells in connexion with the figure, is only a special development of this idea. As Major Pearse states that such *haṃsa* figures were commonly found, we may suppose them to have often had a memorial significance.

Two other points of interest call for remark. In the first place Śīrā is clearly the name of the place or district, now Sir Kap, in which the stūpa was. It is not necessary to suppose that the name Sir Kap contains any etymological survival of Śīrā—the common view is otherwise—nor would it be reasonable to regard the form as = [Takṣa]śilā. It is no doubt a local name, like the Tanuva of Sir J. H. Marshall's inscription.

The other point is the non-Indian aspect of the two names Looda and A[m]tiyoha? Are they perhaps distorted Greek, Leontes and Antioche? If so, the allusion to the *haṃsa* testifies to a rather thorough acclimatization.

X

THE HISBA JURISDICTION IN THE AHKAM
SULTANIYYA OF MAWARDI

By H. F. AMEDROZ

(Continued from the January Number, p. 101.)

THE general injunction in the *Qurān* to "eschew evil and do good" was held sufficiently definite to be the basis of a jurisdiction distinct both from that of the *Qaḍi* and of the police (*shurṭa*). Māwardi contrasts its powers with those of the *Qaḍi*'s court and of the *Mazālim* tribunal; but it may be that in practice the distinction was of small account, for I have found no trace of the *Muḥtasib*'s authority ever being called in question, nor indeed much definite trace of its exercise. The wide and minute range of its duties should have made it an important factor in commercial life, but perhaps in this, as in other fields, Māwardi's work includes theory unsupported by much practice.

Apart from appointments due to special causes, the heads of these various tribunals seem to have been officials of the judicial class. At Baghdad in A.H. 319 the *Hisba* was combined with the *Shurṭa* under one head (Ibn al-Athir, viii, 165); in A.H. 412 it was held by a *Qaḍi*, Abu Ja'far al-Simnāni, together with the supervision of inheritances (*mawārith*, ib. ix, 229). In Egypt, Mu'izz in A.H. 363 conferred the *Hisba*, with many other offices, on the vizier Ya'qūb b. Killis (Maḳrizi, 'Itti'āz, ed. Bunz, 95 ult., and *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, ii, 4); later, under Ḥakim, the *Qaḍi* acted as *Muḥtasib* (Kindi, ed. Guest, 596, l. 14), and he in turn did *Qaḍi*'s work whilst the office was vacant (ib., 608, l. 19). In Spain, too, the *Muḥtasib* had the status of a *Qaḍi* (Makkari, i, 134-5).

The Hisba energy attributed by Māwardi to the early Imams (and we have seen 'Omar wielding his whip in person) is attributed to them equally in the *Mazālim* chapter; in both cases it may represent the ideal of a later period. After this mention of its prime Māwardi states its decay, but some two centuries must have intervened. He makes no specific mention of an individual Muhtasib earlier than in the fourth century, that of his own birth, but the office was presumably filled continuously at Baghdad, for in A.H. 157, ten years after the city's foundation, the Muhtasib, in sympathy with a revolting Alide, was stirring up strife.¹ In the Latin argument to Ṭabari the office is here rendered by "agoranomus", and its duties were largely concerned with markets and trade generally. Makkari (loc. cit.) so describes its functions, and in a Zaidi treatise on the office, bound up with the MS. B.M. Or. 3804, and attributed to the Imām al-Nāṭiḳ bil Haḳḳ (Abu Ṭalib Yahya, d. A.H. 424; 'Umdat al-Ṭalib, ed. Bombay, p. 52), the duties discussed are mainly of this character. The contents of Māwardi's chapter suggest the duties to have been largely religious, in distinction to worldly; the two classes are separately noticed both under the mandatory and preventive branches of the Hisba with cases added which partake of both characters; and the space occupied by the religious will be found to be quite threefold that occupied by worldly matters.²

¹ Tab. iii, 324, where this disorder in the markets is stated, alternatively with the advice of the Byzantine envoy, to have been the cause of Manṣūr's removing the markets to suburbs outside the round city: le Strange, "Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate," p. 65.

² On the subject of the purification (*janāba*), mentioned on p. 415, Dhahabi, in his notice of a Shafeite jurist of Nisābūr, d. A.H. 369, records that his son, also eminent as a jurist, held its validity to be dependent on "intention", and that Māwardi himself got this tenet overruled as contrary to received opinion. The text runs:—

قُلْتُ : وَهُوَ (يعني أبو طيب سهل بن أبي سهل محمد بن سليمان الصعلوكي) صاحب وجهٍ ومن غرائبِه أنه قال : إذا نوى غسل

Definite instances of official Hisba action are hard to find. Under Mu'taḍid, a buyer of cotton, who had been heard to exclaim that the people's interests were neglected, explained to the Caliph that he had bought cotton from a man whose scales were defective and weights false, and that he intended to reflect only on the Muhtasib. Mu'taḍid thereupon directed this official to attend to his duties as regards weights and measures.¹ There is a mention on p. 429 of the Muhtasib, Ibn Buṭūḥā, having recalled a Kādi to a sense of his duty towards the public. Ibn Buṭūḥā already held the office in A.H. 307, when, to alleviate the scarcity consequent on the proceedings of Hāmid b. al-'Abbās, he fixed the price of grain, and this to the public's satisfaction (*Tajārib al-Umam*, Gibb facsimile, v, 152). The power to do this is, according to Māwardi, p. 428, conceded only by Mālik, but in a time of panic legal powers may have been stretched. Six centuries later at Cairo, A.H. 974, the excessive prices asked by shopkeepers in a time of scarcity were put down to the Muhtasib's neglect of his duties (Ibn Iyās, iii, 175).

الجنابة والجمعة معاً لا يجزیه الواحد منهما . وقال بوجوب النية لازالة النجاسة وقد نقل الماوردي وأبو محمد البغوی الاجماع انها لا تشترط
(B.M. Or. 48, 112^a).

The Karmathians held this purification to be unnecessary (Tab. iii, 2129, l. 15).

ليس للمسلمين من ينظرف امورهم . . . معيشتي من القطن الذي أعامل فيه النساء . . . واجتاز بي رجل ابتعت منه وكان ميزانه ناقصاً ووزنه تطقيفاً وقلت ما قلته وإنما اعنى به المحتسب . . . فامر (المعتشد) ان يحضر المحتسب وينكر عليه من ترك النظر في هذه الامور ورسم له اعتبار السنج والموازين على السوقه والطوافين ومراعاتهم حتى لا يخسروا

(Ibn al-Jauzi, *Muntaẓam*, sub A.H. 279, Paris Ar. 5900).

A case is recorded by Dhahabi¹ as occurring at Damascus, A.H. 395, where a Muhtasib, whose temper had been roused by his victim's utterances, inflicted so cruel a punishment that the victim died. The offence is not specified, but the Muhtasib's action was warmly approved by Hākim, and in the short notice of the incident in the *Nujūm al-Zāhira*, ed. Popper, ii, 117, Abu-l-Mahāsin infers that Hākim was then in a reforming mood. There is evidence in Kindi, pp. 598-9, that on the subject of a Qaḍi's duties Hākim held and enforced sound views, but his own Hisba action in Cairo is held by Dhahabi to be clear indication of his insanity (Ibn Iyās, i, 53). In another story of uncertain date, told by Ibn al-Jauzi in the *Kitāb al-Adhkiyā*, as an example

كان بدمشق قطنفى فكان المحتسب يريد ان يؤذيه فاذا رآه¹
 القطنفى مقبلا قال : بحق مولانا اومض عنى . فعصى عنه فغافله يوما
 واتاه من خلفه وقال : وحق مولانا لا بد ان تنزل . فامر بانزاله
 وتاديبه فلما ضرب درة قال : هذه فى قفا ابى بكر . فلما ضرب
 الثانية قال : هذه فى قفا عمر . فلما ضرب الثالثة قال : هذه فى قفا
 عثمان . فقال المحتسب : انت لا تعرف اسماء الصحابة والله
 لأصفعنك بعدد اهل بدر ثلثمائة وبضعة عشر . فصنعه بعدد اهل
 بدر وتركه فمات بعد ايام من ألم الصفع . فبلغ الخبر الى مصر
 فاتاه كتاب الحاكم يشكره على ما صنع وقال : هذا جزاء من ينقص
 السلف الصالح . (من ترجمة ابراهيم بن عبد الله بن حصن ابى
 اسحق الغافقى الاندلسى المتوفى سنة ٤٠٠) (B.M. Or. 49, 44).

Law at Damascus was lacking in certainty. But two years previously, in A.H. 393, Hākim's governor had a Maghribi man paraded through the town and then beheaded, "such being the due of one who loved Abu Bakr and 'Omar" (Ibn al-Kalānisi, p. 58, n. from B.M. Or. 48, 22). Half a century earlier the relative merits of Abu Bakr and of 'Ali were the subject of guarded discussion in Egypt, see Kindi, pp. 555-6.

of popular intelligence,¹ the Muhtasib's occasion for taking judicial action was clear enough. A man was crying for sale a sweet concoction at the lowest price possible, viz. one *habba*. Told by the Muhtasib that two of his ingredients represented fivefold the price asked, he said that from any such ingredients his wares were wholly free, and he was left to go on and prosper. The seller here was clearly guilty of adulteration, an act denounced on pp. 423-4 as highly blameworthy. From another passage in *Adhkiyā*, p. 31, l. 4, it appears that under Mahdi the duty of impounding a lute, as an unlawful object of use, fell to the *ṣāhib al-ʿasas*, or patrol, acting perhaps as agent for the Muhtasib, for his duties must have been wide-reaching.

Māwardī's concluding statement of the decay undergone by the Hisba is corroborated by history. In A.H. 319 a vizier, who had obtained office largely by means of an impudent forgery of a prophecy to that effect attributed to the prophet Daniel, was called on to reward the forger. He did this by appointing him Muhtasib at Baghdad at a monthly stipend of 100 dinars;² this sum the recipient thought inadequate, so it was doubled and charged on the jurists' fund, *rasm al-fuḳahā* (*Tajārib*, v, 351). In A.H. 350 the office of Kaḍi at Baghdad was bought by Ibn Abi al-Shawārib for the yearly payment of 200,000 dirhams. The Caliph reprobated the transaction, but it led to the offices of Hisba and Shurṭa becoming

ان بعض المحتسبين جاز يوماً على رجل ينادى على الخبيص¹
 رطلين بحبة فقال له : ويحك الدبس يباع رطل بحبة والشيرج
 رطل بقميراط فكيف تبيع انت الخبيص رطلين بحبة ؟ فقال : يا
 سيدنا ما في الخبيص شيء من الذين ذكرت . فقال : فبع الان
 كيف شئت والله الموفق
 (*Adhkiyā*, 115, l. 18).

² Ibn Iyās (ii, 93, l. 3), in recording the temporary suppression of the Muhtasib's salary at Cairo, A.H. 872, says that its monthly amount was about 1,000 dinars.

venal, also¹ the latter office fetching 20,000 dirhams for each solar month (Tajārib, vi, 250).

But the high-water mark of impropriety in the filling of the office must have been reached when 'Izz al-Daula Bakhtiyār selected as Muhtasib the licentious poet Ibn al-Hajjāj (d. A.H. 391, Ibn Khall., transl., i, 448). The Sibṭ Ibn al-Jauzi says in the *Mirā't al-Zamān* (Paris, Ar. 5866, 176^a) that he wholly neglected his duties, and Dhahabi expresses amazement at his nomination.² At the date of the poet's death Māwardi had already attained to man's estate, and he may well have had this tenure of the office in mind when he deplored its degradation in men's esteem.

In the opening of the chapter Māwardi distinguishes between the official and the voluntary discharge of the Hisba duty; the limitations of the voluntary exercise he specifies, but he does not deal therewith further. Ghazālī, treating the voluntary exercise from an ethical standpoint, declares the duty to be binding on all, in spite of personal unworthiness and apart from an official mandate (*Iḥyā al-'Ulūm*, ed. 1302, ii, 270, 272). Moreover, that if voluntary action may result in the checking of evil, but may at the same time prove fatal to the actor, this abrogates the obligation but not the merit of acting (ib. 276). The duty seems to have been grasped at by the fanatic. The disorderly Khurāsān rabble who in A.H. 355, zealous to engage in holy warfare against the Byzantines, invaded Rayy, and there laid claim to have the land-tax applied for that purpose, were headed by jurists, who included al-Kaffāl of Shāsh (Ibn Khall., transl., ii, 265), and they

¹ The Hisba office was venal too at Cairo in A.H. 806 (*Najūm al-Zāhira*, vi, 150).

² Ibn al-Hajjāj's length of service is uncertain. Hilāl al-Ṣābi has a laudatory notice of him on p. 430, but makes no mention of his tenure of the Hisba. Ibn Khallikān in his notice says that he was superseded by Abu Sa'īd al-Iṣṭakhri, but Abu Sa'īd had died in A.H. 328 (Ibn Khall., transl., i, 374). The person intended may be Abu Maṣṣūr al-Iṣṭakhri, who is mentioned by Hilāl, 402, l. 1.

asserted the expedition to be one for "furthering good and checking evil" (*Tajārib*, vi, 285; *Ibn al-Athīr*, viii, 421). But in general voluntary action proceeded from the isolated fanatic, the *Zāhid* or the *Ṣūfī*. Such persons disapproved habitually of government, its agents and methods, and abundant stories testify to their habit of exercising the *Hisba* by reproving to their face the conduct of rulers, and that without specifying the grounds of their disapproval. Often their action was resented and repressed, but it is to be observed that it was precisely the stronger and better rulers who tolerated and even encouraged them, prompted, it may well be, by a desire of popularity, and conscious how persistently popular sympathy goes out to such as deliberately turn their backs on the good things of the world. These respective attitudes of fanatic and ruler towards each other were regularly maintained. The *Zāhid* *Ibn al-Fazāri*, who lived under *Rashīd*, excluded from his gatherings both those who frequented the Court and those who held *Kadari* tenets (*Irshād al-Arib*, i, 283). He is there stated to have suffered for an admonishment which he had addressed to some ruler, not, presumably, *Rashīd*, for he (p. 286) had heard patiently his defence of conduct which he, *Rashīd*, disapproved, and had sent him away with a gift, which was at once given away in charity. On p. 285 the attitudes of the pious as towards gifts from rulers and from their brethren are classified by the *Ṣūfī* *Abu Ali al-Rūdhabārī*, and he says that *Ibn al-Fazāri* accepted gifts from both quarters, but only to part with them again. The one who is mentioned as taking them from the ruler only, did so on the ground that gifts from that quarter were not favours, a very tenable view, and one which has often been acted on in modern times by recipients of government grants. By most *Ṣūfis* the gifts were declined on the ground that their source was tainted, e.g. one from *Rashīd* by *Fuḍail b. 'Iyāḍ* (*Mas'ūdi*, vi, 328; *Ibn Khall.*, transl., ii, 478); and in another case in the

Ihyā a gift was refused with a message to return the money to the quarter whence it had been taken. Ma'mūn met a Ṣūfī's inquiry as to his right to rule by a politic offer to retire in favour of a candidate unanimously selected, and his offer was appreciated (Mas'ūdi, vii, 38); but this Caliph was less patient in dealing with a fiery enthusiast who was courting the martyrdom which he in fact attained (Ihyā, ii, 310, l. 5 a.f.). It is the Ṣūfī Muḥāsibī (Ibn Khall., transl., i, 365) who tells this tale as a justification of his own habit of refraining from Hisba effort, and of keeping secret his spiritual state (*ḥāl*). The enthusiast before rushing to his doom had taken spiritual counsel of Muḥāsibī, who had inculcated on him his own practice, but without deterring him from his purpose. Muḥāsibī was now granted a vision of him sitting among the blessed indeed, but those blessed precisely persons who, like Muḥāsibī and unlike the martyr, had concealed their *ḥāl*. Thus did Muḥāsibī justify both theory and practice. Ma'mūn, in another story, admitted the right of Faḍl b. Dukain (Tahdhīb, viii, No. 504) to arrest a soldier for immorality, but the Caliph was obviously apprehensive of Hisba zeal being exaggerated.¹ And in another case (Ihyā, ii, 274, l. 11) we find him suggesting the view, natural in a ruler, that the Hisba was rather a government concern, but the volunteer Muḥtasib persisted in his right to act, and Ma'mūn acquiesced.

Two evils there were, prevalent especially in high places, which gave constant occasion for voluntary effort, wine and musical instruments; they are Ghazālī's stock examples when dealing with this branch of ethics. Here, too, the zealous were tolerated and even encouraged by rulers. Rashīd admitted a Zāhid's right to break a lute which he had seen being conveyed to the palace; indeed.

¹ Mir'at al-Zamān, B.M. Or. 4618, 27*, where Ma'mūn says:—

انما نهينا اقواما يجعلون المعروف منكراً

in view of his coming to explain his conduct he had all suspicious objects removed from sight (Ihyā, ii, 273, l. 11). Aḥmad b. Tūlūn tolerated the destruction of a lute belonging to his son 'Abbās (JRAS. 1908, 442-3), and it is probable that the story in Dhahabī's notice of the Zāhid Bunān al-Hammāl, in the Ta'rikh al-Islām, B.M. Or. 48*, 100*, that Aḥmad visited some protest of his at his conduct by having him thrown to wild beasts and then imprisoned, is open to doubt. For it is immediately followed by a story from Sulamī's *Miḥan al-Ṣūfiyya* to the effect that Bunān incurred this fate, and with Daniel's impunity, under Khumārawaih, for having ordered his vizier, who was a Christian, to dismount and behave as became a *dhimmi*. If both stories represent one occurrence, the latter version is the more probable.¹

Mu'taḍid we have already seen recalling the official Muḥtasib to his duty. In Ihyā, ii, 311, l. 16, is a story of his own casks of wine being deliberately broken up by the Ṣūfī al-Nūri, all, that is, but one cask, for at this point Nūri felt a sense of pride stealing over him and desisted.² He was let go unmolested and then removed to Baṣra until the death of Mu'taḍid, "so as to avoid asking favours of him."

¹ In the Kitāb al-Luma', ed. Nicholson, p. 192, Bunān is mentioned as sharing the proceeds of a begging expedition with a poor companion, who, on ascertaining Bunān's identity, rejects his share, telling Bunān that he is a mere *ṣaf'ān*, i.e. one whom no one should hesitate to cuff, for his behaviour was not that of a *shāikh* but of a *ṣāhib al-shurfa*, who got whatever he asked for. Bunān was, in fact, a sturdy beggar, and, as such, amenable to the Hisba. We read that Ibn al-Jallā saw with astonishment a Ṣūfī beggar (ib., 287, l. 3), but begging the Ṣūfis admired and inculcated. One of them (ib., 198, l. 15) justified the practice on the ground that the givers would get their return in the form of Ṣūfī intercession for them hereafter.

لَا شَيْءَ يَصْلَحُ حَوْلَهُ الْاَغْنِيَاءَ غَيْرَ اَنْ يَعْطُونَا شَيْئًا وَيَشْفَعُوا
لَنَا فِي الْاٰخِرَةِ [= يَسْتَشْفَعُوا]

² It was on the ground that al-Dārānī (Ibn Khall., transl., ii, 88) declared that, although not averse to martyrdom, he nevertheless

Muḥtadir does not rank high as a ruler, but he showed ability in disposing of a complaint by a Zāhid, Ibn Bashshār, who, hearing the sound of song proceeding from the palace, said that it not being for him to act against the Imām, he could only change his abode. Muḥtadir being informed of his intention said that it was rather for him to remove; that the fault lay with a slave who had been dismissed, and that the offence should not be repeated.¹

refrained from courting it by a display of Hisba zeal, lest pride should taint the purity of the act for which he died.

خشيت ان يعتريني التزين للخلق فاقتل من غير إخلاص في الفعل
(Iḥyā, ii, 276, l. 12).

¹ The notice of this Zāhid illustrates the two meanings borne by the word *sabr*, meanings useful in poetry, but which led here to confusion in prose.

وفي سنة ٢١٢ توفي أبو الحسن علي بن بشار الزاهد وقبره ظاهر بالعقبة عند النجف يتيه به وكان القادر بالله رضى يزوره دائما . وقال في بعض الايام : انى لأعرف رجلا ما تكلم منذ ثلثين سنة بكلمة يعتذر منها . فعلم الحاضرون انه اراد نفسه . وجاءته امرأة فقالت : ان ابنى قد غاب وقد طال غيبته . فقال لها : عليك بالصبر . فظننت انه يامرها بأكل الصبر وكانت عندها برنية مملوءة صبرا فمضت واكلت نصفها في مدة على مرارة من العيش وشدة من الحال ثم رجعت اليه فشكت اليه غيبته فقال لها : عليك بالصبر . فقالت : قد وفى من البرنية . قال لها : وأكلتيه ؟ قالت : نعم . قال : اذهبى وابنى قد ورد . فرجعت الى منزلها فوجدت ابنها هناك .

وسمع ابن بشار من تاج المقتدر بالله غنا فلما اصبح قال : هذا امام ولا يمكننا الانكار على الامام ولكن ننتقل . فبلغ ذلك المقتدر بالله فانفذ اليه : ايها الشيخ لا تنزعج فتزعجنا ونحن اولين بالانتقال منك فكان هذا من عمل خدام وقد ادبناه وصرفناه عن دارنا ولن ترى بعدها ولا تسمع ما تكره

The governor of Damascus in A.H. 390, one Jaish, had so conducted himself in his office that his lingering death was regarded as a judgment. In his case a supply of wine had been intercepted and destroyed by a Zāhid, Ibn al-Ḥarmi, who also, after searching inquiry into his piety, was let go as guiltless. Later Jaish, when in pain and praying for death, fancied himself the target for the peoples' arrows of which one alone hit the mark, "and were he to say whose it was the man would be venerated." He was considered to be referring to Ibn al-Ḥarmi's *da'wa* (Ibn al-Ḳalānisi, 54, n. 1, from B.M. Or. 48, 215b). Whether by *da'wa* he meant a prayer or an imprecation is not clear; the case need not have aroused special remorse in Jaish, yet the arrow does suggest attack.¹

Last, Maḥmūd b. Subuktigīn, in dealing with a complaint against an enforcement of the Ḥisba by a follower of the jurist al-Ḳaffāl of Merv, (Ibn Khall., trans., ii, 26), on the governor of that town, said that assuming al-Ḳaffāl was not in receipt of any stipend either from the State or from the *wakf*, his action was allowable.² Maḥmūd held, therefore, that an entire detachment from worldly advantage was requisite in order to justify a voluntary enforcing of the Ḥisba, and this may well have been a necessary corollary to the principle laid down by Ghazālī (*supra*) as to the universality of this duty apart from any mandate from the executive.

That a Muḥtasib should belong to one orthodox school of law, whilst those amenable to his jurisdiction belonged to another, was a contingency as probable in his case as in

¹ Ibn al-Ḥarmi is there said to have lived on for forty-six years, and he is noticed as dying in A.H. 436 in B.M. Or. 49, 179b, under the name of Abu Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allah b. Ḥasan b. Ḥārūn al-Waḍāḥi.

² فقال محمود: أياخذ القفال شيئاً من ديواننا؟ قال: لا. فيل
يغتلبس بشيء من الأوقاف؟ قال: لا. قال: فإن الاحتساب لهم
سائغ دعهم
(Dhahabi, B.M. Or. 49, 101b).

that of *Ḳaḍi* and litigants. This contingency is not contemplated nor discussed by *Māwardi*, although he does deal in *Aḥkām*, p. 112, with the case of a *Ḳaḍi*'s tenets differing from those of the ruler by whom he is appointed. But the question is discussed by *Ghazālī* in the chapter of the *Ihyā al-'Ulūm* devoted to the *Ḥisba* (*Bāb ix* of the *Rub' al-'Ādāb*, vol. ii, p. 282, l. 17). After laying down, in agreement with *Māwardi* (pp. 404-5), that the mischief to be repressed must be ascertainable without the exercise of legal acumen (*ijtihād*), he illustrates diversity in tenets by saying that a *Shafeite* (which he himself was) must not object to a *Hanafite* eating certain animal food which that sect held to be lawful, nor to his drinking the non-intoxicating *nabīdh*,¹ nor to his inheriting as a relative (*dhu raḥim*), when not one of the class entitled to a fixed share (*'aṣaba*), nor to his acquiring a house by pre-emption (*shafa*) as adjoining owner, nor to a woman's marrying independently of her guardian (*walī*). Such acts might however, and should, be repressed by a *Shafeite* in a *Shafeite*, because adherence to a school implies adopting the whole, and not merely a selection, of its rules. Whether it follows that one sect may enforce on another sect that sect's rules he leaves an open question, and he doubts a *Muḥtasib*'s right to enforce a composite code made up of the rules of various sects. But he is clear that there is no warrant for the toleration of *Mu'tazili* and other heretical views, for although they be firmly held, and be no more repugnant to text and tradition than many tenets of the orthodox schools, yet they lack adequate authority (*ra'y muṣīb*). Moreover, all such

¹ The *Shafeite* argument for its prohibition is stated by the jurist al-Muzani in *Ibn Khall.*, transl., i, 200, n. 10, and in *Kindi*, 511. It is recorded of *Khalaf b. Hishām* (d. 239; *Tahdhīb*, iii, No. 297).

كان فاضلاً عابداً وكان يشرب النبيذ على رأى الكوفيين ثم تركه وصام
الدهر واعاد صلاة أربعين سنة كان يشرب فيها
(*Ibn al-Jauzi*, *Muntazam*, B.M. Or. 3004, 5^a).

heresies deserve to be extirpated no less than the Jewish and Christian forms of unbelief which, although firmly entertained, are notoriously wrong (*khatu' ma'lām*).

Yet this rather inconclusive reasoning brings Ghazālī to the very same practical conclusion as that which commended itself to the judgment of Ma'mūn. He says (p. 253, l. 3 a.f.) that regard should be had to the district where the heresy shows itself; if it has penetrated from outside and the bulk of the inhabitants are orthodox, let them repress it; but if the inhabitants are divided into followers of heresy and of orthodoxy, and the repression is likely to lead to disorder and strife, then the exercise of the Hisba jurisdiction should be left to the ruler's nominees to the exclusion of other persons. The moralist and the active ruler are thus found to concur in opinion.

Among reprehensible acts (*maḥẓūrāt*) of a religious character, i.e. contrary to revealed law, the author mentions, on p. 423, illicit gain in commercial transactions (*ribā*).¹ He uses it to illustrate what degree of juristic sanction will suffice to render a practice allowable, and says that although one form of *ribā* has been defended, it leads to another form which is clearly indefensible. The exact nature of these progressive acts of wrongdoing requires to be considered.

Ribā, as used in the Kurān and in Moslem law, is usually rendered "usury", a rendering which implies some addition to the amount of a loan on its return to the lender. That Moslem jurists so understood the term seems open to doubt. Its prohibition by Kurān, ii, 276, etc., was probably based on the Jewish law against "biting one's neighbour".

¹ In the above-mentioned Zaidi treatise on the Hisba, B.M. Or. 3804, fol. 290^r, occurs the following direction for dealing with *ribā* :—

فاما المربى فاهلنا مختلفون فيه وروى عن امير المؤمنين ع انه
أحرق على المربى ماله ومستم من جعل مال المربى فيكنا اذا لم
تعرف اصحابه ويترك برأس ماله له وان عرف اصحابه رد عليهم

i.e. usury, but the *Qurān* defines the term only negatively, viz. that it is not identical with trade; it is tradition which explains it, and the tradition runs thus: "Gold for gold, like for like, hand to hand, any excess is *ribā*," the same words being repeated of silver, and then of wheat, barley, dates, and salt.¹ Another tradition laid down that where the two substances differed in kind their sale, if prompt, was not subject to this restriction.²

From tradition the jurists proceeded to deduce a principle (*'illa*) as the basis for their rules of law, excepting, that is, the *Zāhirites*, who rigidly restricted the operation of the tradition to the substances specified.³ The *Hanafites* held the principle to be that the substances transferred between the parties must be of the same kind (*jins*), and must be susceptible of being weighed or measured by a legal standard (*kadar*); that, where both these conditions were present, any discrepancy between give and take (as regards quantity only, quality was not regarded), constituted *ribā al-nakd*,⁴ i.e. immediate profit, which is also called *ribā al-faḍl*, i.e. profit from excess. They also held that the presence of either of these conditions, if coupled with a postponement in the handing over of the stipulated equivalent (which was not necessarily gold or silver), constituted *ribā al-nasi'a*, i.e. profit from delay. Both these forms of *ribā* were held to be illicit gain.

The *Shafeite* school, to which *Māwardi* belonged and the *Malikite* likewise, found the principle to lie in the substances specified being edible, or, in the case of gold and silver, in their constituting price; that there must be equality (*musāwāt*) between the give and take, and that the transaction must be prompt, not deferred. The *Imām's*

¹ الذهب بالذهب مثل بمثل يدًا بيد والغسل ريا

وإذا اختلفا النوعان فبيعوا كيف شئتم بعد أن يكون يدًا بيد

² Their view is stated by Goldziher, *Zahiriten*, p. 41, where it is assumed that the above tradition is directed against usury.

⁴ Also called *ribā al-'ajlān* by 'Omar (Mabsūt, xiv, 11, l. 3).

own view of *ribā* is stated in the Umm, thus:¹ "Illicit gain is of two sorts, deferred and immediate; the latter arises at once from excess in measure or in weight; the former is occasioned by extension of the time for payment, and a deferred payment may coexist with an immediate excess."

The most authoritative Hanafite statement on *ribā* is to be found in the Mabsūt of Abu Bakr al-Sarakhsi (d. A.H. 483, Brock. i, 373), a corpus of Hanafite law printed at Cairo in thirty parts; it occurs in vol. xii in the chapter on Sale, *bai'*, thus:² "The words of the tradition 'and the excess is illicit gain' may refer to quantity or to time; the one is immediate, the other deferred, but both are covered by the words. And *ribā*, i.e. unlawful, is the excess over and above the equivalent given, this being obvious in the case of excess in quantity, and generally to be presumed as existing by reason of the discrepancy between the actual value of various coins and their reputed value as currency." There seems nothing in either of these passages to suggest that the prohibition of *ribā* was directed against loans at interest.

The author of the Mabsūt says that sale, *bai'*, and illicit gain, *ribā*, represent the lawful and unlawful

قلنا ان الربا من وجهين في النسيئة والنقد وذلك ان الربا منه¹
يكون في النقد بالزيادة في الكيل والوزن ويكون في الدين بزيادة
الأجل وقد يكون مع الأجل زيادة في النقد (Umm, ed. Cairo, iii, 12).
وقوله "الفضل ربا" يحتمل الفضل في القدر ويحتمل الفضل في²
الحال بان يكون أحدهما نقداً والآخر نسيئة وكل واحد منهما مراد
باللفظ وقوله "ربا" أى حرام أى فضل خال عن العوض والمقابلة
أما متيقنا به عند فضل القدر أو موهوم الوجود عادة لتفاوت بين
النقدين والنسيئة في المالية (Mabsūt, xii, 111, l. 10).

aspects of trade, *tijāra*,¹ and that it was in *bai'* that *ribā* was to be apprehended. And he goes on to claim for the treatment of this subject moral as well as legal value, for he says of the jurist on whose legal works his own was based, Abu Hanīfa's disciple Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaibānī (Ibn Khall., transl., ii, 590), that when he was asked why he had not written something on the subject of asceticism, *zuhd*, he replied that he had practically done this by treating the subject of sale, for *zuhd* was, in fact, avoiding what was unlawful and cleaving to what was lawful.²

In Moslem law the term *bai'* bore a very extended meaning. In a Kifāya note to the Hidāya, iii, p. 1, it is said to include barter, *muḥa'ida*; sale, in its ordinary sense of something for a price; exchange, *ṣarf*, which is regarded as of one price for another; a prompt, in return for a deferred delivery, *salam*, or *salaf*; a sale at an agreed price, *musāwama*; at cost price, *tauliya*; above cost price, *murābaḥa*; or below it, *waḍ'ia*; and its various forms are there said to exceed twenty in number. But the term is not said to cover loan, *'ariyya*, which had been already treated in the Mabsūt, xi, 133, and there defined as "a bestowal of the use of property without any return".³ The fact that the word was derived from *ta'awur*, to take things by turns (quoted from the Mabsūt in the note to Hidāya, iii, 662), was

التجارة نوعان حلال يسمى في الشرع بيعاً وحرام يسمى ربا كل واحد منهما تجارة
(Mabsūt, xii, 108, l. 6 a.f.).

والمقصود من هذا الكتاب بيان الحلال الذي هو بيع شرعاً³ والحرام الذي هو ربا ولهذا قيل للمحمد: ألا تصنف في الزهد شيئاً؟ قال: قد صنف كتاب البيوع. ومراده بينت فيه ما يحل ويحرم وليس الزهد إلا الاجتناب عن المحرام والرغبة في الحلال
(Mabsūt, xii, 110, l. 6).

³ (Mabsūt, xi, 133, l. 7).

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held to imply the return of the specific thing lent and the resumption of its use by the lender. It was therefore held inapplicable to things calculated by weight, measure, or number, which disappeared by user, and which had to be restored in the form of an equivalent: in such case the loan was termed *ḥard*.¹ It follows that a loan of money was *ḥard* and not *ʿariyya*.

And it is by various forms of the root *ḥard* that the borrowing and lending of money is expressed. In A.H. 299 compulsory loans were levied on officials "by way of *ḥard*", the equivalent being guaranteed them on various districts, i.e. charged on their revenue (Hilāl, *Wuzarā*, 262, l. 12); on the same occasion the transfer of money from the private to the public treasury was also "by way of *ḥard*" (ib., l. 15). It appears, too, that in government circles loans at interest were not unknown, for in A.H. 319 an official asserts to the Caliph that he is lending (*aḥrad*) money to the Vizier at a profit of one dirham on the dinar, i.e. 10 per cent (Tajārib al-Umam, Gibb Facsimile, v, 344-5, and ib. 355).

The Mabsūt, unlike the Hidāya, does not discuss *ḥard* in conjunction with *ʿariyya*, but in vol. xiv, under the head of exchange, *ṣarf*, which we have seen defined as a form of sale, viz. of one price for another. By tradition *ḥard* was sanctioned, indeed recommended; in comparison with almsgiving it was to be twice as frequent, and it was to be rewarded in the ratio of eighteen to ten,² which the Mabsūt attributes to the fact that only the needy apply for loans, whereas alms reach those not in want.

وما يملك الإنسان الانتفاع به على أن يكون مثله مضموناً عليه
(ib., l. 13). يكون قرصاً

والقرض جائز مندوب إليه لقوله صلعم: القرض مرتين والصدقة
مرة. وقال: الصدقة بعشر أمثالها والقرض بشمانية عشر

(Mabsūt, xiv, 30 penult.).

To limit the effect of these purely enabling traditions was the task of the jurist. He did this, in the first place, by excluding from loan objects whose value is a matter of estimate, *kīma*; the liability for a thing lent was to be similar to that created by the seizure or destruction of a thing, viz. its exact equivalent, neither more nor less; an estimated value was the result of calculation and of opinion, and it could no more evolve the correspondence in value, *mumāthala*, requisite in the return of a loan than it evolved it in the case of a sale tainted with *ribā*. Again, the principle of loan, *‘āriyya*, required that the thing returned should be identical with the thing lost, else the case would amount to the transfer of one object for another of the same sort (*jins*), and would, unless the equivalent were exact, be tainted with *ribā*.¹ This juristic ingenuity resulted in excluding garments, timber, firewood, sweet-smelling herbs, if fresh, and vegetables from the category of lendable articles, "because, if destroyed, the liability for them would be a matter of estimate."² Abu Hanifa tried to prohibit the loan of bread as being sold neither by weight nor by number, owing to the variety of its make (see also *Hidāya*, iii, 178-9), whilst Abu Yūsuf admitted it as weighable, and Muḥammad, as being counted, basing his opinion on

ثم الأصل فيه أن ما يكون مضموناً بالمثل على الغاصب¹
والمستهلك له يجوز استقراضه لأن المقبوض بحكم القرض مضمون
بالمثل من غير احتمال الزيادة والنقصان وما يكون مضموناً بالقيمة
لا يجوز الاستقراض فيه لأن طريق معرفة القيمة الحزر والظن فلا تثبت
به المعاملة المعتبرة في القرض كما لا تثبت به المعاملة المشروطة
في مال الربا. وأصل آخر هو أن القرض في معنى العارية لأن ما
يستردده المقرض في الحكم كأنه عمن ما دفع إذ لو لم يجعل كذلك
كان مبادلة الشيء بجنسه نسيئة وذلك حرام. (Mabsūt, xiv, 31, l. 1).

² (ib. 33, l. 15).

لأنها مضمونة بالقيمة عند الاستهلاك

custom, and this view prevailed. The next juristic fetter was¹ to disqualify the lender, whether on or after the loan, from undertaking that it should continue for a fixed period: he was entitled to require its return at any time. Mālik differed, regarding the loan as a debt, *dāin*, where payment might be extended, as in the case of money due as price or for hire. To this the Hanafites gave two answers; the first, that a loan being an act of bounty for which full ownership was needed, to allow the lender to postpone his right would be to allow the borrower to bind the lender to hold his hand, an idea repugnant to the true conception of bounty, and therefore inadmissible. The second answer was that a loan for a time certain, not being allowed in the case of *ʿariyya*, could not be allowable in that of *kaḍ*. This prohibition as to time may well have proved but a slight hindrance to business, for some interval must be supposed to elapse between the dates of a loan and of its return, and the lender who could require return at will could also delay signifying his will, provided he did not bind himself to that effect.

To find *kaḍ* treated under the head of a form of sale

ولا يجوز الأجل في القرض معناه أنه لو أجله عند الإقراض مدة معلومة أو بعد الإقراض لا يثبت الأجل وله أن يطالبه به في الحال . وعند مالك يثبت الأجل في القرض لأنه دين لا يستحق قبضه في المجلس فيجوز التأجيل فيه كالتمن والأجرة يدل عليه أن التأجيل إسقاط المطالبة الى مدة وإسقاط المطالبة ببطل القرض لا الى غاية بالابرا صحيح فالتأجيل فيه أولى أن يصح . ولما فيه طريقان أحدهما أن القرض متبرع ولهذا لا يصح الإقراض ممن لا يملك التبرع كالعبد والمكاتب فلو لزم الأجل فيه لصار التبرع ملزماً للمتبرع شيئاً وهو الكف عن المطالبة الى متى الأجل وذلك يناقض موضوع التبرع وشرط ما يناقض موضوع العقد به لا يصح وكذلك إلحاقه به لا يصح فلهذا لا يلزم الأجل فيه وإن ذكر بعد العقد

(Mabsūt, xiv, 33, l. 17, and see Hidāya, iii, 158, l. 6).

prepares us to find it attended by the danger of *ribā*; and we do, in fact, see that it is exposed to a danger of a very similar nature, viz. that it may induce a "profit in favour of the lender", and this tradition prohibited.¹ A section of the *Mabsūt* is given to the discussion of the danger, and it opens with a case of very high authority. Zainab, having received from the Prophet a gift of several *wask* of dates which were at Khaibar, was offered in exchange an equivalent quantity of dates on the spot. This offer she submitted to 'Omar, and he forbade the proposed exchange, merely saying "how about the responsibility on the road?"² The author goes on to explain that, if the transactions were regarded as a sale, *bai*, the cost of carriage was an addition, in the future, to the equivalent given, and constituted *ribā al-nasī'a*; if it were regarded as a loan, *qarḍ*, it gave Zainab the advantage, *naḥ*, of escaping that cost.³ It seems to follow from this distinction that had the above-mentioned profit of one dirham in the dinar been challenged as illegal, it would have been on the ground, not that it constituted *ribā al-nasī'a*, but that it involved an "advantage", *naḥ*, to the lender. Yet among the many forbidden advantages specified in the *Mabsūt*, some of them more ingenious than substantial,⁴ the taking of interest on a money loan is not included.

¹ نهى رسول الله عن قرض جر منفعة وسقار ربا
(*Mabsūt*, xiv, 35, l. 13).

² (ib. 35, l. 10).

كيف بالضمان فيما بين ذلك

³ A bill of exchange, *sufṭaja*, for the payment of money at a distant place was open to the objection that, by avoiding the risk of the road, an "advantage" was gained (*Mabsūt*, xiv, 37, l. 17, and *Hidāya*, iii, 305). It would appear, therefore, that the bill drawn in Baghdad A.H. 392 for money payable in Mayyāfārikin for the murder there of an Alide fugitive (*Hilāl*, 465, l. 5) may have offended in this respect.

⁴ A story that Abu Hanifa when attending to recover a *ḥarḍ* avoided profiting by the shade thrown by his debtor's abode, is declared unfounded and unfair to his legal eminence (*Mabsūt*, xiv, 36, l. 3).

The distinction between *ribā* and *naf'* may not involve much difference in result, but the reasoning of the Mabsūt on Zainab's case shows that they were regarded as distinct, and as affecting, the one *bai'* and the other *kaḥl*. To treat *ribā al-nasī'a* as equivalent to "usury" may be misleading. The translator of the *Hidāya*, ed. Grady, p. 298, renders it as a suspension of "repayment", a term apt to describe the return of a debt, with or without interest, but inapplicable to what was under discussion, namely, a payment of purchase-money, or, may be, a transfer of an equivalent in kind, postponed to a date subsequent to the other party's performance of his bargain. And in another case of *kaḥl*, recorded in the *Hidāya*, iv, p. 1085, under "reprehensible transactions" (*karāhiyya*), the deposit of a dirham with a tradesman (a *baḥḥāl*), to be exhausted at will, is reprobated as being a loan "involving advantage". The translator (p. 607) heads this with the title "Implied usury is abominable", and the translation, made through the Persian version, seems to treat the recipient as the person who exhausts the deposit. But the *Kifāya* note explains the transaction as being an act of laudable thrift. The depositor was a poor man anxious to spend the money on necessities, and to put it out of his power to do otherwise. But the "advantage" stood in the way, i.e. the *baḥḥāl's* enjoyment of this capital sum, or of its remaining fractions pending exhaustion. The method of escape from the legal difficulty was simple enough, and is indicated in the passage. It was to treat the deposit not as a *kaḥl* but as a trust deposit (*wadī'a*), the sole difference being that assuming the tradesman mixed the dirham with his own money he became thereby answerable for it to his customer.¹

Indeed, a perusal of the various and insidious cases of *ribā* leaves the impression that to circumvent the danger

¹ خلط الشيء بحسنه هذا موجب لضمان
(Mabsūt, xi, 110, l. 18 in the chapter on *wadī'a*).

was no difficult matter. In the case of *ribā al-naḵḍ* or *al-faḍl*, it was enough that the commodities should differ in kind (*jins*). This is clearly laid down in the Mabsūt, and seeing that quality was to be disregarded, it is not easy to imagine occasions for the barter of a commodity for a precisely equal quantity of its like, and still less easy to appreciate the mischief to honest trade which could result from any open and agreed inequality in the amounts. And it is to be observed that the tenets of the Shafeite school to which Māwardi himself belonged, by limiting the operation of *ribā al-naḵḍ* or *al-faḍl* to food products and price mediums, as against the Hanafite description of anything similar in its kind and reckoned by legal measure or weight, resulted in a large restriction of the commodities liable to be affected. In the result the operation of *ribā al-nasī'a* was still further restricted. For whereas the Hanafites held the presence of either of their two requirements sufficient to occasion this form of *ribā*, as, for instance, in a sale of wheat for barley, which, although differing in kind, were both measurable, Shāfi'i considered the "excess" (*faḍl*) alleged to result from a deferred payment as apparent (*shubha*), rather than real (*ḥaqīqa*), and that, accordingly, in a case where, on his tenets, there was no "excess" owing to the goods not being susceptible of *ribā al-faḍl*, mere identity in kind (*jins*) was insufficient to occasion *ribā al-nasī'a*; see Hidāya, iii, 164.¹

How the fetter of *ribā al-naḵḍ* could hinder, and could be evaded, appears from a story in Mabsūt, xiv, 4, l. 14 (quoted in the note to Hidāya, iii, 240), how the Moslems on entering Syria found its silver inferior in value to their own, and therefore proposed to deduct one-twentieth on

¹ He reached this result by some subtle reasoning on the diversity of effect in law between a principle, *'illa*, and a condition or requirement, *shart*. The Hidāya presentment of his view is that of an adversary (*khāṣm*), and it is therein described as contrary to the general assent of the *ṣaḥāba* (ib., Kifāya, note).

an exchange. But 'Omar's son, Abd Allah, forbade this, saying that an exchange into gold must intervene to avoid *ribā*, an exchange which, even if other than nominal, must have been purely technical. Similarly, 'Ali, whilst forbidding the exchange of debased silver for a less amount of sound coin, advised selling it for gold and therewith buying the better silver (ib., ix, l. 4). To Mu'āwīa this doctrine of *ribā* did not commend itself. In the *Risāla* of Shāfi'i, ed. Cairo, p. 61, l. 18, he is reproved by Abu-l-Dardā for having sold a gold bowl (*siḳāya*) for more than its weight in that metal, and says that he saw no harm in so doing, whereupon Abu-l-Dardā declined to stay in a country where the Prophet's dicta were rejected. And in principle he was right, for 'Omar,¹ having sold a vessel of fine workmanship which fetched beyond its weight in metal, refused to accept the excess (Mabsūt, xiv, 4, l. 4). Yet Moslem law did attribute value to work expended on the precious metals, for it allowed payment of the artificer in that metal without regard to the peril of *ribā* (Mabsūt, xiv, pp. 47-8, under the heading *Ijāra fī Ṣiyyāgha*). We likewise find the term *ribā* applied to an uncalled for payment: made, as our law says, for no good consideration. In the Mabsūt, under the heading *Kitāb al-ʾIbāk*, it is laid down that whilst the bringer in of a runaway slave may, by way of concession, accept from the owner less than the legal reward, yet if the latter in ignorance of the right amount agree to pay more, the excess is rejected (*yutrah*), and the added sum is *ribā*: just as if the joint owner of a slave on emancipating him² pay to the other owner more than

¹ 'Omar admitted having himself received from the Prophet a warning against acquiring *ribā* from his trade in dates (Kindī, p. 316, note).

² A tradition from the Prophet declared that where a joint owner emancipated a slave he was, if well to do, to be answerable for the value of the other owner's share in him: otherwise the slave must work out the value, but he was to be let off easily (*ghair mashkūk 'alaihi*): Mabsūt, xi, 51, l. 17.

the value of his share in the slave, the excess is void (*bāṭil*); Mabsūṭ, xi, 34, l. 1. And we find *ribā* affecting, not matters of contract alone, but also the liability for wrongs arising, as we say, under tort. On the question of liability for injury to property (treated in the Mabsūṭ under the head of *Ghaṣb*), Zufar is reported to have laid down that the danger of *ribā* arose only when compensation (*mithl*) was due on the authority of an express text, not where the liability was evolved by analogy (vol. xi, 51, l. 2). The Hanafites, as we have seen, held the former class to include things calculated by weight or measure; Zufar's view had the effect of excluding things reckoned by number, as for instance eggs; but where *ribā* was not excluded, the Hanafites were vigilant to see that it should have full effect.

Compensation was, by Moslem law, proportioned to the damage; where this was excessive (*fāḥish*), the owner could recover the full value of the damaged object which had to be surrendered to the person making compensation; where the damage was light, the lesser liability was termed *dimān al-nuḡṣān*. Now the Hanafites excepted from this rule goods of any class susceptible to *ribā*. In such case, whatever might be the extent of the damage the owner must, at his option, either keep the goods and forgo compensation, or surrender the goods against their equivalent (*mithl*), and this on the ground, apparently, that the diminution in value was not such an "equivalent" for the compensation as would oust the danger of *ribā*.¹

وهذا الحكم في كل عين الآف الأموال الربويّة فان التعيين
هناك فاحشاً كان أو يسيراً يشبث لصاحبها الخيار بين ان يمسك
العين ولا يرجع على الغاصب بشيء وبين ان يسلم العين اليه
ويضمنه مثله عندنا لان تضمين النقصان متعذر فانه يتعدى الى
الربا لانه يسلم له قدر ملكه وزيادة. وعلى قول الشافعي رَجَّحَ له ان
يضمنه النقصان وهو بناء على ان من مذهبه ان للجودة في هذه

Their reason for so holding seems to be that tradition forbade the quality of goods being taken into account on questions of *ribā*. Shāfi'i's principles allowed of this, and his view is supported by some arguments (omitted below) which are very subtle and hard to grasp. The Hanafite reply thereto is to cite the tradition, adding that to give a measure of good wheat in return for one of bad barley, plus one dirham, was admittedly illegal: thus was the Shafeite advance into the "twilight of sense and heresy" checked, and orthodoxy upheld. In this case, too, neither injustice, nor even inconvenience, were likely to result from so light a legal fetter, for injured owners may reasonably be assumed to have yielded to the combined pressure of duty and self-interest by submitting to receive the larger measure of compensation on the occasion of any wrongful damage, however trifling, to their *ribawiyya* property. But all this is very remote from the idea of usury.

Indeed, a survey of these highly technical obstacles put in the way of everyday trade dealings, and of the methods of escape therefrom, prompts the reflexion that juristic ingenuity was largely spent in winning "o'er doubtful foes a dubious victory"; and this reflexion also, that among the vanquished the taking of interest on loans is not conspicuously present.

The law's silence on this topic may be due to the fact that the conception of loan (*āriyya*) assumed the absence of a return, so that to specify this as regards *ḥard* became superfluous. The nearest approach to a suggestion of usury is in the passage (*supra*, p. 299) from the Zaidi Hisba treatise, where the "capital", *rās māl*, which the person guilty of *ribā* is to retain, would fit trafficking in money.

الاموال قيمة كما في سائر الاموال الخ . . . ولكننا نقول لا قيمة
للمجودة في هذه الاموال منفردة عن الاصل قال صلعم : جيدها ورد يدها
سواء . يعنى في العالية التي ينبنى عليها العقد (Mabsūt, xi, 52, l. 7).

But the term might equally designate a money-changer's stock-in-trade. That the desire to make wealth "breed" was the mischief aimed at by the *Kurān* is the interpretation of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzi (ed. 1872, ii, 529, l. 7 a.f.), where, borrowing from Tabari's *Commentary*, iii, 62, he says that *ribā al-nasī'a* represents the *Jāhiliyya* practice of stipulating for repayment of a loan by monthly instalments, time being extended on default in return for an increase in the sum to be repaid.¹ He goes on to state that the prohibition of this form of *ribā* has the sanction of the *Kurān*, whilst that of *ribā al-naḥd* is based only on tradition (*khābar*). But judging from their discussion in law treatises both forms of *ribā* appear to be the outcome of legal reasoning (*kiyās*), exercised on the traditions cited. And the statement as to anti-Islamic practice is probably guesswork.

It is, however, in the discussion of *ribā* from an ethical standpoint that some warning might have been expected against so prominent a mischief as usury. In the *Ihyā al-'Ulūm* Ghazālī gives a page (vol. ii, 55) to the subject of *ribā*, and as he disclaims its being exhaustive one may assume his instances to be salient ones. That Ghazālī regarded *ribā* as a grave delinquency is apparent from two passages where, in reflecting how often people will strain at a gnat and swallow a camel, it is by *ribā* that he represents the camel.² His instances do reveal this, that the opportunity for *ribā al-naḥd* lay in the exchange of raw material for the finished product: beasts

¹ Juynboll's *Handbuch Islam. Gesetz*, ed. 1910, p. 270, assumes *ribā* to be aimed at usury, and gives Fakhr al-Dīn's explanation of *ribā al-nasī'a*.

² (*Ihyā*, ii, 77, 4 a.f.). ترك طريق التعبد بالمعاطاة أهون من تركه بالربا. تنفر عن يتحرج عن تناول طعام مغصوب وهو مواظب على الربا (ib., 270, ult.). And on the question of accepting favours from tainted sources the illustrations are "a friend of the official class, 'amīl, or a trader who is addicted to illicit gain, *yukārif al-ribā*" (ib., 116, penult.).

for meat, corn for bread, seeds and olives for oil, and milk for cheese. In such case the easy means of escape was to employ the butcher or the miller¹ to do the work for hire. The opening instance of *ribā al-nasī'a* is analogous: the sale of gold to the mint in return for the coin into which it was converted, a practice which is declared obnoxious to both forms of *ribā* owing to the interval before the coin is forthcoming, and the probability of a discrepancy between its weight and that of the gold. The latter danger is said to affect the exchange of short for full weight, and of bad for good coin. But the remedy is indicated, viz. to make the exchange from one precious metal to the other. Dealings with gold-embroidered garments are also a source of danger; and indeed, elsewhere, when laying down that earning a livelihood should not have the effect of slackening moral obligation, Ghazālī says that the business of a money-changer is better avoided as sure to lead to *ribā* (Iḥyā, ii, 69, l. 12). He also gives a page, ib. 58, to *ḳirād* in the sense of putting money into a business in return for a share of the profits,² pointing out that the share must be proportionate, not fixed. But nowhere does he utter any warning against taking interest on a loan. When inculcating the duty of benevolence in dealings with fellow-men (ib., 67, l. 6), he cites a tradition that the grant of a loan for a fixed period was equivalent to a gift by way of charity during

¹ "The miller's measure," *ḳaḳīz al-ṭaḥḥān*, was the concise designation of a tradition which prohibited labour being paid for by its produce. A miller who had hired an ox to grind corn was forbidden by the Prophet to pay for the hire by a measure of the flour (see Hidāya, iii, 729, l. 13, and iv, 993, l. 5). The "miller's measure" is quoted (Mabsūt, xiv, 49, l. 1) to indicate the illegality of paying for the sifting of earth to extract its particles of gold by the gold which might be extracted. This precise offer is recorded as having been made in A.H. 329, when Bujkam's buried hoards were unearthed, but it was refused and 2,000 dirhams paid instead. Eventually the earth yielded eighteenfold that amount (Tajārib al-Umam, vi, 39-40).

² A Fakih was thus trading at Aden, *circa* A.H. 680; Khazreji, *Resāli Dynasty of Yemen* (Gibb Memorial), text, i, 234.

each day of its currency, and that if the term for payment were extended the daily charity was measured by the loan's total amount. He adds that the effect of this tradition was to discourage early Moslems from accepting the repayment of debts. He says, too, that purchase-money, if not promptly exacted, becomes a loan, *kard*; but there is no suggestion of any remission of interest as being a meritorious act. The merit of repayment is then emphasized, and a tradition is cited that a debtor intending a repayment is watched over by angels, and that this, again, led to early Moslems borrowing without necessity. But they are not described as laying up additional merit by making any return to the lenders for the use of the loans; both lenders and borrowers had to look for their rewards to the respective traditions, and if these early Moslems acted in both capacities, as conceivably they may have done, the result was unalloyed gain to all concerned.

In conclusion it seems to me doubtful whether to the Moslem jurist, or public, *ribā* meant more than "illegal". No doubt usury was illegal, for, as above stated, all loans were presumed to be gratuitous,¹ and I am told that in modern Egypt the people's reluctance to utilize current banking accounts proceeds on the ground that they are regarded as usurious. But the conception of "usury" does not seem to fit the definition of either of the two forms of *ribā* specified by Māwardi as proper to be repressed by the Muhtasib; rather would "usury" seem to come within the definition of an undue "advantage" incident to *kard*. This view, however, is advanced tentatively and with diffidence, for Western authorities seem to concur in holding *ribā* to be usury's appropriate niche in the edifice of Moslem law.

¹ Yet Boethor's Dictionary of Modern Arabic speaks of a gratuitous loan (قرض حسنة, see Dozy, sub voc.), and the qualification presumes the existence of a non-gratuitous loan.

XI

THE CHINESE NUMERALS AND THEIR NOTATIONAL SYSTEMS

By L. C. HOPKINS

I

PART I: THE COMMERCIAL NOTATION OR *MA TZU*

THE Chinese people have two systems in current and concurrent use for writing their Numerals.

Of these, one is the ordinary notation with characters of pictographic origin, except the first three cyphers.

The other has been called the "commercial" notation, and, though now invaded by members of the first, was once predominantly, and still remains essentially, a series of tally-strokes, or counters symbolized. The distinguishing feature of this notation is the collocation of vertical and horizontal strokes. These combinations have been known to the Chinese from ancient time as *ma tzu*, a term which I shall discuss later, and in view of their configuration I have in this paper called them "rod-and-bar" groups, as a conveniently descriptive name.

I propose to examine both these systems. The questions which disclose themselves are neither few nor free from difficulties, but with the help of recent research and discoveries, I hope to solve some of these, to make suggestions as to others, and where neither course is possible, to show in more precise outlines the obstructions barring the advance of historical exploration.

At this point I wish to make a small confession. Much of the ground covered in my paper had been previously traversed by the late M. Terrien de Lacouperie, in an essay contributed to the *Numismatic Chronicle* in 1883, under the title "The Old Numerals, the Counting-Rods,

and the Swan-Pan in China". That essay is one of the sounder and more sober efforts of the French writer, and contains much with which I agree, much also from which I greatly differ. But had I re-read it (after some thirty years interval) before, instead of after, commencing the independent inquiry for the present paper, I doubt if I should have delved again in this particular field. But a generation has passed since then, new material has accumulated, and I hope a fresh investigation will not prove quite unfruitful.

It will be convenient to examine first the Commercial numerals, and to trace them backwards to the earliest point accessible to us, through several phases of development and modification. In this study I have in the main followed the guidance of a native work, the 金石契 *Chin Shih Ch'i*, or Texts on Metal and Stone, by 張燕昌 Chang Yen-ch'ang, a translation of whose valuable notes on the subject will appear below in full. But here I shall introduce the special facts brought to light by the author in a rather more concentrated shape than that of their presentation in Chang's original Chinese text.

Immediately below are set out in their modern form the members of the two notations for reference and comparison:—

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
<i>Normal.</i>	一	二	三	四	五	六	七	八	九	十
<i>Commercial.</i>				×	𠄎	⊥	⊥	≡	文	十, and the zero 〇.

Let us note first of all the presence of a zero in the commercial notation. Giles gives no representative of Ten in his list of the commercial numerals, and it might be reasonably inferred that as with our "Arabic" numerals, so with these, Ten would be written 10. But it is not. Instead, the sign 十 is borrowed from the normal series, though in the numbers from 11 to 19 the vertical stroke is often used.

Next observe that where necessary the vertical strokes for 1, 2, and 3 can be replaced by horizontal lines. To quote Professor Giles (*Chinese-English Dictionary*, 1st ed., p. 1385), "when 1 and 2 or 3 come together, they are written alternately vertically and horizontally. Thus 12,332 would be written $|=||\equiv||$."

The cyphers for the numerals 4, 5, and 9 require special attention. They are difficult to explain, and do not conform to the earlier signs standing for those numbers in this system. The first two of the three may possibly be naturalized aliens, as, it would seem, the zero also must be. The case of \times for 4 is the more singular inasmuch as this cruciform sign is a well-known ancient Chinese form of 5. As we shall see, the author of the *Chin Shih Ch'i* considers it frankly inexplicable. It is indeed hard to understand how, if of indigenous origin, it could have been perverted to denote 4. In a suggestive and ingenious paper on "The Evolution of Modern Numerals from Ancient Tally Marks", published in the *American Mathematical Monthly* for August-September, 1909, and kindly sent me by the author, Major Charles E. Woodruff, A.M., M.D., U.S. Army, the latter writes, "The X which represents the commercial four is a direct descendant of the four vertical tally marks." I confess I do not see how \times can be directly, or even indirectly, descended from $||||$, and prefer the blank ignorance of the writer of the *Texts on Metal and Stone*.

The use of ㄥ for 5 is less difficult to account for. (We may note in passing the curious likeness to ㄥ , an old form of an Indian cypher for 4.) Lacouperie thought this Chinese sign "a cursive form of the regular numeral for five".¹ But there is no such cursive form. Major Woodruff, on the other hand,² writes, "The commercial five, which looks like our eight, is also a direct descendant of a very old form of five strokes which early replaced

¹ "The Old Numerals, etc., in China," p. 29. ² Loc. cit., p. 131.

the five parallel ones—the transition forms given by Chalfant being quite conclusive as to this point.” I demur to this statement, or rather all these statements. To my eyes there is little resemblance between 𠄎 and 8. I do not gather which of the transition forms given by Chalfant, Major Woodruff refers to. They are 𠄎, 𠄎, 𠄎, 𠄎, and 𠄎. But this last example is an error. It is taken from a coin, one of the Ming knives 明刀 series,¹ and is clearly due, if not to poor printing, to a badly cut or badly worn 𠄎. No second example exists. I do not believe the commercial five descends from any of what Major Woodruff thinks “transition forms”. Far more probable seems the explanation given by Chang Yen-ch'ang, the author of the *Chin Shih Ch'i*, that the sign in question is simply the “grass” or cursive form of the homophonous character 午 *wu*, with which in fact it is almost exactly identical; thus, 𠄎 = 午, and 𠄎 = 五.

There may be some doubt as to the origin of the sign 𠄎 for 9. It may be, as suggested in the extract from the *Chin Shih Ch'i*, a form slightly altered for convenience of writing, of the homophonous character 久 *chiu*, long-lasting. But in that case the question arises at once why, if the rod-and-bar combination for 9 was to be abandoned as too cumbrous, should not the simple numeral character 九 *chiu* itself have been adopted, a character quite as easy to write as its homophone *chiu*, long-lasting? A satisfactory answer is not easy to give.

It will be well, before proceeding further, to illustrate by actual and authentic examples the use of the present-day *ma t'z'ü* or commercial numerals, because they exhibit some features not to be anticipated from a survey of the individual cyphers.

I have already said that 十, not 10, is the figure used to write Ten. This holds good also when that numeral is

¹ See the *Ku Ch'uan Hui* 古泉匯, Section Hêng 亨, p. 2.

part of a number of higher value. Thus 610 is written $\frac{1}{9}+$ (where the subscribed 9 stands for 百 *pé* = 100).

Again, the numbers between Ten and Twenty, whether alone or in higher combinations, are usually not written with the appropriate strokes following a vertical stroke (though this mode is sometimes employed), but the strokes follow the cruciform $+$. Thus, 1019 is $\frac{1}{0}+\text{久}$ (where the subscribed $\frac{1}{0}$, or more fully 千, stands for *ch'ien* = thousand). Twenty and Thirty are written 廿 and 卅. Thus we have $\frac{1}{0}\text{廿}-$ for 1021, and $\frac{1}{9}\text{卅}\equiv$ for 933.

These two groups also illustrate the use of the alternative horizontal forms of 1, 2, and 3, when it is desired to avoid any confusion with vertical strokes preceding on the left. In some cases it is indifferent whether the vertical or horizontal stroke is written. For instance, the list from which all these examples are copied¹ has 文 乙 for 951, but 文 $\text{乙}=\text{二}$ for 952. And again, $\frac{1}{0}\text{乙}$ for 1001, but $\frac{1}{0}\text{二}=\text{二}$ for 1002. A further point shown in these latter groups is the vertical, and not horizontal, succession of two zeros coming together. With round numbers in the hundreds or thousands, the zeros are not used. Thus, 600 is 下 九 , and 1000 is 一 千 , where we have a contracted form of 百 *pé* = hundred, and the full form of 千 *ch'ien* = thousand, preferred.

And lastly should be noticed the survival in this system of a very ancient substitutional character for 一 *i*, one, viz. its homophone 乙 *i*, the second of the Ten Cyclical Stems. Thus, $\frac{1}{9}+\text{乙}$ is 511, and $\frac{1}{9}\text{乙}$ stands for 451.

We have now to trace backwards, as far as we can, this notation of numerals as an integral system. When it first assumed its present aspect, there seems no evidence to

¹ It is a list of the different documents recovered by Sir Aurel Stein, numbered in *ma tsü* by his Chinese secretary.

show. It is not mentioned in the Index to the great *T'u Shu Chi Ch'eng* Cyclopedia, as Dr. Lionel Giles informs me. Being an organ of the counting-house and the workshop it was not found worthy of record in the library or the study. Neither is it known why these *ma tzu* are specially associated with the great city of Soochow in Kiangsu Province.

When we next meet the notation, it is in such an altered garb that, at first, it might seem not to be an earlier stage at all, but a distinct and independent scheme. Yet it really is essentially the same, possessing the key-character of the rod-and-bar combination for the digits between 5 and 10.

Kublai Khan is not a name that associates itself exactly with the peaceful methods of the mathematician. But it was during his lifetime, in the thirteenth century, that there flourished and faded two such scholars, by name Li Yeh 李冶 and Ch'in Chiu-shao 秦九韶. Both of them employed an identical notational apparatus, which is consistent, convenient, and clear, and is marked by alternative arrangements of the rod-and-bar groups, by the Chinese styled the "vertical" and the "horizontal" schemes. Thus, they wrote for the cyphers from 1 to 9, either I, II, III, IIII, IIIII, \top , Π , Π , Π , or — , = , = , = , = , = , = , = . The object of these alternative schemes was the avoidance of confusion, and, as can be easily seen, was absolutely necessary. But it may be asked, why is \top considered "vertical", and its reversed form — "horizontal"? It is because in \top and the following digits the vertical strokes represent 1, 2, etc., and the horizontal is 5, while in — it is the vertical line that has the value of 5, and the horizontal strokes that are units. It should also be noted that this is the only stage of the rod-and-bar system where the digit Five is represented by five vertical or horizontal lines.

There is an interval of two centuries before we come

on the mathematical notation again, when it reappears in the work entitled *Ch'ien Hsü*, by Ssü-ma Kuang (b. 1009, d. 1086). Here are the cyphers as employed by this author: |, ||, |||, ||||, ✕, ㄇ, ㄐ, ㄑ, and ㄒ. How Ten was written is not expressly stated.

Notice the curious transfer of the same sign ✕ from the place of the fifth digit in the eleventh century to that of the fourth digit in the modern *ma tzü* or commercial figures. The notation thus appearing in this Sung dynasty writer is very like that displayed on a series of ten Square-footed *Pu* coins issued by the Usurper Wang Mang during his reign from A.D. 9 to A.D. 23. The coins, however, have the digits from 1 to 4, written with horizontal, not vertical strokes, and Five is expressed by 五, a unique variant of 五, the ordinary old pictographic symbol for that numeral.

The Usurper was, we are told, "in all things an imitator of antiquity," and doubtless had documentary warrant for the numeral forms he selected for this monetary issue. And, indeed, we can find them—except the Five—in the bronze *Pu* coins and knife coins of the third, fourth, and fifth centuries B.C., issued at various mints in North China.

The notation in which they occur, and of which they seem to be only an inconsiderable part, may be studied in the pages of the *Ku Ch'üan Hui* 古泉匯, or Thesaurus of Ancient Coins, vols. iii to vii (Sections Yuan 元 and Hêng 亨). The system there abundantly illustrated, but not fully elucidated in the text, presents a problem which, to me at least, proves as difficult to solve as it is impossible to ignore. Chinese scholars at any rate have not solved it. The numismatist has felt it right to make it over to the epigrapher. The epigrapher, with a sigh, has handed it back to the numismatist. They do, however, agree that the enigmatic notation is of the nature of *ma tzü*, our "commercial" system.

Of Western writers the only one to essay a solution has been the late Terrien de Lacouperie, who published a Table of "Numerals from the Chinese Coins of the Fourth and Third Century B.C.", where the numerical equivalencies of the signs in question are set out as he supposed them to be. I shall return to this Table later.

The coinage on which this system of notation is found is of that peculiar shape known as *Pu* 布, principally in the "Pointed-foot" variety of that class, though the "Square-foot" type and knife coins also afford numerous examples. The accompanying illustration shows the type. The outline rather suggests something which the authors of its being had intended to be a spade, but that itself inclining to an easier and more artistic career, it wished to become a tuning-fork, and in the end, having lost the robust simplicity of its origin, without achieving the elegant attenuation of its desires, had lapsed into the indeterminate imagery of a coin.



On one side of these pieces is written, commonly in negligent and contracted style, the name of the city of issue. The reverse displays (see the above illustration) what is by general admission a numeral.

Unfortunately nothing on the coins themselves indicates to what this numeral refers, and it is this silence that renders the numerical equivalence of many of the rod-and-bar combinations so hard to unravel. It can hardly be a unit of value, as we should naturally expect, because different numerals occur on specimens of the same size, weight, material, and issue.

One interesting feature met with in examining the coins of these series is the apparent indifference with which the numerals of the two categories, the normal and the commercial, were used. There appear to be no prejudices; sometimes the figures of one class were written, sometimes of the other. Thus, on the Ming Knife coins

we find both \perp and \wedge for 6, the first being of the *ma tzü* or commercial series, the other a common old variant of the normal or pictographic numerals. So on the same set of coins we have both \perp and \searrow for 7. So again, on a sequence of Square-foot coins (*Ku Ch'üan Hui*, Section Yuan 元, iv, p. 11), both \equiv and $)$ (stand for 8. But on the whole, apart from the ambiguous compounds about to be discussed, the normal forms of the digits up to Ten are far the commoner.

Now if the facts stopped here, the matter would be much simpler and less perplexing than it is. We should have traced our commercial series in its salient and fundamental elements to the earliest point provided by the documents, and should have reached a clear-cut terminus. But the facts disclosed do not stop there, but on the contrary introduce us to further material of the most puzzling nature. The native numismatists, competent scholars as they are, have been baffled, and the only solution hitherto attempted, so far as I am aware, is that of the ingenious French investigator Terrien de Lacouperie. The new material referred to is furnished by the frequent occurrence of other analogous rod-and-bar combinations, but differing from the \perp , $\underline{\perp}$, \equiv , and \equiv , standing for 6, 7, 8, and 9, by having *more than one* vertical stroke in the upper register. Here is a sequence of such groups collected from the *Pu* and *Knife* coins figured in vols. iii to vii of the *Ku Ch'üan Hui*: \perp , \perp , \perp , \perp , $\underline{\perp}$, $\underline{\perp}$, $\underline{\perp}$, $\underline{\perp}$, $\underline{\perp}$, $\underline{\perp}$, $\underline{\perp}$, $\underline{\perp}$, $\underline{\perp}$, $\underline{\perp}$, $\underline{\perp}$. It will be seen that $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$ are missing, and that there is only a single example of five vertical strokes.

How ought we to express these groups of strokes in terms of our arithmetic?

Probably we can narrow this question down to one of smaller scope, What is the value of the vertical stroke in any of these groups? Does it stand for 1, or for 5, or for 10?

After considerable study of the figures of the *Thesaurus of Ancient Coins* in which these rod-and-bar combinations appear, I must confess they have beaten me, and while unable at present to adopt Lacouperie's solution I can produce no better one.

Lacouperie's Table assumes the value of 10 for each vertical stroke, and on this assumption he has constructed a series of numbers from 1 to 65, recorded on fourth and third century B.C. coins, from which only the numbers 17, 46, 51, 54, 56, 58, and 59 are absent. Now in favour of this interpretation are the facts that on the ancient bronzes often, and on the Honan bones nearly always, a vertical stroke does stand for the numeral 10. And Lacouperie seems to have the valuable support of Lo Chên-yü, who asserts in his recent illuminating work, the *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih* 殷虛書契考釋, p. 16, that on the Honan bones, as on the smaller Pointed-foot *Pu* coins, 10 is always written | (a statement which, as regards these *Pu*, I must demur to).

But against this must be weighed the following objections. The equation of the vertical stroke with 10 would be an obvious one, and cannot have failed to occur to the Chinese numismatists. Yet so recent an authority as the author of the *Ku Ch'uan Hui* ignores it. Another difficulty is this. The numerals on these coins that we can identify with certainty are, in by far the most cases, the digits up to and including Ten, with a certain residue between Ten and Twenty. It would be difficult to account for the sporadic presence of numerals of so high a value as is required by Lacouperie's hypothesis, among groups having so small an average value. More serious than either of these objections, however, is the fact that Lacouperie's Table attributes a double value to \equiv and \equiv , which are made to equal in one case, both 8 and 13, and in the other both 9 and 14. How could any notational system tolerate such an inconsistency?

Escaping from this atmosphere of uncertainty, we can emerge into the definite and precise knowledge that no trace of the commercial notation is to be discovered in the far older inscriptions of the Honan bones.

The subjoined translation of an extract from the *Chin Shih Ch'i* 金石契 of Chang Yen-ch'ang 張燕昌, published in 1778, will, I hope, be found to justify the outline of the system traced above, and to contain several points of interest to students of Chinese antiquity. The text, being intended by a Chinese scholar for other Chinese scholars, assumes a knowledge of many things on the part of his readers that the Occidental student does not usually possess. I have therefore thought it advisable to add such explanations and comments of my own as my limited competence allows, enclosed in square brackets, which cause less discomfort than the jerky dislocation of the vision involved by footnotes.

EXTRACT FROM THE *CHIN SHIH CHI*, SECTION 角.

(Translation.)

With regard to the numbering of the Ten *Pu*-coin series, the Hsiao Pu, 100, the Yao Pu, 200, the Yu Pu, 300, and the Hsü Pu, 400, these all use aggregations of straight strokes, corresponding to the inscriptions of the round coins known as 泉貨 *ch'üan huo* [also issued by Wang Mang]. The Ch'a Pu, 500, also corresponds to the character on these in being written 𠄎. But the 𠄎百, 600, of the Chung Pu, the 𠄎百, 700, of the Chuang Pu, the 𠄎百, 800, of the Ti Pu, and the 𠄎百, 900, of the Tz'ü Pu, correspond to the present-day 號碼, *hao ma*, or sign-marks [the so-called Soochow numerals, or commercial series], in vulgar use. [But note that they are *analogous*, not identical, for 𠄎 is the modern 6, not 7.] These are rarely found in old writings. I propose to examine the question.

Characters for the numerals were used by the ancients

to record counters. Accordingly the written forms resemble the shape of counters. *Suan* 算, or counter, is equivalent to *shu* 數, or reckoning.

(*Original note* [by the author Chang Yen-ch'ang].—Based on the *Erh Ya*, the *Shuo Wén*, the *I Li*, the *Li Chi*, and the *Lun Yü*, as annotated by Chêng K'ang-ch'êng.)

The *Han Shu*, *History of the Han Dynasty*, writes, Reckoning starts with the unit, and proceeds through Ten, a Hundred, a Thousand, to Ten Thousand, and is the means for counting actions and objects.

The *Shih Pén* 世本 states that "Li Shou was the first to make calculations".

"The Courtier" 舍人 [*alias* 劉歆 Liu Hsin], in his commentary on the *Erh Ya* remarks, As to the use of the word *suan* 算 to explain the word *shu* 數, in counting numbers certain objects are used. The name of these objects is *suan* or counters. Hence, in the *District Archery Record* of the *I Li*, we have the phrase "contains six *suan* or counters". In the *Tou Hu* 投壺 Chapter of the *Ta Tai Li* and the *Li Chi*, we have the words "The *suan* or counters are 1 foot 2 inches in length". Chêng K'ang-ch'êng comments, "The *suan* were 1 foot in length and had 握 *wo*. *Wo* is equivalent to 數 *shu*, a fixed number." [The words 有握 *yu wo*, are otherwise translated by Couvreur, "and have a handle."]

(*Original note*.—The *Han Shu* has the following passage: "In calculating, bamboos were used one-tenth of an inch in diameter and 6 inches in length. Of these there were 271 in all, composing an hexagonal handful or bundle.")

The *suan* was also called 籌 *ch'ou*. In the *Ta Shé Li* section of the *I Li* occurs the passage, "The bow and arrows of the guest, with the cylinder 中, *chung*, and the counters, *ch'ou*, were all retained below the western hall." And the *Hsiang Shé Li* has the words "Eighty bamboo counters, *ch'ou*", on which Chêng K'ang-ch'êng annotates,

"*Ch'ou* is equivalent to *suan*." In the *Liu Hou Shih Chia*, 留侯世家, chapter of the *Shih Chi*, the phrase 運籌 *yün ch'ou*, to shift the counters, is equivalent to the phrase 運籌籌 *yün suan ch'ou*, of works on magic, 術書 *shu shu*. [*Suan* or *ch'ou* is] also interchanged with the term 疇 *ch'ou*. The expression 疇人子弟, *ch'ou jen tsü ti*, is equivalent to 算人之子弟 *suan jen chih tsü ti*, the descendants of the calculators.

(Original note.—Ju Shun's comment is, "Their hereditary calling was handed down generation after generation for the calculation of the almanack. For twenty-three successions the official calculators each followed their father's science," 家業世世相傳疇年二十三傳之疇官各從其父學.)

[Chavannes, in a note on p. 326 of vol. iii of his *Mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, writes, "Remarquer l'expression 疇人 qui s'est conservé jusqu'à nos jours pour désigner les astronomes et les mathématiciens." I do not quite understand why Chavannes, in the text itself, instead of rendering the words 疇人子弟 *ch'ou jen tsü ti* by "les descendants des mathématiciens", paraphrases, or rather periphrases, the expression by "les descendants des hommes dont la fonction était héréditaire". It is to be noted that the Kanghsi editors, though not defining *ch'ou* as hereditary, yet have quoted only part of Ju Shun's comment, ending at the first *ch'ou*, omitting the following 年 *nien*, year, the object of the verb, and inserting 爲 *wei*, before *ch'ou*, thus misleading the reader into supposing that what Ju Shun meant was, "a calling handed down generation after generation is *ch'ou*." But this was tampering with his text.]

The *suan* was also called 馬 *ma*, horse. [At least this is the face value of the character. I discuss the point further on.] In the *T'ou Hu* chapter of the *Li Chi* occurs the passage, "The Director of the game begs permission to set up a horse for the winner," 司射請爲勝者立馬,

corresponding to the "one horse follows two horses", 一馬從二馬, previous to the Director's "depositing a counter", 釋算 [which the text says he did for each successful throw in the later part of the match]. Ch'eng K'ang-ch'êng observes on this, "The third horse was the winning counter 勝算. They distinguished this third counter so as to mark the winning counter. The reason for calling it *ma*, horse, was as much as to say, 'With skill such as this, you could be a General and ride a charger.'" [Such an explanation is absurd, neither does it explain the phrase *i ma ts'ung erh ma*, one horse following two horses.]

The *Shuo Wên* under the Radical *chu*, bamboo, has two [contiguous] entries, 筭 *suan* and 算 *suan*. The first is explained as follows: "Six inches in length, and used for making calculations. Composed with *chu*, bamboo, and 弄 *lung*, to handle, expressing that by constant practice [lit. handling] mistakes are not made."

Under 算 *suan*, the *Shuo Wên* writes, "To count up, 數 *shu*. Composed with *chu*, bamboo, and 具 *chü*, instrument. Read like 筭 *suan*." And under the Radical 冫 *shih*, to display, there is a separate entry 𠄎 *suan*, which is explained as "To regard clearly so as to reckon up. Composed of 冫 *shih*, doubled. The lost Books of Chou have the words [here follows a passage of eleven characters, which, as the editor of Wang Yün's edition of the *Shuo Wên* considers them "obscure", I shall not attempt to translate, but 𠄎 *suan* occurs twice in it]. Read like 算 *suan*". The *I Ch'ieh Ching Yin* regards the character 𠄎 as the ancient form of 算 *suan*, for the ancient form [would] correctly depict the shape of *suan* or counters. [Incidentally too, we may notice, it would depict two of the rod-and-bar groups.]

The author of the *Chin Shih Ch'i* then continues: My own humble opinion is this. The ancients, when they laid out counters, at first only placed them horizontally.

When thus placed to the amount of five, their number led to the risk of error, and so two counters were crossed diagonally, thus X.

(Original note.—The *Shuo Wén* gives X as "the ancient form" of Five, and says that it symbolizes the crossing of the Yin and the Yang.)

For Six, one counter was laid horizontally, and one vertically, thus T, without crossing. From this point, the numeral Five became — [viz. a horizontal line], and the numeral One, | [a vertical line], and for Seven, Eight, and Nine, successive lines were added vertically to differentiate them [thus II = 7, III = 8, IIII = 9]. When the full tale of Ten was thus reached, two counters were taken, one vertical and one horizontal, and crossed at right angles. This is expressed by the *Shuo Wén's* words, "Ten is the completion of the numerals. The stroke — stands for East and West, | for North and South, thus completing the Four Quarters and the Centre." And the *Shuo Wén* is right, for there are five numerals affected to Heaven and five to Earth. And in writing, a horizontal stroke above stands for Heaven, and one at the bottom for Earth. Hence —, One, can take the place of Five. [The foregoing explanation, as well as the *Shuo Wén's* as to Five and Ten, are pure will-o'-the-wisp symbolism, that secular obsession of the Chinese mind.]

The use of the signs T, II, III, and IIII, for 6, 7, 8, and 9, first appears in the 潛虛 *Ch'ien Hsü* of Ssü-ma Kuang of the Sung dynasty. In using X for 5, the *Ch'ien Hsü* employs the regular ancient cross-sign, but is singular in writing vertically |, ||, III, and IIII for —, =, ≡, and ≡≡, 1, 2, 3, and 4.

In the calculations of the 測圓海鏡 *Ts'ê Yuan Hai Ching* of 李冶 Li Yeh of the Yuan dynasty, there are both vertical and horizontal digits. Thus we find, written vertically, |, ||, III, IIII, T, II, III, IIII, and horizontally, —, =, ≡, ≡≡, ≡≡≡, 1, 2, 3, 4. Note that 1 is

called "horizontal" because its horizontal line here denotes One, whereas in \top it denotes Five.]

With these counter combinations, when the leading one is written horizontally, the next is vertical, the next horizontal again. Thus, 123 is written $-||\equiv$. If the leading group is vertical, then the next is horizontal, and the next again vertical. Thus 678 is written $\top \perp \equiv$. We may infer that the reason of this was the fear of confusion if the same disposition of the strokes were used for all the digits [viz. if *all* were written either vertically or horizontally], and so a distinction was made in this way.

Contrasted with the method of the *Ch'ien Hsü*, we have in this scheme the digit 5 written with that number of strokes, and the digits below 5 optionally written with horizontal strokes.

With regard to the modern system in vulgar use known as "Marking figures", 號碼 *hao ma*, which runs thus, | (1), || (2), ||| (3), X (4), 𠄎 (5), \perp (6), \perp (7), \equiv (8), and 𠄎 (9), the digit 4 is not written with four vertical strokes. [By an obvious slip the text prints 八, instead of 四 or perhaps X, for 4.] The sign 𠄎 for 5 is in my humble view the "Grass character" form of 午 *wu*, cross [a homophone of *wu*, five]. As to the sign 𠄎 for 9, my friend and neighbour, Mr. Wu Ling-yün, thinks it is just the character 久 *chiu*, long-lasting [a homophone of *chiu*, 9].

(Original note.—The present-day adoption of 玖 *chiu* [said to be a kind of quartz] as the Majuscule [or "Bankers'"] form, 大字 *ta tzu*, of 9, goes back as far as the 五經文字 *Wu Ching Wén Tzu*, of T'ang dynasty times [which was first published in A.D. 876].)

But the use of the form X to represent 4 is impossible to understand [especially as it is one of the old forms of 5]. Besides, while in imitation of the ancients, it certainly has not the ancient significance [which was 5. I have translated, as I understand them, the author's words, which are 且與古人相殺必非古義].

With my shallow learning and dull intelligence, I am not inclined to forced views or glossing interpretations, but I venture to observe that Ssü-ma Kuang being, as he was, a Sung dynasty statesman of great repute, and widely versed in historical literature, these numerals of his must have had documentary sanction. Hence I have taken occasion from the Ten *Pu* coins to examine the question, with the hope that if my views should come to the notice of any learned scholar he will correct any errors into which I may have fallen.

(*Original note.*—Mr. Li Jui 李銳, of Soochow [died A.D. 1818, see Wylie's *Notes on Chinese Literature*, pp. 99–100, who calls him “probably the most distinguished writer on mathematics during the present century”], was deeply versed in mathematical processes, and he has confirmed the opinions expressed above, by evidence not within my access, which I now append below. Mr. Li Jui writes:—)

The arithmetical methods followed by the Sung dynasty writer Ch'in Chiu-shao 秦九韶, in his *Shu Hsüo Chiu Chang* 數學九章 [dated A.D. 1247, see Wylie, p. 93, who cites the work with 書 *shu* in place of 學 *hsüo*], do not differ from those of Li Yeh in his *Ts'ê Yuan Hai Ching* and *I Ku Yen Tuan* 益古演段 [dated A.D. 1248 and 1282 respectively]. The notation is by alternate vertical and horizontal strokes — what is known as “the recumbent and the erect counters”, 臣卜算豎算 *wo suan shu suan*. Although ancient works contain no examples of arithmetical notation, yet we have in the *Sun Tz'ü Suan Ching* 孫子算經 [see Wylie, p. 91, “nothing is known of the author Sun tsze, but it is supposed to have been written about the third century”] the phrase 五不隻六不積 *wu pu chih liu pu chi*, Five not single six not accumulated. Here the words “Five not single” mean that up to and including Five, each digit must have a corresponding

number of strokes. [Thus 1 has one stroke, 2 has two strokes, and so on.] The words "Six not accumulated" mean that from and above Six, one of the strokes must have the value of the numeral 5. [Thus in $\top = 6$ the horizontal stroke = 5, the vertical = 1; conversely, when $\perp = 6$ it is the vertical stroke that = 5 and the horizontal that = 1], thus agreeing with the notational methods of Ch'in Chiu-shao and Li Yeh. We find also in the same work the passage 凡算之法一縱十橫百立千僵十千相望萬百相當 *fan suan chih fa i tsung shih hêng pé li ch'ien Chiang shih ch'ien hsiang wang wan pé hsiang tang*. Here, by *i*, one, is meant what nowadays is called 單立 *tan li*, a single upright [viz. 1]. The word *li* [the tenth character in the above passage] is equivalent to 縱 *tsung*, vertical. The word *Chiang* is equivalent to 橫 *hêng*, horizontal. *Shih*, ten, and *ch'ien*, thousand, are separated by one place, as are *pé*, hundred, and *wan*, ten-thousand [viz. in the notation of large numbers where "position" is in question]. This is the same system as "the alternate vertical and horizontal strokes" of both authors, Ch'in and Li. [We can now translate the above quoted passage, which is in rhyme in the Chinese, as follows: "In all calculations the method is that One is vertical, Ten is horizontal, Hundred stands erect, Thousand lies prostrate. Ten and Thousand look across at each other. Ten-thousand and Hundred mutually correspond."]

It is not known in what period Sun Tzū lived. Perhaps he may be the same as 孫武 Sun Wu [sixth century B.C.]. The important point is that he lived before the time of the Wei dynasty [A.D. 220-64].

Thus far Chang Yen-ch'ang and Li Jui. I will conclude this part of my paper by devoting a few sentences to the meaning of the term *ma*, now denoting the cyphers of the commercial numerals, and variously written 碼, 瑪, and 馬.

If the extract translated from the *Chin Shih Ch'i* is examined, it will be seen that the author does not explicitly identify the syllable *ma* in its modern use with the word which in the *T'ou Hu* or Arrow-pitching chapter of the *Li Chi* is written as *ma*, horse. But there can be little doubt that the same word is in question in both cases. In the Arrow-pitching chapter, however, the native commentators agree that the word there means a bamboo marking-counter, some holding that it was a mere *alias* of *suan*, others that it was not so, but a marker of a special kind. After carefully examining the several passages in which it occurs, I find that they are all—except perhaps the last—compatible with the sense of “score” or “mark”, made on a surface, for the purpose in this case, of recording a winning throw. The last instance of the word perhaps rather militates against this acceptance. The Director of the game is said, on the termination of the match, to ask permission “to remove the *ma*”, 徹馬 *ch'ê ma*, an expression, it may be thought, unlikely to be used of a marked-up score. On the other hand, a little earlier in the chapter we have the words 請立馬。馬各直其算 *ch'ing li ma, ma ko chih ch'i suan*, (the Director) “requests leave to set up the *ma*, each *ma* is equivalent to a counter”. If a *ma*, in fact, *was* a counter, would it be said to be equivalent to or count as one? However this may be, we can safely regard the word, in its ancient and its modern use, as one and the same, and so bring to an end Part I.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

PROFESSOR RIDGEWAY'S THEORY OF THE ORIGIN OF INDIAN DRAMA

The theory of the origin of drama which Professor Ridgeway first applied to Greek tragedy, in his work on *The Origin of Tragedy, with special reference to the Greek Tragedians*, he has now sought further to establish by a careful examination of the dramas and dramatic dances of non-European races,¹ and in this account he has devoted due consideration to the case of India. The brilliance of Professor Ridgeway's manner, the attractive form in which he presents his theories, and the amount of new matter which he produces render it desirable to subject his theory once more to a careful examination. Unfortunately Professor Ridgeway's acquaintance with the literature of the origin of Indian drama is inadequate, and he has therefore been unable to make use of the detailed criticism of his earlier volume contained in this *Journal*.² Moreover, he displays a certain carelessness in his use of the evidence available to him—as in the reference³ to the Buddha as being a member of the Sankhya family of Kapilavasu and to the discovery of his relics by Sir J. H. Marshall at Peshawar—which tends to shake one's belief in the soundness of his scholarship.

It is a fixed principle with Professor Ridgeway that all religion is to be traced to the reverence shown to the dead, and that all drama is born from such reverence. With the acceptance of this view all other views must disappear, and naturally, since this is his fundamental

¹ *The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of non-European Races, in special reference to the Origin of Greek Tragedy*, Cambridge, 1915.

² 1912, pp. 411-28.

³ p. 150.

principle, we look to find some detailed proof of the truth of this doctrine in its application to India. No such proof is, however, attempted: on p. 133 it is indeed asserted that "we have learned that the Hindu gods are not mere personifications of the phenomena of nature such as winter or summer, nor yet abstract vegetation spirits, but are to be regarded in almost every case as having once been men or women whose exploits, virtues, or sufferings deeply impressed their contemporaries". But the only reference for evidence of this assertion is to a passage on p. 126 which consists of a quotation from Sir A. Lyall,¹ whose insistence on this factor of the adoration of human beings in the making of Indian religion has long been well known, but whose views in this regard are not accepted as covering any but a certain definite sphere of religious belief. What exceptions are to be allowed Professor Ridgeway does not say, though clearly he ought to prove that the exceptions in question are not fatal to his theory, but he expressly asserts (p. 129) that as held by the best authorities Śiva was really once a man. Such a statement is clearly nonsense: no competent authority regards Śiva as ever a man, and to trust Professor Ridgeway's statements of fact after this instance is impossible.

A further point on which stress² is laid is the fact of the difference between the culture of the *Rgveda* as Aryan and that of the *Atharvaveda* as non-Aryan. The distinction is made parallel, as it has been by others, to the contrast between the Homeric and later Greek religion, and ascribed as that contrast to a racial distinction of conquerors and subject people. Some truth there is in this theory:³ it is a mistake, as I have pointed out elsewhere, to insist on the view that the magic of the

¹ *Asiatic Researches*, ser. 1, pp. 27-8.

² pp. 127-8.

³ Professor Ridgeway himself quotes (pp. 145-6) a passage where I distinguished the two elements of Indian religion.

Atharvaveda is older than religion, and to this extent I concur with Professor Ridgeway. But it is equally a mistake to deny to the Aryans of the *Rgveda* all contact with magic rites and beliefs: some of these already show themselves in the *Rgveda*, and we must not over-estimate Aryan culture. The evidence of the divergence adduced by Professor Ridgeway is in every case unfounded: the struggle between the Kṣatriya Viśvāmitra, the pure Aryan, and the priestly Vasiṣṭha, who represents a priesthood not Aryan though with an Aryan admixture, is not recorded in the *Rgveda* at all, and the argument that like the Homeric Greeks the Aryan Indians burned their dead and so did not trouble like the aborigines about the souls of the dead, a fact distinguishing their religion sharply from that of the aborigines, is unhappily contradicted by the evidence of the *Rgveda*, which shows that burial was also practised, and to all appearance by exactly the same sorts of people as burning, a fact the importance of which for the great controversy over burial and burning as marks of racial distinction cannot be over-estimated.¹ It is interesting to add that Professor Ridgeway seeks to parallel this conflict of Aryan Kṣatriya and non-Aryan priesthood with the struggles between the Persian monarchs and the aboriginal Magi from whom sprung Zoroastrianism: the theory is in violent conflict with that of Professor Moulton, but I doubt if it rests on any more secure ground than that theory with which I have dealt at length elsewhere.² It is a minor error that the *Atharvaveda* is ascribed to the people of Sindhia, perhaps due to a confusion with the prominence of the Indus according to one view in the *Rgveda*.

In his account of the epics Professor Ridgeway falls into fewer errors as he relies on the sure guidance of Professors Jacobi and Macdonell, though an occasional

¹ Keith, JRAS. 1912, pp. 470-4.

² JRAS. 1915, pp. 790-9.

slip like Puru Panchalas and the duplication of the size of the *Mahābhārata* speak of haste and lack of care.¹ But when he leaves the tutelage of these guides he plunges into a mass of wild hypothesis: the ingenious account of the origin of the Rāma legend given by Jacobi he denies, on the ground that a human origin must be found, a *petitio principii*, and he develops the view that the original home of Rāma was at Mathurā, where he was superseded by the aboriginal, black, licentious Kṛṣṇa, true representative of the aboriginal race. Yet for this remarkable theory,² on which much of the reasoning depends, not a scrap of evidence can be or had been adduced. The plain fact is that the *Rāmāyaṇa* is not connected with Mathurā, and the obvious fact that later Mathurā became a scene of Rāma worship is wholly irrelevant to establish that he preceded Kṛṣṇa as the great figure of worship there. The suggestion that Megasthenes meant Rāma and not Kṛṣṇa in his account of the worship at Mathurā is wholly impossible of acceptance, and must be regarded as a mere *tour de force*.

On the basis of these preconceptions as to Indian religion and on the strength of a valuable and interesting collection of accounts of modern dramatic performances collected for him by the help of Sir J. H. Marshall, Professor Ridgeway bases the view that all Indian drama grew out of performances in honour of the dead, such as Rāma or Kṛṣṇa. He examines³ and dismisses, doubtless correctly, the grotesque idea that the Indian drama had its first beginnings in the puppet or shadow play, a view which has never seemed to me worth serious refutation, and one rejected with decision by Professor Hillebrandt. When it comes, however, to his own argument his theory is singularly elusive: it seems to be summed up at p. 172, where he says—

"It will be seen that not only in many parts of

¹ p. 136.

² p. 152.

³ pp. 157-72.

Hindustan are there dramatic representations of the exploits of Rama and Krishna taken from or based on the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, but also in honour of the monkey king, Hanumat, as well as in honour of Vishnu himself; that these are regularly performed by Brahmans upon solemn occasions and in sacred places; whilst we shall also find abundant proof for the enactment of dramas in honour of famous kings and other historical personages, and those, too, on festival days or in temple precincts. If this should be demonstrated by the testimony here appended, we must inevitably be led to the conclusion that the Hindu drama did not arise merely in the worship of the god Krishna, as is assumed by Professor Macdonell and others, but arose in the far wider principle—the honouring of noble and famous men and women, into which category Krishna himself undoubtedly falls.”

But surely this is the most feeble argumentation possible. That in the nineteenth century plays are performed with persons like Buddha, Viśvāmitra, Candragupta, and Aśoka as heroes, that in earlier days the same thing may have taken place, sheds no conclusive light on the origin of tragedy or drama. No one doubts that the Indian drama after its first beginnings developed, like the Greek drama, a wide sphere of interest, and that it could treat of the lives and feats of famous persons. But that has nothing to do with the primitive drama, and the elaborate evidence adduced with regard to it is of no value for its purpose. No attempt is made to exhibit the principle as being carried out in the early Indian dramas preserved to us, except in so far as it is asserted that, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa being really men, any plays based on their lives and deaths were really funeral plays in their ultimate origin. It is suggested, without adducing any evidence other than some facts about funeral rites among the Tangkuls,¹ that the actors originally were representatives

¹ p. 211.

of the spirits of the dead, and performed the ceremony as a means of propitiating the dead. But such an idea is wholly unknown to Indian drama, and no trace of it is even suggested by Professor Ridgeway. This is an important matter: the view that Kṛṣṇa and Rāma were originally men was no doubt often held in some form or other in India, but the persons who held this view were quite unaware that performances of plays based on their history were in any way intended to appease their souls, and the Indian drama carefully eschews the presentation of the death of a hero, a curious fact if it arose from funeral rites.

It is impossible, therefore, to take seriously the account of drama as applied to India; the various lines of argument which in the case of Greece give a basis of argument for the theory are wholly lacking in India. But though the theory of Professor Ridgeway must remain a mere hypothesis, which has no probability, it is important to examine his criticism of the rival theory that the Indian drama is an offshoot from the religious practices of early India. The criticism of this theory as already set out in this Journal¹ by me is contained in the following passage (pp. 140-2):—

“The saying of Kansa by Krishna, as we shall soon see, was the subject of the earliest dramatic performance recorded for us in Hindu literature. According to the *Mahabhasya*, which cannot be later than the first century after Christ, in this performance the *Granthikas* divided themselves into two parties; those representing the followers of Kansa had their faces blackened, those of Krishna had their faces red, and ‘they expressed the feelings of both sides throughout the struggle from Krishna’s birth to the death of Kansa’. On this story

¹ JRAS. 1911, pp. 1008 seq. The fuller version in 1912, pp. 421 seqq., is ignored.

alone¹ Dr. A. B. Keith rests his belief in the theory of the origin of tragedy still held by Sir James Frazer and Dr. Farnell, and with which I have dealt at length on earlier pages (pp. 18-21). 'The mention of the colour of the two parties,' he writes, 'is most significant; red man slays black man: the spirit of spring and summer prevails over the spirit of the dark winter. The parallel is too striking to be mistaken; we are entitled to say that in India, as in Greece, this dramatic ritual, the slaying of winter, is the source whence drama is derived.' This too is the only reason that he gives for his opinion expressed in the same place. 'Ridgeway's theory of the origin of drama from the festivals in honour of the dead . . . seems to be still improbable, as an explanation of the origin of tragedy.' But Dr. Keith forgets that the red men who slay black men are themselves led by Krishna 'the black', and thus red men led by black man slay black men, which on his own principle can only mean that winter aided by summer slays winter. Plainly, then, winter is divided against himself and commits suicide. The judicially minded reader will opine that in the slaying of the negro doctor by Punch without the aid of another gentleman of colour we have really more cogent evidence for *Punch and Judy* being a drama of summer slaying winter than that on which Dr. Keith bases his theory of the origin of the Hindu drama. Moreover, when we recall the fact admitted by Dr. Keith himself of the conquest by the fair-complexioned Aryans of the dark aborigines of Hindustan, and their admixture as time went on, and when we are further told that Krishna the Black was quite different in colour from the rest of his race, it is but natural that the Yadavas should be represented with ruddy faces, and the followers of Kansa as dark-skinned aborigines. Dr. Keith might just as reasonably see a combat between winter and summer in

¹ This is a piece of carelessness, and is quite incorrect.

any of the many battles between British troops and native armies in the long struggle which eventuated in the conquest of India . . . Krishna, who eventually was made the eighth Avatar of Vishnu, a god regarded by Dr. Keith as the sun, must also be held by that scholar to be the sun-god, or at least the spirit of light and spring. But as all traditions agree in making Krishna black Dr. Keith thus represents the sun-god himself as a black man, which may be regarded as the wildest of all the many vagaries of his school."

The judicially minded reader will probably opine that this is excellent fooling, but very bad logic. In Professor Ridgeway's own view we have in the slaying of Kaṁsa merely a representation of doubtless a real episode in the life of the hero Kṛṣṇa. But how on this hypothesis is the difference of colour to be understood? The account given above by Professor Ridgeway is plainly ludicrous. Kṛṣṇa is quite different in colour from the rest of his race, therefore the Yādavas are made red; Kaṁsa and his supporters black. But Kaṁsa was the uncle of Kṛṣṇa, who was a Yādava on both sides; his supporters and he are here represented as of the colour of Kṛṣṇa; but the rest of Kṛṣṇa's race is, Professor Ridgeway argues, quite different from Kṛṣṇa, whence it follows that Kaṁsa should be red. Accordingly the absurdities of my view are even on Professor Ridgeway's own showing at least no greater than those of his own view. That he should be guilty of such a bad piece of argument is undoubtedly due to his forgetting that Kaṁsa is the uncle of Kṛṣṇa, and that therefore he cannot be treated as belonging to a different section of the population. The forgetfulness is the more amazing in that Professor Ridgeway has himself given¹ the traditional account of the origin of Kṛṣṇa, an account which he does not and obviously cannot

¹ p. 438, in an unacknowledged quotation from Dowson's *Hindu Mythology*, p. 161.

criticize. But there is a more amazing blunder still to chronicle: at p. 21 Professor Ridgeway asserts that "Dr. A. B. Keith . . . finds the origin of the Hindu drama in the slaying of the dark Koravas by the fair Pandavas . . . But Dr. Keith omits the very important point that in the Hindu story the fair Pandavas were led to victory over the dark Koravas by Krishna, 'the Black,' a fact in itself fatal to his theory." This remarkable assertion, which of course is wholly untrue, is due not to any deliberate desire to mislead his readers on the part of Professor Ridgeway, but to a confusion between Kamsa and the Koravas—a spelling strangely adopted by the author for Kauravas—and between Kṛṣṇa's exploits *per se* and his connexion with the Pāṇḍavas, who are not, it may be added, pale at all, but descendants of a man called Pāṇḍu.

The extraordinary confusion of mind of Professor Ridgeway explains his criticism of my theory; he has overlooked the fact that, so far from not appreciating the question of Kṛṣṇa's name, I was the first¹ to point out the error into which Lévi² fell in ascribing to the followers of Kṛṣṇa the colour black, and that I expressly on more than one occasion have refuted the theory that Kṛṣṇa was a sun-god. The fact that Kṛṣṇa is an Avatar of Viṣṇu no more proves that he was originally a sun-god than the fact that the Buddha is also an Avatar of Viṣṇu proves that he was a sun-god. The fact that Kṛṣṇa's company is mentioned as red is of the utmost importance as a piece of evidence of the real character of the ritual; had it not been traditional, the effect of the name Kṛṣṇa would undoubtedly have carried with it the dark colour of his company, for we cannot suppose that at the time when the *Mahābhāṣya*³ relates to us the dramatic

¹ JRAS. 1908, p. 172, n. 4.

² *Théâtre indien*, p. 315.

³ The assertion on p. 157 that the work is not later than 25 A.D. is an error; there is no conclusive evidence to fix its date if the strong grounds

performance of the Kāmsavadha there was any longer an understanding of the legend in its primitive sense. It was a human drama to the actors, understood in purely historic sense, the slaying by Kṛṣṇa of his wicked uncle, and I have laid stress¹ on the fact that the existence of this drama is the earliest clear proof we have of the stories of the infancy of Kṛṣṇa, a fact which establishes their anteriority to the Christ-child legend. But whereas if we take the story as a mere piece of history we are landed in hopeless difficulties in the explanation of the colours assigned, of which Professor Ridgeway's account affords a perfect specimen, a very clear sense and meaning are obtained if we accept the natural conclusion that in India, as in Greece, we find at the source of drama the old ritual of the slaying of the vegetation spirit in winter as in India or in summer as in Greece, the differing choice of aspect being the cause of the existence in India of no real tragedy, while in Greece tragedy is predominant.

Professor Ridgeway argues² that if Kṛṣṇa is a sun-god, then his birthday should fall at the winter solstice, but in point of fact he is born according to tradition in July or August. The argument seems singularly without force. Apart from the late date of the tradition of the time of Kṛṣṇa's birth, it seems inexplicable why a sun-god must be born at the winter's solstice. Professor Ridgeway accepts my proof that the Mahāvratā was celebrated at the winter solstice,³ but I have not suggested at any time that this festival represents the birth of the sun; it is a period when the strengthening of the sun for its tasks is required, and is provided by sympathetic magic in the for putting that at about 150 B.C. are not accepted. It may be added that the reliance on the argument from *Punch and Judy* is very unwise; without expressing any opinion on the origin of that show Professor Ridgeway may be reminded that Guy Fawkes is not the origin of the ceremonies observed on his day.

¹ JRAS. 1908, pp. 169 seqq., a view now accepted by Garbe.

² p. 144.

³ *Sāṅkhyaśāstra Āraṇyaka*, pp. 78 seqq.

ritual by which a fight takes place for a symbol of the sun which is eventually taken away from the Sūdra. But this ritual, though it is interesting and though it is rightly mentioned in any account of the beginnings of drama as one of the ultimate sources from which drama developed—not of course as in itself drama since the element of mimesis¹ is absent—is not a Kṛṣṇa ritual at all, a fact which Professor Ridgeway should have remembered, as he cites² with approval my express statement that the Mahāvratā has no vegetation spirit in its ritual and that the prominence of such a spirit may have been due to the influence of the aboriginal tribes, even assuming that it was also Aryan in character. In the case of Kṛṣṇa we have a real vegetation spirit ritual, the killing of a representative of the spirit of vegetation. But we see more than this; we see a conflict in the process of the killing, and curiously enough Professor Ridgeway, who credits³ me with following Dr. Frazer in my views of the vegetation spirit, is ignorant still, it seems, as he was in 1910, of the contents of the paper of Usener, on which, as I have expressly stated, my views of the origin of Indian drama which were first formulated by me in 1908 are based.⁴ The paper of Usener⁵ cites instances in which there occurs a mimic fight intended clearly to secure sunlight and to prosper vegetation. In the case of the Mahāvratā we have this fight in a solar form, in the case of Kāṁsa in a vegetation form, but the fight is an essential feature of both,⁶ and it is an essential feature of the drama which is an agon, a contest. Therefore the essence of drama is revealed to us in the very drama of which we have the first distinct record in India, and it is idle sophistry to

¹ On this point Professor Ridgeway agrees with me; see pp. 154, 156.

² p. 145. Cf. JRAS. 1909, pp. 203, 204.

³ p. 142.

⁴ JRAS. 1908, p. 172, n. 5.

⁵ *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, 1904, pp. 397 seqq.

⁶ I have never rested my case on the Kāṁsavadhā alone. JRAS. 1908, p. 172; 1911, p. 1008; 1912, p. 423; ZDMG. lxiiv, 534 seqq.

wave aside this most striking piece of evidence. Quite independently from my theory of Indian drama, in 1909 Dr. Farnell,¹ acting on the same basis of theory, developed his theory of the origin of the Greek drama which Professor Ridgeway attacked in his *Origin of Tragedy*,² an attack which he repeats in his present work,³ but with which I need not deal, as he adduces no new arguments, and his existing supply of proofs was disposed of by me in my review of his former work.⁴

It is perhaps wise of Professor Ridgeway to pass lightly over Dr. Farnell's contribution without further discussion, and to proceed to attacks on less well thought out schemes. That the Eleusinian mysteries included a marriage of Zeus and Demeter and the birth of Iakechos, and that the drama was derived from Eleusis, are views which are open to easy and successful refutation, though the actual mode of refutation adopted by Professor Ridgeway leads him to the equally unsound doctrine that the mysteries were really originated by the cult of the dead, for which he has no tolerable evidence but only a series of unsupported conjectures. It can only be said in his favour that the latest theories of Miss Harrison are such as to tempt the adoption of any other theory as less flatly impossible than one which favours us with such a view as that "The Dithyrambos is a bull-god reborn into his tribe, not only as a full-grown male but as a sacred beast". But the fact that Miss Harrison, like Professor Ridgeway himself, is a lover of the "false and fantastic", does not alter the fact that the evidence which he cites at p. 46 is conclusive not, as he imagines, of the view that the Dithyramb was not originally exclusively connected with Dionysus, but of precisely the opposite result. It is, however, impossible not to sympathize with some of his criticism of the recent

¹ *The Cults of the Greek States*, v, 235.

² pp. 73 seqq.

³ pp. 20, 21.

⁴ JRAS, 1912, pp. 411 seqq.

work of Messrs. Cook and Cornford on the Greek games and of Professor Murray¹ on Greek drama, for their lucubrations have led them far from sanity.

Nor, again, is it impossible to sympathize with Professor Ridgeway in his desire to simplify religion: the extraordinary complex of views which we are asked to accept nowadays as religious origins is appalling, and, if we could simplify it all and reduce it to spirits of the dead, so much the better: it would be pleasant to hold that the primary thing is the belief in the immortality or durability of the soul, and that belief in vegetation, tree, corn spirits, spirits of rocks, mountains, and rivers are all dependent on this primary belief.² But unhappily the proofs offered by Professor Ridgeway are sadly lacking: it is idle to assure us that such a condition of religion as is now found in Uganda,³ according to the authority whom he adopts, explains all religion. This is the old fallacy of thinking that one modern tribe is a key to all religion, whereas modern tribes present us with most remarkably different religious pictures, apart from the fact that no two investigators ever agree in the view taken of the fundamental character of their beliefs. The actual origin of religious beliefs is a matter about which no certainty will ever be attained, for it is essentially a problem of philosophy,⁴ not of history, but it is idle to assert that the belief in the indestructibility of the spirit is a necessary preliminary to the belief in a tree or rock as a powerful thing, to be revered and propitiated, and *a priori* there seems every reason to assume that a belief in the powers of nature, such as the sun or the storm, as well as less transcendent things, might be firmly established before the definite and clear doctrine of the distinction of body

¹ Cf. *Themis*, pp. 202 seqq.

² That totemism is so dependent I readily agree, but I do not know what totemism means to Professor Ridgeway.

³ pp. 374 seqq.

⁴ See JHS, xxxv, 282.

and soul was arrived at. Doubtless no strict proof of this view is possible, but equally and even more obviously no proof is possible that the belief in the immortality of the soul preceded the belief in gods. So again, while Professor Ridgeway rightly opposes the idea of Sir James Frazer that magic is prior to religion, it would be an error to assume that religion is prior to magic: neither hypothesis is susceptible of proof or even of plausible demonstration: as the preference of the priority of magic is, however, widespread, the protest of Professor Ridgeway is worthy of mention.

It is hardly necessary to examine here the evidence adduced from other lands of the deification of men. Adonis and Attis are reduced to real men once killed,¹ and their fate identified with that of Antinous or of Hassan and Hussein, without the slightest appreciation of the fundamental distinction between the cases: the first two had widespread religious honour: Antinous was deified by an emperor and never was a real deity, while Hassan and Hussein are not and never have been deities: the examples indeed prove the very opposite of what is contended. After this it is not surprising to find that Osiris and Isis were real people²: in this view of Osiris Professor Ridgeway can now cite Sir James Frazer, who still holds, however, that Attis and Adonis were vegetation spirits, but Sir J. Frazer, as I have elsewhere shown, is not a safe guide. It would be strange if all the deities of the rest of Asia or South America and of the Pacific³ did not yield to the same treatment. Nothing indeed could fail to do so in the hands of a scholar who insists that the worship of actual dead persons is the only source of worship, and that any other kind of worship is abstract and secondary, and who strengthens his argument by the assertion⁴ that since Greek and

¹ pp. 65-94.

² pp. 94-121.

³ pp. 216 seqq.

⁴ p. 12. The argument is evidently serious.

Sanskrit contain many denominative verbs, it is clear that the noun is earlier than the verb, a doctrine psychologically and philologically as absurd as the doctrine that all nouns arise from verbs.

An appendix treats of the origin of Attic comedy, and denies energetically its origin in a ritual drama. With this view I have no quarrel: as I stated in 1912,¹ I agree with Dr. Farnell² that the origin of comedy is different from that of tragedy, and that it lies in ritual cathartic abuse, which can only be described as a ritual drama by stretch of language. Mr. Cornford in his work on Comedy³ has clearly allowed himself to be carried away by the same erroneous views as mark the lucubrations of Miss Harrison, Professor Murray, and Dieterich⁴ on tragedy. But I cannot agree with Professor Ridgeway in ascribing the origin of comedy to a non-religious lampoon.⁵ The example of non-religious scurrility cited by Professor Ridgeway is really conclusive against him. The abuse showered on the *Mystai*, when on their way to Eleusis hymning *Iakchos*, was clearly not secular abuse, nor are we to suppose that the women in the procession who replied with pungent retorts were engaged in mere secular replies. The whole idea does violence to any conception of dignity or propriety in Greek religious feeling, and what is more important runs counter to the abundant evidence available that scurrility has a direct ritual value, examples of which are to be seen in the *Mahāvratā* rite in India, the horse-sacrifice, and elsewhere.⁶

¹ JRAS. 1912, p. 425, n.

² *The Cults of the Greek States*, v, 211, 212.

³ *The Origin of Attic Comedy* (1914).

⁴ *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, 1908, p. 167.

⁵ p. 404.

⁶ JRAS. loc. cit. The same error is made by Wissowa (*Religion und Kultus der Römer*², p. 560, n. 4) in respect of the *Lupercalia* and its ritual abuse, which he seeks to refer to a later period in the face of all the evidence.

Professor Ridgeway concludes¹ by finding in the removal of the control of the Areiopagos the cause of the sudden blooming of ancient comedy in Athens, and, though he admires ancient comedy in the hands of Aristophanes, he is at pains to prove that neither he nor Kratinos nor Eupolis was a real product of democracy, a form of government which he finds ruinous to a country. Apart, however, from the amusing parallel found to exist between British democrats and Athenian democrats, which is hardly a serious contribution to human knowledge, the whole basis of this theory is founded on the two hypotheses, both of them doubtless wrong, that credence is to be given to that remarkable political tract which masquerades under the name of Aristotle, the *Athenaion Politeia*, and that Aischylos was a supporter of the Areiopagos, who in his *Eumenides* sought to save the last remnant of the power of that body, and who was so disliked by the Athenian democracy that he was banished from Athens.²

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

THE UNLUCKY NUMBER 13

The origin of the unlucky character of the number 13 is still open to question. The traditional view is, of course, that it is due to the fact of the connexion of that number with the Last Supper: so skilled an authority as M. S. Reinach until quite lately³ held that view. His present opinion⁴ is, however, different: "En ce qui concerne le chiffre 13, si l'on ne trouve pas d'exemples de ce *tabou* dans la littérature grecque et latine, on decouvre dans la littérature hindoue de la basse époque la trace que ce chiffre 13 était de mauvais augure: c'est donc plus ancien que la Cène." To this statement made

¹ pp. 414-22.

² See JRAS. 1912, p. 428.

³ *Cultes, Mythes, et Religions*, i, 7; ii, 20.

⁴ Op. cit. iv, 464.

in 1909 he adds in 1912 the note: "13 est le premier chiffre de la seconde dodécade (*tabou des prémices* ?)."

It would be interesting, in the first place, to know to what evidence of Indian belief M. Reinach refers. It is clear that, unless the evidence can be assigned to a comparatively early period, it cannot be said to be decisive of the origin of the unlucky character of 13 as an independent Indian discovery. In the early period no such use of the number 13 is known to me, nor does any seem to have been adduced. Even from the later period no instance is cited by Böklen in his treatise, *Die Unglückszahl Dreizehn*, who, indeed, in the very scanty material which he has collected from Indian evidence, cites one case¹ in which the 13th turns out to be a lucky number, and the erroneous view² that the gods were counted as 13 and not, as is the truth, 30 (*tridaśa*). It is, indeed, somewhat curious that 13 did not develop an unlucky character in India: the 13th month is already known in the *Rigveda*, and its elusive character, which is expressly asserted by the names given to it, might have created a prejudice against it. But that this ever happened is not so far shown.

It is also significant that there is no clear evidence of the superstition in Greece or Rome before the Christian era. The only example of the belief cited by Böklen is a passage in Diodorus Siculus,³ according to which Philip of Macedon had his own statue carried round in solemn procession with those of the 12 gods in order to show that he was comparable to them in his power, and that shortly afterwards he was murdered in the theatre. But this argument has absolutely no value as a proof of any superstitious feeling attached to the number 13: the

¹ From the *Lalitā Vistara* referring to the Buddha's birth.

² Bopp, *Glossarium comparativum*², p. 167, is interpreted in this sense by Böklen.

³ xvi, 92 seq.

impiety consisted in the king in some degree assimilating himself to the gods, and it is recorded¹ that at Athens Eleos was made by the Athenians a 13th god, a fact which shows that there was no idea of lack of luck attached to the number, though Herakles refused to be accepted as a god among the 12, since that would in his opinion involve the exclusion of some other god to make room for him.²

Böklen himself seeks to prove that the number 13 and the number 12, with which it is of course closely associated, are essentially connected in religion and in folklore with the phases of the moon, rejecting the more simple idea that the number 12 is connected with the months of the year. His direct proofs³ of the connexion of 12 with the phases of the moon may briefly be noted: he insists that *Rgveda*, i, 25. 8, is to be referred to the phases and not to the 12 months and the intercalary month as is normally held, that the same reference is to be seen in i, 164. 11, and that the crux in iv, 33. 7 is to be explained as referring to the dark half of the month during which the Rbhus sleep, but still are productive, producing the bright half of the month. The four *camasas* created by the Rbhus are the four forms of the moon, as sickle, half moon, full moon, and a phase between the last two. None of these passages will bear the meaning put upon it by Böklen. The first is obviously concerned with the 13 months of the year; the second contains in its immediate proximity reference to 360 days and nights, a fact which Böklen can only call an "Einschiebung". In the last passage he recognizes the contamination of two quite distinct legends, one of the creation of the *camasas* and another of the making of fields, streams, etc. Varuṇa and Agohya are, of course, found to be moon gods. Böklen finds it, naturally enough, very easy to fit any number into the moon

¹ Philostratus, *Ep.* 39.

² Diodorus Siculus, iv, 39.

³ pp. 19-26.

phases, regarded in different aspects, but the mere fact that this can be done is in reality a fatal drawback to taking his theory seriously. An obvious explanation of the special character of 12 is given by the number of months, which is as much Vedic as Babylonian, and 13 is undoubtedly to be looked at in the main as merely 12 plus 1, the normal number with a person who in some way, like "Captain 13",¹ is differentiated from the other 12, whether for good or for evil. The many instances where the 13th is the lucky person suggest the obvious explanation that if you tell a story about one person who is distinguished from the others he will be a number superior by one to the popular number, and the popularity of 12 is very great throughout religion and folklore. An obvious and early instance is that of Odysseus, who has 12 companions, of whom he loses 6, who has 12 ships, 12 handmaidens, and so on. It is a further question to what extent this use of 13 may not have been derived from 12 by the process of inclusive counting. This theory has been put forward in another connexion by Professor Hopkins² as an explanation of the number 30 ascribed to the gods in India: he suggests that the number 33 (3×11), which is of course the number recognized in the earlier literature, is really born of 30 (3×10) by the process of manufacturing 11 out of 10 by inclusive counting. There is some evidence of such inclusive reckoning: it explains best a phrase like 101 in *Rgveda*, x, 130. 1, where 100 is simply extended by one, and confusions of inclusive and exclusive calculation are certainly to be found. But the positive evidence for a set of 10 gods is wholly negligible: the 10 of the *Atharvaveda* (xi, 8. 3 and 10) are clearly pure theosophy, and the idea that the Daśagvas are a hint of these ancient gods is not plausible. The further support derived from the theory that two of the Greek 12 gods may be Semitic

¹ Böhlen, p. 23.² *Oriental Studies*, pp. 150-4.

and that two of the Scandinavian are late is not to be taken seriously: the Greek 12 show no trace of ever being 10, and Semitic origins of Greek gods are now out of date: the 12 of the Scandinavian mythology are a very late and a poor importation of the Greek and Roman 12.¹ Professor Hopkins' theory must therefore remain theoretical.

The suggestion of M. Reinach that the origin of the fear of 13 is a "*tabou des prémices*" is interesting, but it can hardly be considered very seriously. The question of the use of the numeration by 12 in place of 10 is interesting, and what has been so far written on the subject is not altogether convincing. The facts in favour of the existence of a secondary reckoning by 12, the primary reckoning being by 10, is that in Gothic the formation of 11, 12, and of the series after 60, i.e. 70, etc., is different from that which would be normal with a system of 10, and that after 60 in Greek, and perhaps also in Latin, a new system for constructing the decades appears. The usage is normally declared to be due to Babylonian influence, namely, the Babylonian year of 360 days divided into 12 months, and as the numbers in India and Iran show no signs of this peculiarity, Hirt² concludes that the mode of enumeration came across the Mediterranean area to the northern nations after the breaking up of Aryan unity. Hirt, however, thinks that the Babylonian influence was aided by the Aryan conception of 12 nights at the winter solstice, which he attributes to Germany and to India, though he recognizes more clearly than do most writers the wholly—it may be added wildly³—conjectural nature of this assimilation. It must, however, be remembered that the months as 12 and the days of the year as 360 are ideas which are found in the *Rgveda*, and it is perhaps bold to assert that the

¹ Golther, *German. Myth.* p. 200.

² *Die Indogermanen*, pp. 532 seqq.

³ JRAS. 1915, pp. 131-3.

system of reckoning by 12 is necessarily Babylonian. It does not seem difficult to suppose that the Vedic Indians independently arrived at the year of 12 months and 360 days, a result based on the synodic month of approximately $29\frac{1}{2}$ days.

Apart, however, from the complicated question of the sexagesimal¹ system of reckoning, it is very doubtful if any value can be laid on the theory of the "*tabou des prémices*" in this case, though of course a taboo, e.g. of firstfruits, is well known.² But the explanation would only be valid if we had any really widespread belief in the unlucky character of the number 13, and of that there is really no evidence. In modern Europe, in which the best attested cases of the superstition occur, it is hardly doubtful that the influence of the tradition of the Last Supper has been important. Böklen,³ indeed, tries to establish that the tradition of the presence of the full body of disciples at that meal is recorded because of the existence of the superstition, but that clearly is a *tour de force*. The real problem is whether there can be produced any tolerable evidence which shows that the superstition was merely reinforced in Europe by the untoward events of that meal: so far this has not been done, and the chance of it being done is perhaps small. The further and independent question will then arise whether there is any proof of such a superstition in the East independently of any probability of borrowing, and it may be hoped that this subject may receive further illustration and investigation, as Böklen's citations are wholly without importance in this regard. A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

¹ Moulton (*Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 242) is in error in saying that Hirt has proved the variant system to be duodecimal, not sexagesimal; Hirt expressly admits, in his notes, that the system is rather sexagesimal, as shown by the Latin use of *sexaginta* and *sescenti* as indefinite numbers (op. cit. p. 747).

² Sir J. Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, p. 5; *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, ii, 82 seqq.

³ Op. cit. p. 2, comparing Mark xiv, 17 with xiv, 13.

THE INDIAN DAY

In a paper at p. 143 above, Professor Keith has criticized a statement made by me that in India the day—that is, not simply the daytime, but the full Hindū civil day-and-night of twenty-four hours—has always run from sunrise.¹ And he has brought forward certain passages which, in his opinion, indicate for the Vedic period a frequent counting of time by nights, attributable (he urges) to an ancient general Indo-European practice of reckoning the entire day from the beginning of the night. It is necessary to review his case, in addition to giving the two passages which upset it. I will preface my remarks with a short statement about some terms.

Our word “day” has two chief meanings: (1) the daytime, from sunrise to sunset, as opposed to the night; and (2) the whole period of twenty-four hours, running in civil use from midnight to midnight and in astronomical use from the following noon to noon. In the case of general writings, we may sometimes have to think for a moment, unless the context makes it clear at once, which of the two meanings is to be understood. But in anything relating to astronomy and the calendar the word is used mostly in its second meaning.

In Sanskrit we often find used, for denoting the whole day, the term *ahō-rātra*, “a day-and-night”, or some synonym of it; the plural of which is translatable by either “day-and-nights” or “days and nights”. But, also, the word *ahan*, “day”, or any of its synonyms, is used freely in just the same two meanings with our

¹ In my footnote which gave the cause for his paper (this Journal, 1915, p. 218, note 4), in speaking of “the Brāhmanical books” I should perhaps have said clearly that I meant books and passages dealing with astronomy, time, the calendar, and such matters: however, the discussion to which my words have led is by no means to be regretted. I am much obliged to Professor Keith for pointing out my slip of *naktandivam* for *naktandivam*: I ought to have detected it in reading the proofs. I retain my opinion that this term and *rātrindivam* are due to euphonic considerations.

word "day", subject to the same occasional necessity for reflection: and it, again, is most generally used in technical writings to denote the entire day of twenty-four hours, running in both civil and astronomical use from sunrise to sunrise. On the other side, I do not know of any ordinary practical passage—I mean, one not having a more or less poetical or otherwise fanciful basis—in which the word *rātri*, "night", or any synonym of it, is used to denote the entire day in the sense of "a night-and-day", or in which the term *rātry-ahan*, "night and day", or any synonym, can be taken as indicating a habit of putting the night before the daytime in the reckoning of the whole day.¹

Professor Keith has started his argument by quoting Manu, 1. 66, for the term *rātry-ahan*, "night and day". But we find nothing remarkable in this if we consider the purport and surroundings of the verse, which runs:—

Pitryē rātry-ahanī māsaḥ pravibhāgas tu pakshayōḥ |
karma-chēstāsav ahaḥ kṛishṇaḥ śuklaḥ svapnāya śarvari ||

Verse 64 is entirely practical and sober, giving the divisions of time which make up the terrestrial civil day-and-night (*ahō-rātra*). Verse 65 is of the same nature, except for its reference to the gods: it tells us that:—"The sun divides the day and night (*ahō-rātra*) of men and gods; the night is for the sleep of beings; the day for the performance of actions:" and the night is plainly mentioned first here only because that suited the versifier best. Verse 66, however, treats of something imaginative, namely the day of the Pitris or Manes, who dwell on the moon. Their day is mentioned here as *rātry-ahanī*, "night and day". The versifier perhaps varied his expression only because he had used *ahō-rātra* twice in the preceding two verses. But, also, a specific

¹ I regard the instances in the Divyāvadāna of the expression "night-and-day", which I quoted, as quite incidental ones, due to the writer liking to vary his style and words here and there.

reason for adopting the order "night and day" here may be found in the verse itself. It says that the lunar month is a night and day of the Pitṛis, divided according to the fortnights. It not unjustifiably puts their night first, because it is the first half of the month, the bright or waxing fortnight, which is that night.¹ And it is noteworthy that, in explaining this, the verse, in spite of the term "night and day" in its first line, follows in its second line the natural habit of mentioning the day before the night: it says:—"Their day, for active exertions, is the dark fortnight; the bright fortnight is their night, for sleep."

Next, for the earlier period, Professor Keith has quoted from RV, 4. 16. 19, the words *kshapō madēma śaradaś cha pārvīh*. These simply say:—"May we revel during many nights and years." It is difficult to recognize here anything but an allusion to the night as the natural time for revelry, the daytime being given up to practical affairs.

He has referred next, without any citation of words, to RV, 8. 26. 3. This verse, in a hymn to the Aśvins, says (of course with poetical expansion to fill its lines):—"Tā vām adya havāmahē atī kshapaḥ: "We make oblations to you two to-day after the night." Here, again, it is difficult to recognize anything tending to put the night before the day as an item of the calendar. The Aśvins were matutinal gods, whose special time seems to have been between dawn and sunrise:² and the time for worshipping them would be referred to quite naturally as the time when the night had practically, though not technically, passed away.

¹ That is, of course, according to the *amānta* month, the month ending with the new-moon, which is the only one that is recognized in the Hindū astronomy and in passages, such as the present one, dealing with the details of time.

² See Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology*, p. 49 ff.: especially p. 50, bottom.

As to other points, the term *daśarātra*, "lasting for ten nights", as the name of a sacrifice, was probably chosen because the principal part of the ceremonial was done during the night. In any case, it certainly does nothing towards marking the night as standing before the daytime in the reckoning of the entire civil day. And we may note that this sacrifice was part of one which was known as *dvādaśāha*, "lasting for twelve days".

The poet who in RV, 6. 9. 1, spoke of the night and the daytime as *ahaś cha kṛishṇam ahar arjunam cha*, "the dark day and the bright day," may be credited with giving utterance to a pretty idea. But he certainly did not intend to teach a detail of the calendar; and he probably mentioned the night first simply because that order fitted in best in his selection of words to suit his metre. It may be noted, too, that it was the day that he chose for this duplication, not the night.

The term *ahanī*, "the two days [daytime and night]", for which we are referred to RV, 5. 82. 8, is probably explained by 6. 9. 1, mentioned just above. In any case, we cannot recognize any good reason for the suggestion that it had its origin in two sorts of entire day, one beginning with the daytime and the other with the night. And here, again, it is noticeable that it was the daytime, not the night, which was thus treated as a dual.

We are told (p. 144) that "often in the Brāhmaṇas the year is reckoned at 360 nights or 360 days or 720 nights and days together." But this is at any rate not correct for the Śatapatha. Here I find in 7. 3. 1. 43: "... let him say 'Seven hundred and twenty,' for so many days and nights [*ahō-rātrāṇi*: not "nights and days"] there are in the year."¹ So also in 10. 4. 2. 2 we have:—"Now in this Prajāpati, the year, there are 720 days and nights" [again *ahō-rātrāṇi*: not "nights and days"].²

¹ *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 41, p. 353.

² SBE, 43, 249.

And so, again, 12. 3. 2. 3 tells us plainly that there are 360 nights and [not "or"] 360 days in the year;¹ and para. 4, adding these two figures, says:—"And there are 720 days and nights [again *ahō-rātrāṇi*: not "nights and days"] in the year." It may be added that, for a shorter period, in 6. 2. 2. 35 we are told that "sixty are the days and nights [*ahō-rātrāṇi*] of a month;"² and that 10. 4. 2. 18 speaks of the fifteen *muhūrtas* of the day (*ahan*) before those of the night (*rātri*):³ all in accordance with the normal placing of the daytime before the night.

Lastly, the remarks (p. 145) about the *amāvāsyā* or new-moon *tithi* and day have no bearing on the matter in hand. The *tithi*, whether that of the new-moon or any other, is a very important item in the Hindū calendar; notably, in giving its number to the civil day at the sunrise of which it is current: but it has nothing to do with determining the initial point of the civil day. The new-moon may occur at any moment of the day or night: and the words quoted by Professor Keith only gave, for the early period when that moment could not be determined with any approach to certainty, a choice of two civil days, either of which might be taken as the new-moon day.

Now, there can hardly be, I think, any serious doubt about the point that, in the reckoning of the civil and astronomical day, the daytime, running from sunrise to sunset, has stood before the night ever since the time when the Hindūs first had anything in the shape of a practical astronomy. The *Jyōtisha-Vedāṅga* and *Kautiliya-Arthaśāstra* make that clear. And from a time not very much later than those works we have a passage in the *Mahābhārata*, 14 (*Āśvamedhika*-p.), § 44, verse 1213, where we read:—*Ahaṃ pūrvam tatō rātriv māsāḥ*

¹ SBE, 44. 168: compare 11. 1. 2. 10, 11, *ibid.*, p. 5.

² SBE, 41. 184: so also in 10. 2. 6. 1., SBE, 43. 322.

³ SBE, 43. 351.

śukl-ādayaḥ smṛitāḥ: "The day comes first, then the night; the months are declared to begin with the bright fortnight."

For the earlier period we may note how RV, 10. 190. 2, speaks of the year as *ahō-rātrāṇi vidadhat*, "the ordainer of days and nights." But it is in the following two passages that we find exactly what we want.

In the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, 11. 1. 6, we have an account of the acts of creation performed by Prajāpati. Para. 7 tells how he created the gods, and says that:—"Having created them, there was, as it were, daylight [*divā*] for him." Para. 8 tells us that he then created the Asuras, and that:—"Having created them, there was, as it were, darkness [*tamas*] for him." And para. 11 says:—

Sa yad asmai dēvānt sasṛjānāya div=ēv=āsa tad ahar akurut=ātha yad asmā asurānt sasṛjānāya tama iv=āsa tām rātrim akuruta tē ahō-rātrē.

"Now what daylight, as it were, there was for him, on creating the gods, of that he made the day; and what darkness, as it were, there was for him, on creating the Asuras, of that he made the night: they are these two, day and night."¹

And in verse 8 of RV, 1. 124, a hymn to Dawn,² we have the words:—

Svasā svasrē jyāyasyai yōnim āraik.

"The sister [Night] has given place to *her* elder sister [Dawn, i.e. Day]."³

¹ SBE, 44. 14. I venture to think that both here and in para. 7 *divā* might have been rendered by 'light' or 'brightness' better than by 'daylight'.

² I am indebted to Dr. Barnett for this reference.

³ For Dawn and Night as sisters, daughters of Heaven (*div*), see, e.g., RV, 5. 41. 7; 10. 70. 6. The Vedic poets do not seem to have personified the daytime exactly as they did the night: but, while their Dawn sometimes means absolutely the dawn, in such passages as this one it clearly stands for the daytime. It may be noted that though the expression *nakt-śhāśā*, "Night and Dawn", is found sometimes, the more usual one is *ushāśā-naktā*, "Dawn and Night", as in the two passages mentioned just above; see Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 126.

In the light of these two statements, how can we doubt that the daytime, the elder sister of the night, made before the night, has stood first in the reckoning of the whole Hindū civil day from the earliest time to which we can trace the matter back without entering into the realm of speculation?

J. F. FLEET.

DR. SPOONER, *ASURA MAYA*, MOUNT MERU,
AND *KARSA*

Like Professor Keith (*supra*, pp. 138-43), I am far from being satisfied with the evidence adduced by Dr. Spooner in support of his theory of a Zoroastrian period of Indian history; and I am even somewhat uncertain as to the proposed chronological limits of such a period, an uncertainty which involves the whole subject in vagueness. As to Chandragupta Maurya, I can conceive nothing more naturally Indian than his personal and family names and his whole story. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that Dr. Spooner has made a gallant attempt to deal with a real problem, namely, the extent of that Persian (or, at least, western) influence which is visible in the early architecture, and the particulars of which have been so fully discussed by Professor Grünwedel in his *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*. Even as regards Buddhism, in its second, let us say Gandharian, period, though hardly earlier, an infusion of Zoroastrian, especially iconographic and artistic, conceptions is by no means without probability.

Concerning two matters, namely the suggestions regarding *Asura Maya* and *Mount Meru*, I may venture upon a few comments.

1. *Asura Maya*

Dr. Spooner's proposal to regard *Maya*, for which an early pronunciation *Maža* is perfectly tenable (JRAS. 1906, pp. 205, 463), as an adapted borrowing of *Mazdā* cannot be contested in principle, since such borrowings

are not governed by ascertained phonological laws; on the other hand, they require proof, which must naturally be circumstantial. Dr. Spooner has not, I think, demonstrated any special connexion of *Ahura Mazdā* with architecture, so that the matter has to be considered principally from the Indian side. An interesting point of resemblance between east and west is the *Garuḍa-dhvaja* (*Garutmad-aṅka*), or eagle standard, of Indian troops, which resembles the similarly used Persian standard of *Ahura Mazdā*.

In Sanskrit literature *Maya* is not earlier than the *Mahā-bhārata*. No doubt the word is perfectly explicable as a derivative from the root of *māyā*, "wonder-working power," which is, of course, Vedic; and we might trace it actually in the termination *-maya*. But this is only hypothesis against hypothesis. I should here record a *non liquet*, noting, however, as an evidence for a connexion of *Maya* with astronomy, and therefore possibly with Persia, the fact that the *Sūrya-siddhānta* is ascribed to his authorship.

That an Asura, or demon, is credited with the building of great palaces and cities is of some interest. For there are analogies elsewhere, and not only in ancient Italy, where we hear of

"the far-famed hold
Piled by the hands of giants
For god-like kings of old."

Is it not possible that such legends embody the impression produced upon barbarian conquerors by the spectacle of great monuments of civilization? ¹ I suspect that our Indo-European kindred, when they first penetrated into India, may, like the Hellenic invaders of Greece, the Teutons, Celts, Kassites (?), etc., have found in places a material civilization far in advance of their own. The cities of the demons mentioned in the *Rig-Veda* may have

¹ Cf. Renan's remarks in *Histoire du Peuple d'Israel*, vol. i, c. 5, pp. 64 sqq. JRAS. 1916.

been by no means merely cloud cities¹; and in any case they provide an early germ for the idea of the Asura Maya.

May we not proceed a step further upon the hypothetical trail? Why should we suppose that the Indo-Arians reached the Panjab without any contact with the Mesopotamian civilizations, the influence of which was probably felt (date?) even as far east as the Hindu Kush? To those who hold that they passed from Europe south of the Caspian the knowledge of these civilizations must seem indubitable. Indeed, it is certain that Indo-European tribes were in the second millennium B.C. in historical contact and conflict with Assyria. We may therefore well conceive that the idea of the Asura Maya, if not his name, came into India with the earliest Arian tribes.

Perhaps I may be pardoned if I even venture upon a conjecture concerning the word *Asura* itself. It seems to be still disputed whether the great god of the Assyrians was named from his city or *vice versa*, although the latter view is predominant: in any case he was an imposing national symbol. It has been proposed to regard his name as a borrowing from the early Arian *asura* (see Chadwick in Dr. Moulton's *Early Zoroastrianism*, pp. 31-2, note). May we not, more plausibly, in view of what has been suggested above, conceive that this very title *Asura* (in later Iranian *Ahura*) was derived from the name of the great god of the Assyrians? This is, I think, a tolerable conjecture, for which, however, I would make no higher claim. If it is in accordance with fact, the opposition between *Ahura Mazdā* and the *Dævas* in Zoroastrianism is a conflict between the native Iranian religion and a moralizing creed from Assyria. It will be remembered that for Varuṇa Professor Oldenberg (*Religion des Veda*, pp. 193 sqq.) has suggested a western origin. An Assyrian influence involves, of course, chronological consequences.

¹ On *pur* in the *Rig-Veda*; see Macdonell & Keith, *Vedic Index*, i, pp. 538-40.

2. *Mount Meru*

In point of literary chronology Mount Meru is rather contemporary with *Maya*, since it appears in the *Mahā-bhārata*; it is known to the Buddhist *Jātaka*, *Divyāvadāna*, etc., and even indeed to the earliest Pali books. The theory of a borrowing is, in this case, perfectly tenable. In fact, the evidence is here far stronger than in the case of *Maya*; for the thing (mountain) *Meru* is certainly an importation, as Dr. Spooner and Sir J. H. Marshall agree, and the name, by its variants *Neru*, *Sineru* (probably the sole early Pali form), and *Sumeru*, manifests the hesitation of an alien word.

This is the more probable since Mount Meru belongs to a geographical system which has been supposed to have had a foreign origin. The seven *dvīpas*, at the centre of which it is placed, have been compared (Iranian *Grundriss*, ii, p. 673 and reff.) with the Avestan scheme of seven districts or *karšvars*, and their absence from the Vedic literature tends to confirm the supposition. As the mountain of the gods, Meru would also represent a conception which recurs in the Greek Olympus.

Dr. Spooner's etymological treatment of the name will hardly find supporters. To myself it seems that we ought to start with the form *Sumeru* (which in sense is not a natural compound), whence Meru will have arisen by misunderstanding. Semitic scholars may be able upon this basis to point to a probable etymon; but it should be the name of a real or mythological mountain (e.g. the Tower of Babel), or something suggestive of an astronomical "pole". Doubtless the name Sumer was known down to a sufficiently late time for a borrowing, and the alternative form with *n* (for Shinar is, as Mr. Ellis confirms me in supposing, an equivalent of Sumer) reminds us of *Sineru* by the side of *Sumeru*; but is there any evidence that Sumer was ever conceived as a hill of the gods, or a centre of a system of world-regions?

3. *Karṣa, Kārṣāpana*

After these hypothetical disquisitions an ounce of fact may be welcome, if related to the same subject of borrowing from the West. The word *karṣa* in the sense of a certain weight, whence the coin *kārṣāpana* = *pana*, etc., is regarded by Cunningham (*Coins of Ancient India*, p. 6) as "probably indigenous, as it is derived from *krish*, to mark or furrow". This view is no longer tenable, since the Iranian lexicon provides us with the word *karṣa* in the sense of a certain weight, and Dr. L. H. Gray has already (*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xx, pp. 54-5) equated it to the Sanskrit word. Moreover, the money of the Aramaic colony in Egypt during the sixth century B.C. was reckoned in *karṣas*: see Professor Sachau's *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka* (Leipzig, 1911, Index), E. Meyer, *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine* (Leipzig, 1912, pp. 56 sqq.). Whatever be the ultimate source of the word, whether Egypt or Babylon or elsewhere, it must rank with the Vedic *manā*, or *mina*, as an importation from Western Asia.

F. W. THOMAS.

FONDATION DE GOEJE

COMMUNICATION

1. Le conseil de la fondation, ayant perdu par la mort son membre T. H. Karsten, remplacé en septembre dernier par le docteur K. Kuiper, professeur à l'université d'Amsterdam, est composé comme suit: MM. C. Snouck Hurgronje (président), M. Th. Houtsma, T. J. De Boer, K. Kuiper, et C. Van Vollenhoven (secrétaire-trésorier).

2. Le docteur J. Bergsträsser de Leipsic, dont le voyage en Syrie et en Palestine a été subventionné par la fondation en 1914, a publié en 1915 plusieurs résultats de ses enquêtes.

3. Au mois de septembre, 1915, la fondation a fait paraître chez l'éditeur Brill à Leyde sa deuxième publication, l'édition critique du Kitâb al-Fâkhir d'al-Mufaḍḍal par M. C. A. Storey. Des exemplaires ont été offerts à plusieurs bibliothèques publiques et privées; les autres exemplaires sont en vente chez l'éditeur à 6 florins hollandais.

4. Dans sa dernière réunion le conseil a pris à la charge de la fondation la publication d'une étude de M. I. Goldziher sur le traité d'al-Ghazâlî contre les Bâtinites, dédié par l'auteur au Khalife al-Mustazhir. Le conseil espère que l'œuvre puisse paraître chez l'éditeur Brill au cours de 1916.

5. Le capital de la fondation étant resté le même, le montant nominal est de 21,500 florins (43,000 francs). En outre au mois de novembre, 1915, les rentes disponibles montaient à plus de 3,300 florins (6,600 francs).

6. Il est encore disponible un certain nombre d'exemplaires de la première publication de la fondation, c.à.d. la reproduction photographique de la Hamâsah d'al-Buhturî (1909: manuscrit de Leyde réputé unique); le prix en est de 100 florins hollandais. C'est au profit de la fondation que sont vendus ces exemplaires, ainsi que ceux du Kitâb al-Fâkhir.

Novembre, 1915.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE PRĀBHĀKARA SCHOOL OF PŪRVA MĪMĀNSĀ. By
MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA GANGĀNĀTHA JHĀ. Allahabad,
1911.

This is the thesis which obtained for Dr. Gaṅgānātha Jhā the degree of D. Litt. from the University of Allahabad, and it is a work well deserving that honour by reason both of the intrinsic merit of its composition and the novelty of the contents. It fell to his lot to discover the *Brhatī* of Prabhākara which contains his exposition of the Mīmāṃsā, and thus presents the authentic account of the great rival system of interpretation to that of Kumārila, which has been made accessible in the author's translations of Kumārila's treatises, the *Śloka-vārttika* and *Tantra-vārttika*. The present work gives an account of the Mīmāṃsā, in which for the first time not only is the system set out in considerable detail, but the contrasted views of Prabhākara and Kumārila are given whenever the evidence permits of this being done.

The work is divided into five chapters of varying length and importance. The last, dealing summarily with the Mīmāṃsā principles of interpretation and the legal literature, is superseded by the Tagore Law Lectures on the same topic. The fourth is a sketch of the sacrificial ritual, which is of little importance or value in comparison with the work of Weber, Hillebrandt, and Caland and Henry, though it is almost a necessary adjunct to the volume. The first is a summary account of the history of Mīmāṃsā, and cannot be regarded as very satisfactory as regards the question of the identity of the early Vṛttikāra on the Sūtra of Jaimini, who has elsewhere and here also (p. 179) been identified by the author with

Bhavadāsa or Upavarṣa, but who is certainly neither of these authorities, and who has been identified, though without any adequate ground, by Jacobi¹ with Bodhāyana. It is the Vṛttikāra and not the *Bhāṣya* which cites Upavarṣa as Bhagavān (p. 7). Moreover, the legend which places Śabara in the period 57 B.C. as father of Vikramāditya, Varāhamihira, and Bhartṛhari is clearly utterly valueless for chronology. So also is the tradition which is cited to show that Prabhākara was the pupil of Kumārila, a view which is rightly disposed of by the author, who adduces for the contrary view, that Prabhākara is older than Kumārila, the fact that the *Brhatī* never cites Kumārila's views—the one exception being only apparent—that Kumārila frequently attacks views expressed by Prabhākara, and that in style Prabhākara is more simple and more akin to the tone of the *Bhāṣya* than is Kumārila, whose style shows affinities with that of Śaṅkara. The same impression is to be gathered from the philosophical views of Kumārila, which in some cases at any rate seem clearly improvements deliberately made on those of Prabhākara: thus, in the case of inference, while Prabhākara is content to admit that the result of inference as a Pramāṇa need not be cognition of something not known, Kumārila insists that the essential feature of inference is the bringing out of something which is not actually known: so, when the presence of fire on the mountain is inferred from the existence of smoke, we add a definite new fact to our knowledge, despite the fact that the essential connexion of smoke and fire is the basis of the inference. Again, in the case of Arthāpatti, or presumption, while Prabhākara is satisfied to explain its difference from inference as arising from the fact that, while inference must rest on an assured fact, viz. the presence of smoke, presumption arises from a fact, e.g. the non-presence of X in his house, despite his being

¹ JAOS. xxxi, 13 seqq.

alive, which causes doubt both as to the observed fact of absence and the belief in the life of X, Kumārila on his part finds the doubt to lie, not in the absence or the life, but in the inconsistency of the two, which requires a presumption to remove it.

Chapter ii presents a detailed account of the philosophy proper of Prabhākara and Kumārila, and is of the greatest interest. Both philosophers believed in the absolute accuracy of cognitions as such, and refused to accept the distinction of authoritative and unauthoritative cognitions proposed by the logicians. But it is clear that in this doctrine there lay a confusion between the reality of the cognition as a psychic entity and its validity. Incorrect cognitions are in normal men made by them to rest on defective remembrance in one form or another. Perception is either of external things or of internal states, such as pleasure and pain, desire, aversion, or effort: in either case it is essentially dependent on the contact of mind with the soul, and in the case of external perception there must be, in addition to the contact of mind with soul, the contact of the object with the sense organ, the contact of the qualities of the object with the sense organ, and the contact of the organ with the mind: the mind is atomic, since only thus is there brought about that contact between it and the omnipresent soul which renders the rise of cognition possible. The existence of the sense organs is proved by the variety of experience which could not otherwise be encountered.

The question of self-consciousness is a famous crux of Indian philosophy, and is answered by Prabhākara in the sense that the cognition itself is not an object of mental perception, since that position exposes its holder to the—in India—fatal accusation of a *regressus in infinitum*, since if a perception is necessary to observe a cognition there will be need of another perception to observe it, and so on. The cognition is therefore only a matter of

inference: it is inferred as existing, not cognized at all. The same position is adopted, according to the author, by Kumārila, but it is difficult to see whether this is precisely correct: the *Śāstradīpikā*, cited by the author himself, expressly asserts that the connexion of the self with the object is *mānasapratyakṣagamya* (p. 37). This view, too, seems more in accordance with the opinion held by Kumārila of the relation of the soul to consciousness: in the opinion of Prabhākara the soul is the substratum of consciousness, or is the notion of the I, which is essentially bound up with consciousness, and which is apprehended, but not as object, in every apprehension. On the other hand, the view of Kumārila is that the soul is pure consciousness, and that it is the object of perception by mind (*Śāstradīpikā*, p. 101), a view which would be hardly consistent with a refusal to admit that cognition is the object of mental apprehension. Kumārila in this view thus occupies a position intermediate between the Vedānta and the system of Prabhākara, in that he accepts the identity of the soul and consciousness, but rejects the theory of the self-illumination of soul adopted by the Vedānta. The Vedānta view of soul Prabhākara rejects on the ground that it is inconsistent with the fact of deep sleep, in which the soul exists without consciousness, and the logician's view that soul is perceived by mind is rejected on the usual ground of a *regressus in infinitum*, but his own views of the mode of knowing a cognition and the soul are not very clearly put: he seems, however, to aim at explaining the soul as the subject of knowledge, and a cognition as a state of the soul which cannot be an object of knowledge, being essentially the act of knowing, the energy of the subject called forth by the presence of an object, external or internal. To ascribe to inference the knowledge of the cognition is not, however, a happy idea.

The object given in perception is essentially real: Prabhākara is clearly opposed to the suggestion that it

can be held to be either absolutely unreal or to have merely a mental reality: he insists that in dreams there is really remembrance of actual reality formerly perceived; whatever be the case with the *Vṛttikāra*¹ there is no reason to doubt that he meant to refute the *Vijñānavāda* as much as the *Śūnyavāda*. The objects of perception are substances, qualities, and generality (*jāti*), which he holds to be something different from the individuals in which it is manifested and to be directly perceptible, against the view of Kumārila that it is perceptible only in the individuals in which it inheres. From this there appears to follow the difference between the two in regard to what is the object as cognized: Kumārila treats it as the individual object, neither genus nor differentia being discriminated, while Prabhākara makes it the class character and the specific individuality, but subject to the limitation that the thing is not at first apprehended as actually being an individual belonging to a specific class, a stage which develops with the activity of the soul in the form of remembrance into specific and determinate apprehension, which despite the factor of memory is held by both schools to be capable of giving valid knowledge. It is clear, however, that these three sets, substances, qualities, and generality, do not exhaust the object of perception as stated by the author (p. 37): the category of dependence or inherence (*paratantratā*) is in part at least perceptible, and the same thing would seem to apply to similarity (pp. 89, 90).

Inference in large measure is based on perception; thus the belief that smoke always rises from fire is due to repeated perceptions, eliminating the possibility of error, though the value of negative instances is not recognized by either Prabhākara or Kumārila. Some matters which lie beyond perception are known by inference only, in particular the category of force (*śakti*) can thus only be

¹ See Jacobi, *loc. cit.*

known—a fire burns by virtue of this power: motion or action (*karman*), again, can only thus be known, though Kumārila believes that motion can be directly perceived. In these cases, however, there is a certain connexion with perception: the actual movement is not visible but the changed position is; the power of the fire to burn is invisible but the result is seen. But the nature of inference is not further investigated, nor is there any trace of a recognition of the fact that inference and perception are not really in ultimate essence separable as instruments of knowledge, being but different aspects of *one* process.

The other Pramāṇas are of much less interest: Anumāna is the recognition that something not present in perception is similar to something present in perception, the similarity of which to the thing not present is directly perceived. Arthāpatti has been mentioned above, and the doctrine of the eternity of the connexion of word—composed of letters—and meaning, and of the word itself with its authoritative character, if not uninteresting in some of its developments, such as the question of the use of words as merely denotative and the controversy between Prabhākara's view that words have meaning only in sentences of command, and Kumārila's acceptance of meaning of words *per se*, is not of philosophic importance.

In the categories set up by the two schools Kumārila differs considerably from Prabhākara in reckoning in Abhāva in four distinct forms, prior negation, utter destruction, absolute negation, and mutual negation, just as he admits Abhāva as a Pramāṇa in face of Prabhākara's refusal to recognize it. His positive categories are but four, substance, quality, action, and generality, to which Prabhākara adds inherence, force, and similarity: the last is expressly denied to be a category by Kumārila, and he seems to have rejected the other two as definitely included under substance. The inherence (*samavāya*) of the

logicians he treated as merely a form of the things themselves. In the case of substance both agree in reckoning as such earth, water, fire, and air, which are perceptible, and ether, soul, mind, space, and time, which must, it seems, be ascertained by a species of inference; to these Kumārila adds darkness and sound. Darkness Prabhākara rejects as being merely absence of light, but, as he holds that the ether is inferred as the substratum of sound, it is not clear why he does not include it in his categories. Both agree in treating the soul as distinct from the body, which is, however, essentially related to it as the soul has experience only as connected with mind in a definite body, from the senses, and, according to Prabhākara, from the Buddhi. It is omnipresent but limited by mind, and eternal, and there are many souls, not one only as held by the Vedānta, a fact proved by the necessity we are under of attributing to other souls action which we perceive, and the distinct Dharma and Adharma which accompany different bodies, and are not experienced by any soul not connected with that body. The two schools, however, differ as to the exact nature of the soul, whether as pure consciousness or as the substratum of consciousness. But both concur in denying the existence of God: He is required neither to superintend the origin and destruction of the world, which do not take place at any one moment but proceed unceasingly, nor to apportion merit and demerit, which cannot as subtle qualities of souls be affected by anything save soul itself, and the universe has "to be regarded as a never-ending process of things coming into existence and passing out of it, under the influence of the Dharma and Adharma of the souls ensouling the bodies coming into touch with those things" (pp. 87, 88). The final end is the destruction of the present body and the non-production of any future body, whereupon the soul ceases to have any experience whatever, and can know neither freedom from pain nor

positive bliss. In view of this fact it is difficult to deny that Prabhākara's view that the soul is not pure consciousness is superior to that of Kumārila, which no doubt under Vedānta influence asserts it is such consciousness; and this, as consciousness involves experience, is clearly a contradiction in terms.

With the view of soul as the substrate well agrees the assignment to it by Prabhākara of the qualities of Buddhi, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, effort, destiny, and Saṁskāra. Destiny, which takes the form of Dharma or Adharma, whose positive content is determined by scripture alone, is the guiding power of the soul, but the Saṁskāra is of great importance, as it is that which accounts for the remembrance of a previous cognition, whence the rendering "faculty" adopted by the author. The relation of these well-known powers is seen in dreams: the possibility of dreams is presented by Saṁskāra, the character of the dream experience by destiny.

Compared with the many points of interest raised in chapter ii, the following chapter must be regarded as of minor interest, though it contains a full analysis of the Mīmāṃsā system, and adds largely to our knowledge of its reasonings. It is rare to find anything obviously wrong in the author's views, such as the doctrine that the metrical portions of the Yajurveda are comparatively modern (p. 115), which seems based on some misunderstanding. Special value attaches to the determined effort (pp. 159-67) to make clear the doctrine of the result of sacrifice, operating as Apūrva according to Kumārila, or as Niyoga according to Prabhākara, whose view in this case is frankly found defective by the author.

The lasting value attaching to this learned and thoughtful work should not have been lessened by the deplorable transliteration adopted, the large number of misprints, and the flimsiness of the binding.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

THE SWEETS OF REFUTATION. An English Translation of the Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādyā of Śrīharṣa. By G. THIBAUT and GAṄGĀNĀTHA JHĀ. Allahabad, 1913.

It is clear that the responsibility for the translation of the famous work of Śrīharṣa rests with Dr. Gaṅgānātha Jhā, whose name indeed alone appears as the translator of the second volume of the work, the part played by Dr. Thibaut having been confined to giving assistance in the rendering of the earlier portion of the text. It is well that the work should have been translated: the author prides himself on having introduced hard knots in order to repel the wicked and ignorant, which is another way of saying that he has made the work as difficult as he could. We have therefore to deal, not with obscurity caused by profundity of thought, but with the same foolish absurdity which induced poets to seek distinction by perversion of language and search for the recondite, of which Harṣa's own *Naiṣadhīya* is a good specimen. But the value of this text as a specimen of Indian dialectic is sufficiently great to justify the labour spent on making a version of it: if even after all the efforts of the translator there remain many dark passages, that is a matter of no real importance, as the book is destitute of constructive thought of any real kind.

The object of Harṣa is to prove that the logicians with their assumption of the reality of existence were guilty of a complete blunder, and his mode of doing so is the simple one of taking each of the definitions set up by the Nyāya school and proving it to be untenable. This he does for all their *Pramāṇas*, their categories, and the various forms of reasoning. The process is supposed to prove that everything is *anirvacanīya*, and the logician is confronted with the dilemma that either the arguments and the conclusions of Harṣa are correct and his definitions are wrong, or that the arguments are wrong, and, as they are based strictly on the principles of logic, there must be

something fundamentally wrong in these principles. This is of course eristic of the worst type, and though it is the part of the work on which Harṣa inordinately prides himself its absolute value may be regarded as *nil*.

More interest attaches to the positive position which lies at the basis of Harṣa's views: as against the Naiyāyikas he denies the reality of the external world, in this agreeing with the Śūnyavāda of Buddhism, but he parts from that school in their denial of the reality of consciousness, and accepts with the Vijñānavāda the views that consciousness is real. But from this school he diverges by asserting, as against the many, momentary, and constantly changing consciousnesses accepted by them, the real existence of one consciousness, non-differentiated and eternal, which is necessarily self-evidenced, and cannot be proved by anything else. As against the Naiyāyikas this position is maintained on the authority of the Veda, which is recognized as valid by that school, and it is defended against the argument that perception reveals difference on the ground that perception shows difference merely between things, and cannot differentiate between cognitions and things, or between several cognitions. Therefore cognitions cannot be differentiated, and we are driven to the view that apparent differences between things are mere false appearances, created by the cosmic defect Māyā, attached inexplicably to the principle of undifferentiated consciousness, just as in the individual error is due to defect of the mind or sense apparatus. Again, the difference stated to be perceived by the individual among different things cannot be proved: if the difference inheres in the things, then they are really related as identical, in virtue of having the same thing inherent in them, while, if it does not inhere, there arises the need of establishing a *tertium quid* to mediate between difference on the one hand and the things which differ on the other, leading to a *regressus in infinitum*. The obvious reply that the Vedic texts on

which the Vedānta theory is built are diverse is met by the admission of the relative and conventional reality of these texts, but a denial of their absolute reality. As against the Vijñānavāda, on the other hand, stress is laid on the fact that the ordinary view that the object and the cognizer are essentially different is contradicted by the fact that there is cognition of the I where the subject and object of cognition are one, and the view that the cognition and the object are different is contradicted by the fact that if this were so the consciousness "I know" in which the cognition is also the object cognized would be impossible. The doctrine of Prabhākara, according to which a cognition is apprehended in the process of apprehension of the object of the cognition, is rejected, because in the Vedānta view pure consciousness has, properly speaking, no object, and consciousness is declared to be self-evidenced from its very nature. Whereas the Buddhist view is that all things cannot be defined, and are devoid of any assignable nature or character, the Vedāntins declare that absolute reality belongs to consciousness alone, while all else is neither absolutely real nor yet absolutely unreal, the latter statement being due to the fact that otherwise there would be flat contradiction with experience. It is clear that the position of the Vedāntin is an excessively difficult one, and Harṣa cannot be said to make it effective.

In the opinion of the translator it must be assumed that the Vedānta of Śaṅkara was really a compromise between the thoroughgoing idealism of the Buddhist Vijñānavāda and the orthodoxy of the Vedic philosophers, and he expressly rejects the view that the doctrine of Śaṅkara is adumbrated in the Upaniṣads. This doctrine, which is that adopted in some degree by Jacobi, though he admits that the Māyā theory arose first in some Aupaniṣada school, is not, however, supported by any very cogent reasoning. The similarity between the Vijñānavāda and the Vedānta is patent and undeniable: the *vyāvahāriki sattā* of the

Vedānta has a parallel in the *samvṛti sattā* of the Buddhists. But it is impossible to accept as a serious argument the statement (i. p. xii) that "Buddhism was from the very beginning essentially such as we find it in the Tripitaka—a philosophy of idealistic nihilism, which holds (1) that the fruitful source of all error was the unfounded belief in the reality and existence of the external world, (2) that all known or knowable objects are relative to a conscious subject, and (3) the whole phenomenal world is a mere illusion". That this was the primitive form of Buddhism will have to be proved with definite arguments of a very decided type, and what is still more important it would have to be shown that the pure idealism of the Vedānta with the belief in the sole reality of a single consciousness is not found in several important passages of the earliest Upaniṣads. It is wholly unnecessary to suppose that Śaṅkara and his predecessor Gauḍapāda were not influenced deeply by the Śūnyavāda and the Vijñānavāda of the Buddhists, but it is certainly as yet the most natural view to hold that the extreme idealism of the Upaniṣads led in the case of Buddhism to the development of a nihilism, which after maintaining itself for a period in the Śūnyavāda was brought into less flagrant contradiction with common sense in the Vijñānavāda, and indeed later Dharmakīrti is credited with going so far as to declare as absolutely real the series of *kṣaṇas*. Such a view of the development of the schools is much more probable than one which ascribes to Buddhism the origination of a nihilism without a direct precursor in the idealism of the Upaniṣads which leads at once to nihilism by its denial of the activity of the Brahman, which is made to consist of consciousness without thought: a conception which stands in the most pronounced contrast to the Aristotelian conception of the divine nature. From the Brahman of the Upaniṣads, as conceived in the doctrine attributed to Yājñavalkya, to nihilism is merely a logical step, and it was evidently taken by the Buddhists,

but not by the Vedānta school, of which Śaṅkara is the most brilliant exponent.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

THE DIARY OF ANANDA RANGA PILLAI, Vol. III

There are many who will welcome the third volume¹ of the Diary after a particularly long delay of eight years; and their welcome will not be in any way less warm than that which they accorded to the former volumes. There is a general feeling that the examination and translation of the diary are in the right hands; and that when the work is finished we shall have a valuable piece of testimony from an unusual point of view as to what happened on "the coast" at a critical period in the history of the Honourable East India Company's Coromandel settlements.

The third volume deals with the period between October 19, 1746, and March 14, 1747, only five months, but months full of historical importance to the French and English Companies. It has always been a source of wonder that the diary was written at all. To keep a diary or to preserve historical records is entirely contrary to the genius of the Dravidians of the South. This volume affords some clue to the discovery of the reason for so wide a departure from the national habit. Between pp. 365 and 382 Ranga Pillai records his own opinion of himself, his cleverness, his keenness of intellect, his boldness of conception, his extraordinary qualifications as a Minister of State, and his success as a diplomatist. He had a very high opinion of his own importance and abilities. The diary was not so much intended as a true record of what happened from day to day, as to hand down to posterity the greatness and the importance of Ananda Ranga Pillai.

¹ Obtainable from any of the agents in England or in India for the sale of Madras Government publications, price Rs. 3 or 4s. 6d.

M. Dupleix seems to have consulted him in all important matters of state, and especially in the transaction of affairs with the country powers around. His influence at the time was immense. No wonder that he had so high an opinion of himself; and that he kept a diary to place his actions, which were quite judicious and wise, upon record, for the future admiration of his children's children. There is no evidence that he had any intention of publishing his diary for the information of the world in general; if there was any intention at the back of his mind, it was that his own family and descendants should know the story of his power and importance. They would probably learn of the greatness and the power of Dupleix. He wished them to understand that Ranga Pillai was greater and more powerful; that he was the superior person whose advice was taken by Dupleix in preference to acting on his own decision, not only in commercial and municipal matters but in political and military matters also.

One of the principal events of the period was the treacherous dealing of Dupleix with the English merchants regarding the treaty they entered into with Admiral de la Bourdonnais. In the name of their own masters they made a definite arrangement with the French Admiral in the name of his master, the King of France. Dupleix recognized the binding force of the treaty; but he made it impossible for the English Governor and Council to observe the conditions. He then tore up the treaty and took possession of Madras and all that it contained. This is now common knowledge; but the diary may still be read with profit, to see how one step led to another in the sequence of events during which Dupleix successfully twisted one purpose to another.

Ranga Pillai not only had money and influence at his command; he had also a body of trained spies by whom he made his inquiries. Requested by Dupleix to discover where the English concealed their treasure, he set his spies

to work and mentioned some places they had heard of, including *the well of the English Church*. Is it possible that the old Church plate, presented by Governor Yale and other worthies, was concealed in this way?

Another important event was the defeat of Nawab Mahfuz Khan and his Arcot army of Muhammadan soldiers by M. Paradis with a comparatively small force of French soldiers, Africans, and Mahé Sepoys. The translators deal at some length in the Appendix with the probable site of this victory. Yet it seems to be quite plain from Orme's narrative that the attack was *close to the town* of Mylapore; that when Mahfuz Khan's troops gave way they found themselves at once among the houses, which were the secondary cause of their confusion. This could not have happened if the scene of the attack had been that accorded to it by local tradition, which appears to be hardly worth a second thought.

The diarist records that the English merchants were not treated as prisoners by Dupleix. They looked forward to the time when they would redeem their fort and their town; they were received as honoured guests at Pondicherry. Meanwhile Dupleix and Ranga Pillai plotted with the Nawab of Arcot as to the easiest method of getting final possession of the East India Company's property on the coast. As to the movable property, a great part of it was lost in the storm which succeeded the capture of the Fort. Much of it had been hidden in the town of Mylapore, and was looted by the French when they defeated the army of Mahfuz Khan. There was no chance of recovery.

The victory of Paradis incensed the Nizam against the Nawabs of Arcot, and the latter against the French; so that the Nawabs continued to act in a friendly way to the English at Fort St. David, and probably prevented the French from taking possession of it. On one occasion the French were driven back to Pondicherry with the loss

of nearly all their supplies. Soon after Dupleix persuaded the Arcot Nawabs by means of bribes and promises to co-operate with him instead of opposing him. The result was that the Nawabs struck their camps near Fort St. David; and that the French attacked the Fort and nearly succeeded in taking it. The opportune arrival of a British fleet saved it.

It is a pleasure to notice the care with which the translation has been made. There are a few little matters with which we might quarrel. For instance, Peddunayakkan on p. 98 is an official title, not a personal name. On p. 211 occurs the phrase "Be off with you, sir"; and we wonder what the original Tamil is; it can hardly be the restrained ceremonious formula of dismissal in common use. Once again, on p. 290 Governor Morse is referred to in the text as "General" at Madras; and the translators write after it "*(sic)*" as if it were the mistake of the diarist and not of themselves. But there is no mistake. It was the term in use by the Company to indicate a person who had more than local authority; they applied it to those whom they occasionally gave a wider authority to supervise their affairs in India. It is the origin of the second part of the title Governor-General.

These little criticisms do not affect our gratitude to all concerned in the production of the volume. We are especially grateful to the Government of Madras and the translators, who have set to work only just in time to prevent portions of the record being lost through decay. We hope that another volume will soon make its appearance.

FRANK PENNY.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MYSORE ARCHEOLOGICAL
DEPARTMENT FOR THE YEAR 1914-15. By R.
NARASIMHACHAR. Fol.; pp. 71, with 22 plates.

We have learned to look forward every year with anticipation to the appearance of Mr. Narasimhachar's

Reports, knowing that he always has something interesting to tell and something beautiful to show. And this year again we are not disappointed. Here are recorded, and excellently illustrated, the surveys of a large number of sites of great archæological interest and æsthetic charm, chiefly temples of the Hoysala period, among which we may mention, as particularly beautiful, the Gaṅgā-dharēśvara temple at Śivagaṅga (probably early twelfth century), the exquisitely carved Lakshminārayaṇa at Hosaholalu, the Brahmēśvara at Kikkēri (A.D. 1171), the Pañchalinga at Gōvindanhalī (middle of thirteenth century), the Jain *bastis* of Kambadahallī, the Saumya-kēśava of Nāgamāṅgala, and the Mallikārjuna at Basarāl (A.D. 1235), a perfect little gem of the Hoysala style. Several interesting epigraphical finds are also recorded, notably a grant referring itself to the reign of a Gaṅga king Vijaya-Kṛishṇavarman, son of Mādhavavarman; if this is authentic, it introduces a new complication into the knotty problem of the early Gaṅga history.

L. D. B.

VILLAGE FOLK TALES OF CEYLON. Collected and translated by H. PARKER, late of the Irrigation Department, Ceylon. 3 vols. London, 1910-14.

The indefatigable author of *Ancient Ceylon* (London, 1909) has presented us with a most valuable collection of village folk-tales, which he has gathered during his long stay in the island of Ceylon, principally in the north-central and north-western provinces. During the years 1878-80, when I was busy about my inscription work in these provinces, I spent many days in the company of Mr. Parker, who was then officer in the Irrigation Department. From sunrise to sunset he used to visit his tanks, and in the evening, when other people went to sleep, he sat up with the natives listening to their stories and copying them from their dictation. The result of this

work, which has been carried on during thirty years, lies now before us in the shape of three handsome volumes.

Mr. Parker has arranged his stories in two parts. In the first one are those told by members of the cultivating caste and village Vaeddās; in the second one those related of or by members of lower castes. The stories of the lower castes again are divided as follows: (1) stories of the potters, (2) stories of the tom-tom beaters, (3) stories of the washermen, (4) stories of the Durayās, (5) stories of the Rodiyās, (6) stories of the Kinnarās. Besides these stories of the northern and north-western provinces we have, in the third volume (pp. 193-407), a chapter containing stories of the western province of Ceylon and of Southern India.

A great number of these stories have parallels in the collections of tales belonging to the Continent of India, as the Pañcatantra, the Hitopadeṣa, the Kathāsaritsāgara, the Kathākoṣa, the Jātaka, etc. Mr. Parker has taken great trouble to append these parallels at the end of each tale and also those taken from the folk-tales of Tibet, the *Cinq cents contes et apologues tirés du Tripitaka Chinois* (Chavannes), the folklore of the Santal Parganas, the Chinese Nights entertainments (Fielde), the Arabian Nights, Reynard the Fox in Southern Africa (Dr. Bleek), etc. He has given no European variants, and in this he was perfectly right, as otherwise the book would have assumed double the size of what it is now.

Mr. Parker has paid great attention to the connexion which has existed between Ceylon and some parts of Central India (p. 37). He thinks that some of the stories may have been transmitted by immigrants from South India or even from the valley of the Ganges, and, in order to corroborate this opinion, he quotes passages from Niṣṣanka Malla's and Sāhasa Malla's inscriptions at Polonnaruwa (p. 38). This holds good especially for tales of Indian animals as the lion, which has never existed in a wild state

in Ceylon. These tales may have originated in Kālinga or Magadha or Bengal, and may have passed to Kashmir on the one side and to Ceylon on the other.

At the end of the third volume (pp. 419 ff.) Mr. Parker gives the Sinhalese text of some of his stories. The idea was suggested to him by Professor Geiger of Erlangen, who believes that they will be of interest to philological students, retaining as they do some old grammatical forms which elsewhere have been abandoned. Mr. Parker points out some of these peculiar forms on the pages immediately preceding the Sinhalese texts (pp. 413-19), and I shall add a few remarks concerning these forms.

p. 413. A genitive form of nouns and pronouns in *ae* or *lae* is mentioned, which, according to Mr. Parker's statement, is not included in Guṇasekara's grammar. Now a genitive in *ae* (which is, properly speaking, the locative termination) occurs already in the Mahākālaṭṭaewa inscription belonging to the eleventh century. See my *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon* (London, 1882), pp. 10, 55, 77. With the termination *lae* we may compare the plurals in *lā* as *ayyālā*, the noblemen, *dālā*, the daughters. See Geiger, *Literatur und Sprache der Sinhalesen* in Bühler's *Grundriss der indoarischen Philologie*, p. 58 f. Guṇasekara, p. 350, derives this *lā* from the Hindi *loga*, "people," but I cannot agree with him.

p. 415. Mr. Parker draws our attention to the irregularity in the indefinite forms of the termination of feminine nouns. Thus we have *gaeniyak* and *gaeniyek* in the feminine, but always *minihek* in the masculine. This irregularity occurs already in the inscriptions of the eleventh century (see my *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*, p. 11). Geiger, l.l., p. 63, says that originally the termination of the masculines was *ek*, of the feminines and neuters *ak*, but that the confusion began very early. Thus in the Ummagga Jātaka we have *vaḍuvek* and *vaḍuvak*, "a carpenter." In the modern language the termination *ek*

is used for animated beings and the termination *ak* for inanimate, e.g. *minihek*, "a man," *anganek*, "a woman," *rukak*, "a tree," *gayak*, "a house."

p. 415. Mr. Parker deals with the postposition *atin* = Skt. *hastena*, which means "of" or "from". This word is occasionally mentioned, but not explained in Guṇasekara's grammar, p. 80. The oldest passages where this word occurs are the slab inscriptions of Kassapa V at Anurādhapura (*Epigraphia Zeylanica*, vol. i, No. 4), line 38, and the inscription on the pillar near Mineri tank (*Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*, No. 123), A 47, 53, B 46. Both inscriptions belong to the tenth century.

One of the most interesting stories in the whole collection is No. 188, vol. iii, pp. 38-40: "The Time of Scholars." It is the story of a certain *Dikpiṭiya*, most probably a native of *Dippitigama*, a village in the north-western province. In close connexion with this is No. 204, vol. iii, pp. 112-14: "How a girl took gruel." Mr. Parker compares these stories with the questions and answers asked and given by Mahosadha and Amarā in the Jātaka No. 546 (vol. vi, pp. 364 ff.), and Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, p. 134. He might have also mentioned the story of Mahaushadha and Amarā in the Mahāvastu, ii, pp. 83 ff., which is very closely connected with the Jātaka, as pointed out by A. Barth in *Journal des Savants*, 1899, p. 626. Senart, in his edition of the Mahāvastu, ii, p. 512, compares only the Sūcijātaka (Jāt. iii, pp. 281 ff.) and the Story of the Nobleman who became a Needlemaker in Beal's *Romantic History of the Buddha*, p. 93, which forms the second part of the legend as given in the Mahāvastu (ii, 87-9). Unfortunately the readings in the Mahāvastu are very corrupt, and it is not possible to make out the sense of every stanza.

I shall mention here a few other stories of particular interest:—

1. Parker, ii, 23: "Concerning a Royal Prince and

a Princess." Mr. Parker compares the *Vaṭṭakajātaka* (Jāt. i, 212-14) and several stories from the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and other collections. He might also have mentioned the *Vartakāpotajātaka* in *Jātakamālā*, No. xvi, and *Cariyā-piṭaka*, iii, 9.

2. Parker, iii, 94-8: "The Wicked Stepmother." Parker compares the *Jātakas* No. 120 (i, 437) and 472 (iv, 192). This is the story of Joseph and the wife of Potiphar or of Phædra and Hippolytus, and is common in various forms in India. The introductory story of both *Jātakas*, No. 120 as well as No. 472, is that of the nun *Ciñcā*, who falsely declared that she had become pregnant by the Buddha. It occurs also in the commentary to *Dhammapada*, verse 176 (ap. Fausböll, pp. 338 ff.) and in the *Apadāna* (*Actes du dixième congrès international des Orientalistes*, ii, 166 f.). The corresponding story in the texts of the Northern Buddhists is that about *Abhiya* (*Mahāvastu*, i, 35-45). This *Abhiya* had falsely accused *Nanda*, the disciple of the Buddha *Sarvābhīhū*, of incontinence committed with the daughter of the merchant *Uttiya*. Afterwards, regretting this bad action, he went to the Buddha *Sarvābhīhū* and confessed his fault. *Sarvābhīhū* accepts his confession and promises him that he will one day become a Buddha at *Kapilavastu* under the name of *Čakya*muni. The daughter of the merchant *Uttiya*, however, cannot forgive him his false accusation. In order to revenge herself she threatens to persecute him with similar accusations during all the subsequent births that he will have to pass before reaching the *bodhi*.

The development of the story of *Ciñcā* is very dramatic. We learn from the introductory story to *Jātaka* 472 and from the Chinese version of *Hiuen-Tsang* (*Résumé*, *Foë Kouë Ki*, p. 183 f.) that she fastened about her belly pieces of wood in a bundle in order to show that she was pregnant, and in this shape reviled the Buddha in the midst of the assembly. Just at that moment *Sakka's*

throne became hot. He determined to clear up this matter, and came thither with four gods in his company. The gods took on themselves the shape of mice, and all at once gnawed through the cords that bound the bundle of wood, which fell down at her feet. The earth yawned, Cīncā fell to the lowest hell, and there was born again. Hiuen Tshang tells us in the description of his voyage that he has seen the cleft in which Cīncā disappeared.

Another version of the same story is the *Sundarikāya vatthu*. It is to be found in the commentary to *Dhammapada*, verse 306, but is not given *in extenso* by Fausböll, p. 394. Leon Feer, who has published a translation of this story in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1897, believes that it is the older of the two versions, as it omits the bundle of wood and the intervention of Indra, and I agree with him on this point.

3. Vol. i, p. 145, draws our attention to the *Ayogharajāataka* (No. 510, Fausböll, iv, 491 ff.), where an iron house is built where a king's son is confined for sixteen years in order to preserve him from a female yakā who had carried off two children born previously. He might have compared also the Sanskrit version of the story in *Jātakamālā*, No. xxxii, and *Cariyāpiṭaka*, iii, 3.

There are many more interesting stories in Parker's book, but I will confine myself to the above-mentioned, and once more congratulate the author for the good and solid work he has given us in these volumes.

E. MÜLLER.

BERNE, January, 1916.

KEIGWIN'S REBELLION (1683-4). An Episode in the History of Bombay. By RAY and OLIVER STRACHEY. Oxford Historical and Literary Studies, No. 6. Clarendon Press, 1916.

The authors of this book have made much research of books and records to give in it a full and true account

of this interesting episode when most of the British inhabitants of Bombay rebelled against the East India Company, confined the Deputy Governor, and held the island in the name and on behalf of the King for about a year.

After reading the book one is left in no doubt that there were many errors or wrong views of persons, motives, and matters in the accounts given by previous writers, and that the rebellion originated, as is stated in the Introduction, in the despotism of the Court of Directors dominated by Sir Josia Child, who appointed the unpopular but subservient John Child as President, forced on the reluctant Anglo-Indian community a policy of retrenchment and disarmament quite incompatible with what they knew to be necessary for the prestige and even security of the English Bombay when the forces of the Moghul and the Mahrattas close around had them at their mercy, and were only hindered by their own rivalries from swallowing them up. It was evident too that the grievance of the soldiers as to their pay and allowances, which the Court more than once declined to listen to, was just; they were grossly cheated; nor can there be doubt that the reduction in their number was another cause of trouble.

The story is well told in a pleasing way, with a fair sense of humour.

THE CEYLON ANTIQUARY AND LITERARY REGISTER. Vol. I,
Parts 1 and 2. Edited by H. C. P. BELL and JOHN M.
SENAVERATNE. Colombo, 1915.

Our friends in Ceylon are to be congratulated on the appearance of this new quarterly, which is welcomed by this Society, with the hope, however, that it does not indicate the decadence of the Ceylon Asiatic Society's Journal. The articles in these two parts, headed by one on Buddhaghosa and his work by Sir Robert

Chalmers, until lately Governor of Ceylon, are good and varied. The Rev. Suriyagoda Sumangala on "The Dhammapada and its Commentary", W. F. Gunawardhana on "Parakrama VI and his 'Alter Ego'", Dr. H. Meerwarth on "Sinhalese Folklore", H. C. Bell on "Kirtti Nissanka and the Tula-bhara Ceremony, and on Letter from the Kandyan Court, 1726", H. W. Codrington on Numismatics, and E. W. Perera on "The School Thombo-holder" as examples show how varied they are. Notes and Queries, Reviews of Books, etc., make up the two well-edited and well-printed large quarto parts.

The list of papers and notes on hand shows that the Editors have good material for the following parts, which we shall welcome with hope that nothing may hinder the course of the *Ceylon Antiquary* for many years.

THE RAJPUTS, A FIGHTING RACE. By THAKUR SHRI JESSRAJSINGHJI SEESODIA. East and West, Ltd., 1915.

This handsome and finely illustrated quarto book is written by one who himself is of the Rajput race, of which the Seesodia is a prominent clan, with a view to "especially interest the British public in the ruling class of Indian Society, whose loyal action at the present moment calls for an appreciative understanding of its motives" (p. ix).

After a chapter of good general description of the Indian Empire, including a very useful list of the Native States, their area, population, revenue, etc., and the name, title, and race of the reigning princes, are four chapters on the Rajputs, their bravery, code of honour, obligations to the British Raj, and the services rendered by them in past and present times. The history is well told as by an enthusiast, and so is the description of the race and its chiefs. There is a chapter, too, giving an account of the leading Rajput rulers in the Mutiny and

present times, illustrated with many excellent portrait plates of them, some in fine Oriental State dress, some in semi-European dress, and some in British uniform.

In other chapters the author contends strongly that the Princes of India should be made an Advisory Body to counsel the Government of India in all matters of administration and policy, and with a title such as that of Councillors of the Emperor have a voice in Imperial matters too. Also that the military capacity of the Rajput princes should not be confined to command of their own State's troops, but be used in the service of the whole Indian Army, made open to them up to the highest ranks. These are large subjects not to be gone into here and now. Mr. Seesodia must have patience. Many changes will take place after the War, but he may be sure that the whole nation does and will appreciate the magnificent help given by the Indian princes in men, money, and materials, as well as the valour and devotion of their troops, in this War.

It is hoped, too, that the British people will read this book and so know more about the fighting Rajputs, although they may be, as the author says they are (p. 23), a "people whose distaste for general information is notorious".

RECENT ARABIC LITERATURE

The War has evidently not interfered with the publication of Arabic texts. Works in this department comprising from 5,000 to 6,000 pages have been issued in England, Holland, and Egypt during the last few months; and it is likely that other countries have also not a little to show. Of the Egyptian texts it must be said that their typography has reached something like perfection; the Khedivial Library which ushers these works into the world has employed in addition to the Government Press at Boulak those of the Muqtataf, the Hilâl, the Manâr, and the Ma'ârif; and it is hard to say which of the five

presses has produced the most beautiful work. Whether, however, the person who reads through all this mass is likely to be much wiser than he was before is open to doubt; the matter (except in the case of Qalqashandi's treatise) seems to be, at any rate for the most part, familiar, if not commonplace.

The first place must be assigned to the *Luma'* of Abu Nasr b. 'Alī al-Sarrāj al-Ṭūsī (ob. 378 A.H. = 988 A.D.), conscientiously and excellently edited for the Gibb Trust by Dr. R. A. Nicholson. It is a treatise on ethical Sūfism, a subject on which the editor's authority is very high. Besides editing the text he has provided it with an analysis of contents, a glossary, and indices. The author was a contemporary of Abū Ṭalīb al-Makki, whose *Qūt al-Qulūb* is not only much lengthier but in every way more instructive. The *Luma'* is in the main a collection of stories and sayings illustrative of asceticism, and they indicate, what is of some interest, that in the Moslem cities of the fourth century A.H. the Sūfis formed communities, to which letters could be addressed, and which therefore must have had some sort of organization, though actual *orders* did not yet exist. How far any credence is to be attached to the stories told about the saints is of course doubtful; the hagiographer in all countries lets his imagination carry him where it will. This writer professes to give some actual letters by famous saints in a chapter devoted to their correspondence. These may or may not be apocryphal; if the letter of Junaid be genuine, this personage would seem to have paid much more attention to the sound than to the sense of what he wrote. The reason which he alleges for delaying to reply is that a former letter of his was opened before it reached his correspondent, and its contents were divulged against his wishes. The letter which the *Luma'* preserves is so vague and uncompromising that no one could suffer by its publication.

Dr. Nicholson observes that Ibn al-Sarrāj accepts the etymology of *Ṣūfī* from *ṣūf* "wool", but he certainly exhibits no desire to reject other etymologies, and endeavours to show that the word *Ṣūfī* was known to Ḥasan al-Baṣrī before the foundation of Baghdad, and even in the days of Paganism. The source of the latter statement is easily discovered; it occurs in the work of Azraqī, p. 128, where it is said to mean "member of the family *Ṣūfah*", identified with one Akhzanī, who by making of his son a slave of the Ka'bah had acquired certain rights connected with the Pilgrimage. These Banū *Ṣūfah* are mentioned by Ibn Duraid in his tribal etymology, and the name may indeed be ancient, since in 1 Sam. i, 1 Samuel's genealogy is traced to a man named *Ṣūf*. This, however, will not help the author's theory that *Ṣūfī* in the sense "ascetic" is pre-Islamic, which is of the same value as his illustration from the name taken by the Christian Apostles, *ḥawāriyyūn*, which he renders "wearers of white", but which really means "messengers". This also disposes of the story of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, who said he had seen a *Ṣūfī* making the circuit of the Ka'bah, doubtless with reference to the tribe *Ṣūfah*. The remaining example is not very felicitous: Sufyān al-Thaurī said that had it not been for Abū Ḥāshim the *Ṣūfī* he would never have known the exact meaning of hypocrisy. Sufyān died many years after the foundation of Baghdad, the citizens of which are said to have invented the term, and one may suspect that *Ṣūfī* is corrupt for *Kūfī*. What appears from Azraqī is that the use of the word for tribesman of *Ṣūfah* is earlier than any association of it with asceticism; and owing to the latter association the tribe was presently credited with this practice. This appears in Samānī's gloss and the *Tāj al-Arūs*.

The *Fākhīr* of al-Mufaḍḍal Ibn Salama, edited from MSS. at Constantinople and Cambridge by C. A. Storey, M.A., printed for the Trustees of the de Goeje Fund,

Leyden, Brill, 1915. This is a work much in the style of the *Amthāl al-ʿArab* of the same author (ob. 290 A.H.), published in Constantinople 1300 A.H., and containing the interpretation and supposed origin of various Arabic phrases. The editing appears to be very careful and scholarly. From the nature of the case the bulk (if not the whole) of the matter is already familiar, as Arabic authors are never tired of parading this kind of learning. The great storehouse called *Lisān al-ʿArab* appears to contain most, if not all, the glosses, while Maidānī's collection of proverbs has a large proportion of the stories. Perhaps the book may contain some *sharwāhid* (proof-verses) and details which have not previously seen the light. Mufaḍḍal is a comparatively late grammarian, and some of the works whence he drew appear to be in existence. Still, the merits of the editor are in no way diminished by these facts, and his work will count as a contribution to the history of Arabic glossology.

The *Khaṣā'is* of ʿUthmān Ibn Jinnī, vol. i, Khedivial Library Series. Cairo, 1914. Of the author of this work, who died 392 A.H., Yāqūt has a copious biography, excerpted in the preface. The number of pages of vol. i is 569, and we are told that a second is to follow, though it is not stated whether it will be the last. It deals with the philosophy of language, and one of the (apparently very few) interesting passages which it contains, on the question whether speech is conventional or inspired, is quoted by Suyūṭī in his *Muzhir* (2nd ed., i, 7). The Cairene editor appears to be ignorant of Persian, since (p. 43) he gives *mardun* and *sirrun* as Persian words, whereas they should of course be *mard* and *sar*. In general, however, he has done his work well. Ibn Jinnī's matter is ordinarily of little value. Thus he has a lengthy discussion showing that the Arabs care more for sense than for form; his argument is that properly the infinitive of the quadriliteral forms of the trilateral verb

should have been assimilated to that of the quadriliterals proper; the Arabs gave the former separate infinitives in order that the significance of the additions to the stem should not be blurred.

On p. 393 there is a notice which the present writer does not remember to have seen elsewhere, but which may conceivably be of importance. It comes ultimately from Hammād al-Rāwiyah (ob. 160 A.H.). According to this, Nu'man, prince of Ḥirah, ordered the early Arabic poems to be copied out on *ṭang* (boards?) and buried; when Mukhtār became supreme in Kufah (66 A.H.) he was told that a treasure was buried in the White Palace, and ordered it to be unearthed. It proved to consist in these poems; thence it came that the people of Kufah were more learned in poetry than those of Baṣrah.

This statement by Hammād al-Rāwiyah is of great interest, for it implies that "the Poems of the Arabs" first came to light in the time of Mukhtār, i.e. some thirty years before the birth of Hammād himself in 95 A.H. The collections of "early poetry" were then traceable to Kufah, and the question arose how they came to be there; and to this the reply was given that they had been unearthed in the time of the notorious forger Mukhtār. Hammād himself is said to have begun life as a thief, and to have been an unscrupulous forger of verses. Hence this anecdote seems to add one considerable nail to the coffin of the "early Arabian poetry". The poems inserted by Ibn Ishāq in his *Life of the Prophet* are said to have been written to order for that work; other early poetry in the hands of the people of Kufah was the work of Khalaf al-Aḥmar.

We miss a table of contents, which could easily have been made, since the sections are distinct and have headings; perhaps this will be supplied in the next volume.

Al-Itisām, by Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā al-Shātibī, 3 volumes, Khedivial Library Series, 1913-14. The

author of this work was of Granada, and died 790 A.H. A lengthy book by him called *Muwāfaqāt* was published in Tunis, 1302. The present work is a treatise on *Bida'*, i.e. Innovations. The sheets have had the advantage of revision by the well-known Islamic reformer Mohammed Rashid Riḍā, editor of the *Manār*, who has enriched the margin with valuable references. The matter is highly technical and juristic; it throws some light on the history of Islamic practices, but in the main is occupied with subtleties. The reader, e.g., of § 8 on the difference between an Innovation and a Reform will not be much clearer as to the distinction when he gets to the end than he was at the beginning.

Al-Ihkām fī Uṣūl al-Ahkām, by Saif al-dīn 'Alī al-Āmidī, 4 volumes. Khedivial Library Series, 1914. The author of this treatise died in Damascus 631 A.H. His work is on the Principles of Jurisprudence, and appears to be the lengthiest which has hitherto been published. Owing to the excellence of the typography it is also easier to use as a book of reference than the similar treatises which have been printed in Egypt or lithographed in India.

Of Qalqashandī's work, of which two more volumes (v and vi) have appeared, some account was given in an earlier number. Vol. vi is full of interesting details concerning the technique of official correspondence. In general it is doubtful whether the choice of works for publication made by the authorities of the Khedivial (now Sultanī) Library will quite commend itself to European taste; still, we ought not to be ungrateful, and the most dreary volume may well contain some notice or excerpt which can be turned to excellent account.

Intishār al-khatt al-'Arabī (The Spread of the Arabic Script in the Eastern and Western World), by 'Abd al-Fattāh 'Ubādah. Cairo, 1915. This short treatise, of which a French translation is promised, gives the history

of the Arabic script, including its employment for other languages besides Arabic and the use of other scripts for the Arabic language. The matter seems well selected and lucidly arranged. One could wish that rather more space had been devoted to the Kufic writing, but this would have involved the introduction of many plates, going beyond the scope of the author. There is still much that is obscure in Arabic palæography. An advertisement once appeared of the publication of the work whence the notice is got of the origin of diacritic points, viz. the *Taṣḥīf* of Abū Aḥmad al-Askarī; but the present writer has been unable to procure it. In the *Iqd Farīd* (ii, 166) letter-writers are told that they should not insert either diacritic points or vowels except in rare cases; and in the papyri studied by the present writer they are rarely to be seen. Yet without these diacritic points the letters are not merely similar but identical. Further, in numerous MSS. and even printed books there are two parallel systems employed simultaneously; the letter that should have a dot is dotted, whereas that which should not have the dot is also marked. Since the latter is called *muhmal*, "let free," it is probable that the word *mu'jam* applied to the former means "locked"; but why this rare word should have been selected for the purpose is another puzzle.

A List of Words and Phrases in the Baṣrah Dialect of Arabic, compiled by Captain R. Campbell Thompson, M.A., F.S.A., in co-operation with Elias Georges and the other Interpreters employed with Headquarters, Indian Expeditionary Force "D". Simla, Government Central Branch Press, 1915. This pamphlet of 21 pages is intended for the use of Army men, and should serve its purpose exceedingly well. There are very few words in this collection which are unfamiliar to those who speak the dialects of Egypt and Syria; the most surprising is *aakoo* for "there is". It looks like the *ikā* of the

Babylonian Talmud, but it may be something wholly different. Otherwise the vocabulary seems the familiar mixture of Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and European words which constitutes vulgar Arabic. Probably there is no language in the world which suffers more by descent from its classical pedestal than Arabic; the literary dialect is majestic, the patois suggests low comedy.

D. S. M.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA: THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM
PUBLICATIONS OF THE BABYLONIAN SECTION. Vol. V:
Historical and Grammatical texts. Vol. VI: Gram-
matical texts. By ARNO POEBEL. Philadelphia, 1914.

First Notice

It is long since the Assyriological world had two such important volumes as these, notwithstanding all that has been discovered and published in the realm of Babylonian legendary lore and philology. It is needless to say that the work, like all that we receive at the hands of German specialists who have come to the fore, is very thorough, very cautious, and, at the same time, very suggestive.

Volume V contains the texts, excellently copied on eighty-five plates, to which are added forty plates of photographic reproductions, which, however, might have been more successful. They form nevertheless a valuable means of controlling the author's readings.

It is needless to say that, of all the inscriptions contained in these volumes, that dealing with the Creation and the Flood attracts the most attention. It is true that the new text only gives another version of legends already known, but the differences are so very interesting and important, and bear so strikingly upon the beliefs of the Babylonians, that they have become at once documents of the first importance.

The tablet in question is described as being 14.3 cm. high by 17.8 cm. wide, and having three columns on each side. The upper part of the obverse and the lower part of the reverse are wanting, about one-third only of the original text being preserved. It is not improbable that other portions of the inscription may ultimately be found. The writing is clear, but somewhat defaced in places.

Where the text opens, a goddess, either Nin-tu or Nin-hursag (two names of the mother-goddess), speaks of a projected destruction of mankind, her creation. The people, however, were apparently to return to their settlements, and rebuild their cities, uniting, as may be suggested, under the gods' protection. Nin-hursag, it is stated, had created the black-headed ones (mankind, especially the Babylonians), had planted in the ground the root of the ground, and then the gods had called into existence suitably the four-limbed beasts of the field.

After a considerable gap, we have again, seemingly, a divine personage speaking, and the subject is the development of man in civilization. The deity had created the insignia of royalty and perfected the divine law. Five cities, with their commanders, or the like, were then proclaimed. These were Éridu, governed by Nudimmud (Ea); Dûr-Kis; Larak or Larancha, governed by Papil-hursag; Zimbir (Sippar), governed by Utu (the sun-god); and Šuruppak, the native city of the Babylonian Noah, governed by the god Šuruppak, or, as his name may also be read, Sukurra. This portion, with the line stating that the deity saw to the irrigation-works of the land, agrees with the bilingual story of the Creation in making artificial as well as natural things the work of the gods.

After a second considerable gap, Poebel sees in the defaced opening lines of the third column references to "the people" and to "a rain-storm", suggesting the coming of a Flood. Nin-tu, the great mother-goddess, in his rendering, cries out like a woman in travail on account

of the destruction of her people, as does Mah (another name of the mother-goddess) in the Gilgameš-version first published by George Smith.

After a passage in which the gods take counsel together, we have the first mention of Zi-û-suddu, as the Babylonian Noah is called in this inscription. As read by Poebel, this royal patriarch was a *pašišu* or anointing-priest, having power with the gods, whom he at this point proceeds to invoke and conjure with all humility, apparently to induce them to abandon their intention of destroying mankind. The text is here too mutilated to enable all the details to be made out, but this section seems to state that the god Ea announces to the Patriarch the determination of his fellow-divinities to put an end to the human race.

The description of the great catastrophe is not reached until we come to column five, where it is given in the following poetical form :—

“ All the mighty wind-storms as one rushed forth—
 A water-flood over the hostile raged.
 After for 7 days and 7 nights
 The water-flood had raged over the land—
 After the mighty boat had been carried away by the wind-
 storms over the swollen waters,
 Utu (the sun-god) came forth again, in heaven and earth
 making day.
 Zi-û-suddu opened a window of the mighty boat :
 The hero Utu makes his light to enter within the mighty
 boat.
 Zi-û-suddu, he who is king,
 In the presence of Utu prostrated himself.
 The king sacrifices an ox, slaughters a sheep.”

At this point the text becomes imperfect, and then breaks off altogether.

Once again we have the incidents of the Flood-story translated by George Smith—the rain-storm lasting seven

days and seven nights, the sun shining after that length of time into the ark, and Zi-û-suddu's sacrifice to the deity, though this would seem to have taken place whilst he was still within the vessel, and not—unless two acts of sacrifice were recorded—after he had come forth.

The fragment of the sixth and last column refers to the immortal life which was conferred upon the patriarch, who prostrated himself before Ana-Enlilla (a compound deity representing heaven and the atmosphere, or heaven and earth):—

“Life like a god he gave him—

Eternal life like a god he confers upon him.”

The last lines apparently related how the seed of mankind was made to live again in the Land of Tilmun—the region of the Persian Gulf.

Hardly less interesting is the list of legendary kings, divine and human, Sumerian and Akkadian. But if these inscriptions are less interesting, they are more satisfactory in being at first partly, and later wholly historical. Many surprises, moreover, meet us therein. As in many histories of primitive times, the reigns are of fabulous length, though many of the names would seem to be historical—indeed, the dynasties of the earliest period present, seemingly, many names of human kings interspersed with those of gods. An extract from the first column, which gives the earliest kings, will show of what the royal lists consist:—

9. Galumum^m (var. Kalumum^m) reigned 900 years.
10. Zugagib (var. Zukakib) reigned 840 years.
11. Arpum^m (var. Arpi), son of a citizen, reigned 720 years.
12. Etana, the shepherd, reigned 635 (625) years.
13. Walih (var. Balih, the god Illat), son of Etana, reigned 410 years.
14. Enme-nu(n)na reigned 611 years.

15. Melam-Kiš, son of Enme-nunna, reigned 900 years.
16. Bar-sal-nunna, son of Enme-nunna, reigned 1200 years.
17. Mes-za-mug, son of Bar-sal-nunna, reigned
18. En-giš-gugu (?), son of Bar-sal-nunna
19. Enme-dur-mes,
20. . . zatu-tapdum,
21. Enme-bara-gi-šu (?), the
22. Gan-ma-bi- . . . (?), reigned 900 (or 960) years.
23. Ak (or Mē, "battle"), son of Enme-bara, reigned 625 years.

Total: 23 kings, 1800 + x years 3 months and 3 days.

As the names of the first eight kings are lost or uncertain, we cannot tell to which nationality they belonged, but those in lines 9-11 are to all appearance Semitic (Akkadian), as well as the names in lines 13 and 20. Semites had, therefore, even at this exceedingly remote period, reached the throne. If, however, Nimrod (i.e. Merodach) was the first ruler of Babylonia, that would naturally make the monarchy a non-Semitic (Sumerian) foundation. Evidence as to which of the two nationalities was the first to settle in Babylonia is still wanting.

With regard to these rulers, Poebel makes the 10th (Zugagib) to mean "the scorpion" (Semitic *Zuqaqipu*), and Etana, the 12th, is apparently the celebrated ruler who ascended to heaven to supplicate the goddess Ištar on account of the delayed birth of his son—probably the Walih or Balih of line 13. The last-named seems to be identified with the god Illat, "Force." Enme-nunna, the 14th name, is possibly the Ammenon of Berosus, who is there said, however, to have reigned 12 šari or 43,200 years. The identification of Enme-nunna ("the great high priest") with Ammenon, however, would seem to be impossible, on account of the discrepancy in the

length of their reigns. Though the numeral be raised to the "third power", this would make only 10 šar 1 ner and 1 sos—i.e. 36,660 years. But perhaps Berosus gives us the summation of the existence of the dynasty to which he belonged.

In the next dynasty the 4th king was Tammuz, of the city of HA-A, who seems to have reigned only 100 years. He was succeeded by Gišbil-gameš or Gilgames, the ruler who had the privilege of seeing the Babylonian Noah and hearing at his lips the story of the flood. He ruled for 126 (or 186) years.

T. G. PINCHES.

COPTIC TEXTS. Edited with introductions and English translations by E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A., Litt.D.

Vol. I. Coptic Homilies in the Dialect of Upper Egypt, from the Papyrus Codex Oriental 5001 in the British Museum. With 5 plates and 7 illustrations in the text. 8vo; pp. x + 424. 1910. 12s. net.

Vol. II. Coptic Biblical Texts . . . With 10 plates. 8vo; pp. lxxxviii + 349. 1912. 15s. net.

Vol. III. Coptic Apocrypha . . . With 58 plates. 8vo; pp. lxxvi + 404. 1913. 20s. net.

Vol. IV. Coptic Martyrdoms, etc. . . . With 32 plates. 8vo; pp. lxxvi + 523. 1914. 17s. 6d. net.

Vol. V. Miscellaneous Texts . . . With 40 plates and 20 illustrations in the text. 8vo; pp. clxxxi + 1216. 1915. 40s. net.

The Coptic literature is one of the bye-paths on the high road of the Christian literature of the first four or five centuries. It owes everything to Christianity; nay, the very language is the product of that new religious life which sprang up in the Nile Valley soon after the first seeds had been sown into what proved a fertile soil. It marked a complete break with the past, nowhere so glaringly idolatrous than in Egypt with its temples and

idols, with its mummies and sacred script, with a Pantheon as rich as, if not richer than, the one gathered at a later time in Rome. The new faith no doubt appealed to the lowly in spirit and to the illiterate masses. If, then, it were to reach the submerged, the new teaching—and the Bible in the first place—had to be taught in the language of the Fellaheen of old. Greek, however, was then the language of State and Church and of the higher society, so much so that the Bible had to be translated first into Greek, even for the Jews who had settled in Egypt in large numbers. But Greek was an alien tongue not easily understood by the people at large. And the further one went up-stream its influence would be felt less and less until it became a dead tongue to the inhabitants of Upper Egypt. Still more so to the numerous dwellers in the desert who had sought refuge from the temptation of Satan, who seemed to have haunted the cities and only rarely ventured out among the poor secluded souls. These clothed their naked limbs with sacks woven of hair and lived upon the scanty gifts of pious town dwellers, or by the earning of their basket-weaving and mat-making labours. The "*lausiaca*" gives us a picturesque insight into that peculiar life of Avva Pafnuti or Avva Anthony, the abbot of that monkish confraternity, the forerunners of the more opulent monastic order and richly endowed cloisters in Byzantium and especially in the West. That monk was more of the type of John the Baptist than of any Western saint. These monks panted for a fray with Satan and the legions under his command, and nothing pleased them more than to hear how this or that brother had come out victorious from such a contest. For, not only had he vanquished the Evil One, but he had earned for himself and occasionally for others the kingdom of heaven. But in order to win the contest against the power of evil a new weapon had to be forged to give the faithful the means of effective protection. So they fashioned a new

spiritual armour. They took the clay of Egypt and fashioned a vessel fit for the reception of the new doctrine and placed it within the reach of the masses. The language of the "untutored" dispossessed became the vehicle for the new teaching, and Coptic became a literary language. To the Christians of Alexandria Greek was, so to say, the sacred language. Almost without exaggeration everything found in the Coptic literature goes back to a Greek original. To translate from so highly a developed language as the Greek into a primitive language like the Coptic was a problem the solution of which is highly interesting.

Those who started using the vernacular for the translation of the Scriptures, and then of the theological literature of their time, were confronted with almost insurmountable difficulties. The new language was that of the untutored classes, poor in words beyond the immediate necessities of life and certainly wanting in expressions corresponding to the subtle Greek terms for spiritual, abstract notions. The uncouth could not easily cope with the most refined. The translators were, moreover, handicapped by the fact that the Greek writings were "holy" writings. No liberties, nay not even philological liberties, could be taken with the Word of God. The Greek Scriptures were divinely inspired writings, and to touch or alter or modify a single sentence therein had to be avoided at all costs. They hit upon a peculiar device, resorted to also by other translators when face to face with technical terms. They simply left the Greek words untranslated; they merely transliterated them into the new alphabet. The Greek translation of the Scriptures was a sufficient justification. The LXX had set the example. Whenever a technical expression or a Hapaxlegomenon baffled their ingenuity they gave up the attempt of a translation, and they simply left the Hebrew word untranslated and merely transliterated it. But

the Greek vocabulary is infinitely richer than the primitive Coptic. Hence we get an extraordinary medley of Coptic and Greek, numerous already in the Biblical texts and overwhelming in the apocryphal and hagiographical literature. The proportion of the Greek to the Coptic is occasionally as high as one-third. The monks—for in the first place it is the literature of the monks—had to use these Greek words whether fully understood or not. The importance of this fact for Greek philology and for the criticism of the Greek originals of these Coptic writings is self-evident. It is doubtful whether Greek originals have been preserved of so high an antiquity as is represented by the Coptic version. These prove then of great value in the reconstruction of the oldest form of these Greek writings, notably for the LXX and for the N.T. The readings contained in the Coptic are a valuable help for critical investigations. Moreover, in modern times an increased interest is being shown in the Greek vernacular of the Near East.

It has become more and more evident that the Greek Bible is the most remarkable monument of that popular Greek parlance, which differed profoundly from the so-called classical and led to the Byzantine and modern Greek. Not only is the vocabulary different but also the syntactical construction, and even the pronunciation has undergone a decided change. In the Coptic transliteration and in the Slavish literal translation we have so many witnesses more to that transformation. But poor and limited though the Coptic literature may be, it is none the less of peculiar import from two points of view. The first is the contents, the second the time of its ending. It came as it were to a sudden close and therefore gives a *terminus ad quem* for the date of the writings in Coptic. The invasion and occupation of Egypt by the Muhammedans put practically a violent end to that Christian literature. Thus, most that is found in Coptic

must be anterior to the seventh century. The contents again claim our special attention. Though the air of Egypt was filled with the noise of the theological disputes of contending factions, yet the echo of it had evidently not fully reached the dwellers in the desert. Their faith was too simple to be drawn into the subtleties of dogmatic hair-splitting, nor was their orthodoxy of such a definite character clearly to distinguish between canonical and apocryphal, orthodox or heretic, especially Gnostic writings. The essential condition was that it should be interesting and correspond to their views. The miraculous has always exercised a profound influence upon the masses; the more wonderful the exploits of a saint, the more sure was his biography to meet with a devout reception. Heretical teaching, or what was afterwards so called, had also found a propitious soil in Egypt, and the followers of such teaching also appealed to the masses by translating their most important scriptures into the vernacular. Only in Coptic have been preserved such writings as the *Pistis Sophia*, the *Books of Ieu*, and others of a similar character. It is thus that the Coptic literature is one of exceptional value to the theologian as well as to the philologist. A clear picture of what may be termed a Coptic monk's library is now afforded to us by the volumes published by Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge under the title of *Coptic Texts*, the full titles of which have been given above.

In the light of the foregoing the high value of this important publication is made manifest. Almost every branch is here represented by a number of texts. Within close upon 3,000 pages of text and translation, exclusive of about 450 pages of introduction in these five volumes, no less than fifty texts have been published for the first time from the treasures of the British Museum. It was the result of a happy co-operation of two prominent members of the staff that made this publication possible—

Dr. L. D. Barnett, the Keeper of the Oriental MSS., worked hand in hand with Dr. Wallis Budge, the well-known scholar, to whom the world of Oriental scholarship owes so much. With his usual skill and keen insight he prepared the publication of the originals, co-ordinated the fragments, translated them into English, and gave faithful account of the MSS. and of the contents in learned introductions, in which also many other points of literary and historical interest have been touched upon. Dr. Budge, moreover, has an eye for the palæographical side, and he pays special attention to the illustrations and ornamentations of the texts in question. As one would expect from an Egyptologist, Dr. Budge is also able to show the close connexion in thought and belief in many of these Coptic tales with Egyptian myths and legends. Of these texts we have, in Vol. I, various discourses on morality and continence by Chrysostomus, Athanasius, Basilus, etc. Vol. II contains the Books of Deuteronomy and Jonah of the O.T., and of the N.T. the Acts and the Apocalypse. In Vol. III are a good many apocrypha of the N.T., such as the Resurrection by Bartholomew, the Repose and Mysteries of St. John, etc., to which may be added a fragment of the Apocalypse of St. Paul in Vol. V. No fragments of the Gospels are included here and also not a single one of the apocrypha of the O.T. Of course, by this term there are meant here the pseudepigrapha. In Vol. IV we have various martyrdoms, among these the famous martyrdom of Eustathius (Placides), which, by its romantic character, has become one of the most popular of the legends of saints and even a popular tale. Among the miscellaneous texts of Vol. V we find many encomia on the Virgin Mary, the Archangels Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael, and a discourse on the discovery of the Cross by Cyril of Jerusalem.

In not a few instances parallel texts from the Ethiopic

and even Syriac have been added in the original with an English translation. Every volume, moreover, contains full indices of Greek words in Coptic transcriptions, and taking all the five volumes together there are no less than 145 plates in which the originals have been admirably reproduced. In many instances the facsimiles are almost more legible than the originals, and 27 illustrations have been reproduced in the introductions. I should like to mention here the fact that some of these rather rude illustrations agree as motives with the more elaborate and more artistic illustrations of the ancient Hebrew Bibles which I have reproduced from the originals in my possession in "*Illuminated Hebrew Bibles*", London, 1910. Thus the Coptic illustrations confirm the hypothesis which I ventured then to make that these illuminations were of an Egyptian origin. Some of the tracery again seems to be the basis of similar motives in the famous Irish Kells MS., for which hitherto no direct original had been found. There is no doubt that Irish monks have been in Egypt, whence they brought much of the apocryphal literature into Ireland at a very early date, and it is therefore not unlikely that they may have borrowed some of these tracings for the illuminations they afterwards used in Ireland.

The typographical execution of the whole collection could not easily be excelled, if excelled at all. Thus, every side of investigation has been served in an exceptional manner by this publication, for which the author deserves also a special encomium, although there are encomia enough among the texts, from all interested in Coptic literature in general and in many problems connected with it in particular. No less ought the Trustees of the British Museum to be thanked for the munificence displayed in the publication of these valuable volumes. What luck for the poor Coptic literature, that the publications of the volumes had taken

place between 1910 and 1915, and before the era of enforced economies, which strike in the first place at the treasures of the British Museum. Such economies would now have relegated the musings of the monks of old back to that desert from which modern scholarship and the search after light had drawn them to the very centre of that wider world from which the anchorites had fled. For this wider world is not the world of the Evil One, as these poor souls believed. It may be a world of temptation, of curiosity, and it is a source of deep satisfaction that Dr. Budge, as well as the Trustees, have yielded to the temptation of sending these books out into that wide world and to have opened to our curiosity a new field for research and investigation by the scholarly publications of these peculiar remnants of old.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(January-March, 1916)

I. GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

January 11, 1916.—Mr. M. Longworth Dames, Vice-President, in the chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. J. Ghest Cumming.
Mr. W. H. Moreland, C.S.I.
Lieutenant W. R. Patterson.
Pandit Ram Swarupa Kanshala.
Mr. Moti Lal Manucha.
Pandit Venkanna Bhatta.
Raja S. Tribubhan Deb, of Bamra.
Maulvi Mohammad Zaka Ullah Khan.

Four nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Mr. Vincent A. Smith read a paper entitled "Akbar the Great Mogul, 1542-1605".

A discussion followed, in which Dr. Pollen and Professor Hagopian took part.

February 8, 1916.—Sir Charles Lyall in the chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mrs. Zahid Suhrawardy.
Kaviraj Jaminibhushan Roy Kaviratna.
Mr. Jnananjan Chatterjee Vidyabinode.
Sir Harry Lushington Stephen.

Six nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Professor Margoliouth read a paper on the "Islamic Pulpit".

A discussion followed, in which Dr. Gaster and Mr. Yusuf Ali took part.

March 14, 1916.—Sir Charles Lyall in the chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Miss Ethel Pope.

Sahib Bahadur Muhammad Abdul Ghani.

Professor Leonard W. King.

Babu Phanindra Lal Moitra.

Mr. Santosh Kumer Mukherjee.

Mr. Seth Padamraj Ramwala.

Five nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

The Campbell Memorial Gold Medal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was presented to Professor A. A. Macdonell by the Right Hon. Lord Sandhurst, G.C.S.I. An account of the meeting will appear in the next number of the Journal.

II. PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

I. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. Série XI, Tome V, No. i.

Casanova (M.). Une date astronomique dans les Épitres des Ikhwān aṣ Ṣafā.

Lévi (S.). Le catalogue géographique des Yakṣa dans la Mahāmāyūri.

Lammens (H.). Une visite au Śaiḥ suprême des Noṣairis Haidaris.

Tome V, No. ii.

Lévi (S.) et E. Chavannes. Quelques titres énigmatiques dans la hiérarchie ecclésiastique du Bouddhisme indien.

Nau (F.). Un colloque du patriarche Jean avec l'émir des Agaréens et faits divers des années 712 à 716.

Boyer (A. M.). L'Inscription en kharoṣṭhī du 15 Āśāḍha, 136.

Masson-Pursel (P.). Le Yuan jen louen.

II. CEYLON ANTIQUARY AND LITERARY REGISTER.

Vol. I, Pt. ii.

Gopinatha Rao (T. A.). Some Memorial Stones found in India and Ceylon.

Bell (H. C. P.). Kirrti Nissanka and the Tula-Bhara Ceremony.

— Letter from the Kandyan Court, 1726.

Perera (E. W.). The School Thombo-holder.

Seneveratne (J. M.). Buddhaghosa and Fa-Hian: dates of their visits to Ceylon.

Codrington (H. W.). "Heavy," "Light," and "Indian" Money.

Suriyagoda Sumangala Thera. The Dhammapada and its Commentary.

Perera (Rev. S. G.). Hindustani and Sinhalese.

III. JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY. Vol. I, Pt. i.

Spooner (D. B.). The Bodh Gaya Plaque.

Hoffmann (Rev. Father J.). Principles of Succession and Inheritance among the Mundas.

Campbell (Hon. and Rev. A.). Rules of Succession and Partition of Property as observed by the Santals.

Roy (Sarat Chandra). The Artificial Moulding of Physical Features in India.

— Birth and Childhood Ceremonies amongst the Oraons.

— Corn Spirit and Tree Spirit in Chota-Nagpur.

— Probable Traces of Totem Worship amongst the Oraons.

Hara Prasad Shastri. Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts.

Jayaswal (K. P.). Saisunaka and Maurya Chronology and the Date of Buddha's Nirvana.

Ray (Rai Sahib Chuni Lal). Note on Ruins at Majhgaon, Thana Chainpur.

IV. JOURNAL OF THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF BOMBAY. Extra Number, 1911.

Modi (J. J.). Short History of the Society.

Enthoven (R. E.). Totem Theories.

- Mitra (S. C.). Malay Versions of two Ancient Indian Apologues.
 Emanuel (A. L.). The Beluchis of Upper Sind.
 Jhaveri (K. M.). Kamalpuja in Kathiawad.
 Joshi (Rai Sahib P. B.). Hindu Coronation Rites and Ideas of Government.
 Rothfeld (O.). Hindu Marriage in Western India.
 Saldanha (J. A.). Problems in Comparative Ethnical and Ethical Jurisprudence.
 Edroos (S. F. A.). Shaikhs, or Ethnography of the Indian Muslims.
 Desai (K. K.). Engineering before the Mahomedan Period.
 Masani (R. P.). Naming Customs and Name Superstitions.

V. JOURNAL AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL. Vol. XI, Nos. vii-viii.

- Beveridge (H.). Notes on Father Manserate's *Mongolicæ Legationis Commentarius* and the Surat Incident, translated from the Portuguese by R. G. Whiteway.
 Cotta (F.). Portuguese Losses in the Indian Seas. 1629-1636.
 Mitra (S. C.). North Indian Folk Medicine for Hydrophobia and Scorpion Sting.
 Numismatic Supplement, No. xxv.

VI. BENGAL PAST AND PRESENT. Vol. XI, Pt. I, No. xxi.

- Sandys (E. T.). One Hundred and Forty-five Years at the Old or Mission Church, Calcutta.
 The Letters of Mr. Richard Barwell, No. VI.
 Little (J. H.). The Black Hole: the question of Holwell's veracity.

VII. EPIGRAPHIA INDICA, Vol. XII, Pt. vi.

- Mazumdar (B. C.). Sonpur Plates of Kumara Somesvaradeva.

Lal (Hira). Dantewara Sanskrit and Hindi Inscriptions of Dikpaladeva, Samvat 1760.

Fleet (J. E.). Bhandup Plates of Chhittarajadeva, A.D. 1026.

Barnett (L. D.). Inscriptions at Yewur.

VIII. EPIGRAPHIA ZEYLANICA. Vol. II, Pt. iii.

Inscriptions from Polonnaruwa.

IX. SANSKRIT RESEARCH. Vol. I, No. i.

Bhandarkar (Sir R. G.). Lines of Fresh Research in Sanskrit Literature and Indian Antiquities.

Aiyar (V. Subrahmanya). Śankara.

Belvalkar (S. K.). Materials for a Critical Edition of Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra.

Gune (P. D.). Two Schools of Vedic Interpretation in Europe.

Ghate (V. S.). What is Kāvya?

Sastry (H. K.). Śrīśailam.

Śyāmaśāstry (R.). Orientation of Sacrificial Halls.

Shrikhande (V. B.). A Look at Home from Abroad.

Kurtkotli (Lingesa, Mahābhagavat of). The Significance of the Bhagavadgītā.

No. ii.

Tilak (B. G.). A Missing Verse in the Śāṅkhya-kārikās.

Subbarao (Y.). Was Sankara the Propagator of a New System of Thought?

Laddu (T. K.). A Manual of Sanskrit Philology.

Ranade (R. D.). Greek and Sanskrit.

X. INDIAN ANTIQUARY. Vol. XLIX, Pt. dlvi.

Creswell (K. A. C.). History and Evolution of the Dome in Persia.

Tessitori (L. P.). Grammar of Western Rajasthani.

Pts. dlx-lxi.

Smith (V. A.). The Date of Akbar's Birth.

Sewell (R.). The Chronology of the Pandya Monarchy.

Rice (L.). Kollipaka.

Kumar (S.). The Inscriptions of Asokachalla.

Krishnamacharlu (C. R.). The Religion of the Vijanagara House.

Grierson (Sir G. A.). The North-Western Group of the Indo-Aryan Vernaculars.

Venkatachallam Iyer (V.). The Adventures of the God of Madura.

XI. T'OUNG PAO. Vol. XVI, No. iii.

Laufer (B.). Asbestos and Salamander.

Rockhill (W. W.). Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago in the Fourteenth Century. Part III.

Moule (A. C.). Hang-chou to Shang-tu.

XII. PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.
Vol. XXXVII, Pt. vii.

Sayce (A. H.). Adam and Sargon in the Land of the Hittites.

Gardiner (A. H.). Some Personifications.

Langdon (S.). Some Corrections to "An Account of the Pre-Semitic Version of the Fall of Man".

Vol. XXXVIII, Pt. i.

Sayce (A. H.). The Land of Nod.

Harcastle (A. L. B.). The Trials of a Candidate. From the Mandæan "Book of Souls".

Read (F. W.). Egyptian Calendars of Lucky and Unlucky Days.

Pinches (T. G.). Two late Tablets of Historical Interest.

Nash (W. L.). Notes on some Egyptian Antiquities.

XIII. JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW. Vol. VI, No. iii.

Hurwitz (S. T. H.). Pygmy Legends in Jewish Literature.

Hirschfeld (H.). Fragments of Sa'adyah's Arabic Pentateuch Commentary.

Mingana (A.). Syriac Version of the Old Testament.

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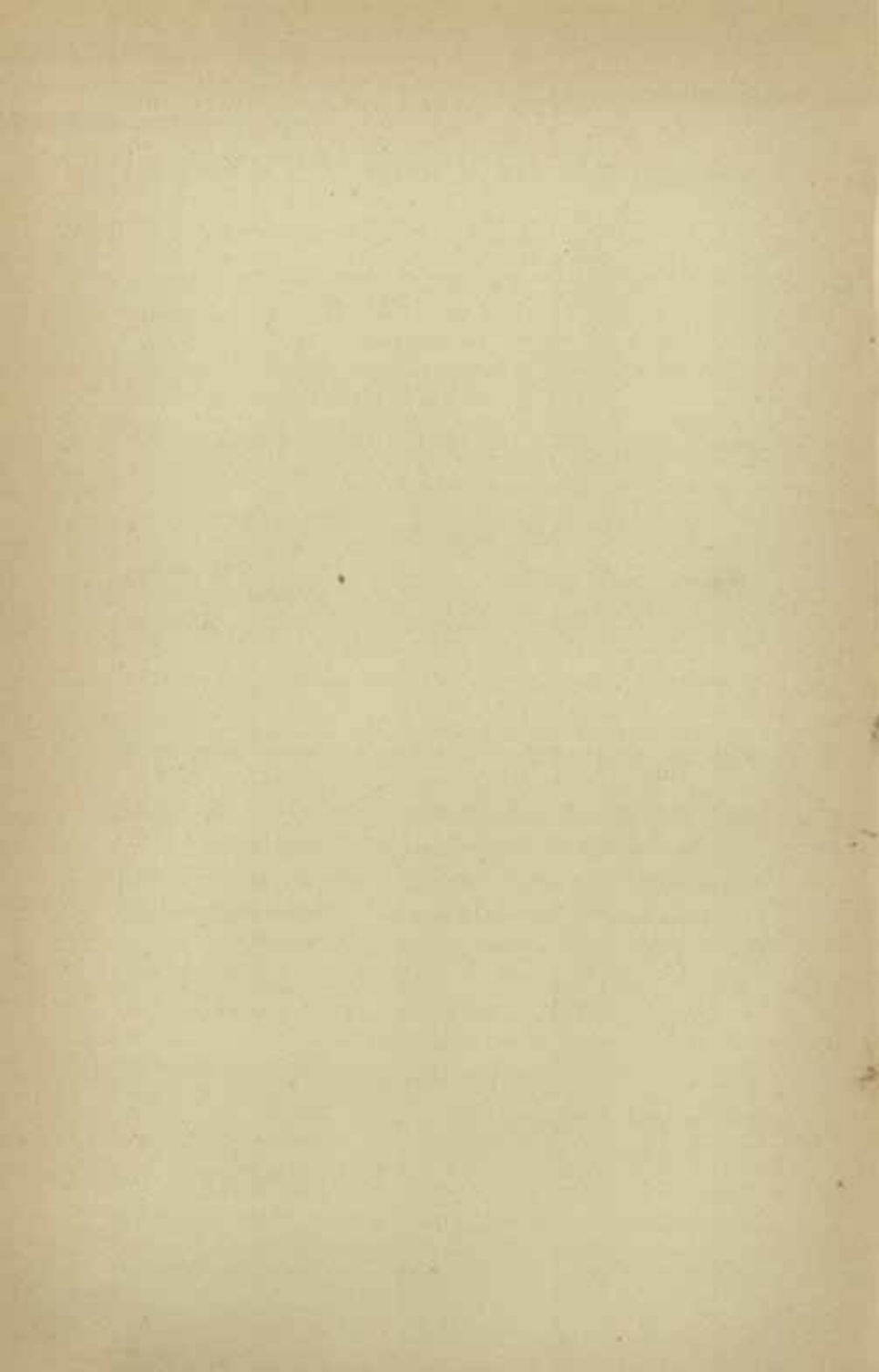
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XII

NOTES ON THE GABRI DIALECT OF MODERN PERSIAN
A COMMENTARY ON THE ACCOUNT OF THE DIALECT
GIVEN IN THE *GRUNDRISSE DER IRANISCHEN
PHILOLOGIE*¹

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THE following notes are based on material which I collected in Kerman during the months June to October, 1914. The spare time at my command was less than I could have desired, and a Benjamin's portion of it was devoted to the more interesting and less exploited Bakhtiari dialect, while the local Kermani dialect provided a further distraction. In these circumstances my researches were not exhaustive, but I think they will be found to have done something towards rendering our knowledge more exact.

Unfortunately, efforts begun in June, 1914, have as yet failed to procure me copies of the works of Berésine, Rehatsek, Justi, or Houtum-Schindler, and I have therefore had to limit this article to a criticism of the material contained in the G.I.P. This, however, appears to have

¹ G.I.P. i, 2 (1895-1901), sec. viii, subsec. iii, "The Central Dialects," by Wilhelm Geiger.

been entirely, or principally, derived from these sources, and, I hope, may in fact present a co-ordinated review of all the material available in them which is of importance or interest.

It is desirable that I should give some account of the methods of investigation which I pursued, and of the sources of information on which I was able to draw.

My first step was to work out the grammatical forms of the dialect, nominal and pronominal forms and inflexion, verbal paradigms, etc., with the help of a man who himself talked the Yezdi sub-dialect, but was also familiar with the Kermani. This man, by name Burzu, had seen something of the world, having spent some years in Bombay, and proved himself after a little practice both intelligent and painstaking. The medium used was ordinary Persian.

Having in this way acquired some knowledge of the ordinary forms and structure of the language, I set him as themes the subjects of marriage, birth, and "burial" customs, and in due course he delivered discourses on these subjects which I took down verbatim, paying all the attention in my power to the correct phonetic representation of his speech. These records were read through at the time, and again later, and annotated with a view to their subsequent full translation. They amount to about twenty-seven quarto pages of manuscript. After this I drew up a long list of common English words in alphabetical order, and as far as was possible obtained and wrote down their Gabri equivalents. This has provided me with a very incomplete but useful vocabulary.

I then procured the services of two or three Kermani Gabrs, of whom I eventually selected one, Bihzād, son of Sām, as the most intelligent and articulate. He was a schoolmaster of the old type, with a good knowledge of Persian, but nothing of the "new" Western learning. I made him tell me stories which I took down from

dictation, again paying scrupulous attention to phonetics. As in the previous case, the bulk of these were carefully read through and annotated; but at the end time failed. Approximate vernacular transcriptions of some of these narratives were also procured. The narrative material so procured amounts to about 100 quarto pages of MS.

Every endeavour was used to obtain stories of true Gabri origin, but I fear that only samples of the common Persian stock were provided; and Gabri poetry, or verse, appears to be non-existent.

The present notes are based on a complete and careful collation of all the material thus obtained. The multiplicity of parallel forms showing only slight phonetic variation will be remarked, and perhaps criticized. Such detail is, however, necessary if an honest endeavour is made to record phonetically with accuracy what is actually said, and an occasional excess, even, of attention to the variations of everyday pronunciation is perhaps not amiss. The phonetics of Eastern dialects are not usually so simple and obviously consistent as they are made to appear in European textbooks. Undue regard to the inadequate Arabic script is often responsible for much of this spurious simplicity, and to the Arabic transcription of Gabri I have purposely in this article paid little attention. Gabri is for practical purposes an unwritten language, and there is nothing to standardize its pronunciation. The same man will vary his pronunciation of the same word almost in one and the same breath. A further complication is introduced by the existence of the two sub-dialects of Yezdi and Kermani, which in their characteristic forms present some differences of vocabulary and pronunciation, but appear to intermingle to a considerable extent in the ordinary speech of the ordinary man. The two types are, however, in a general way distinguishable, and some confusion has been introduced into the G.I.P. article by the failure to recognize this fact and to note the sources

from which the forms quoted have been obtained. This confusion is, of course, accentuated by the employment of different systems of transliteration by the various original authorities. I have done what I could to avoid this inconvenience by prefixing the letter y. or k. to the forms and phrases which I give. y. stands for "Yezdi" and k. for "Kermani", but, as will have been seen, inherent difficulties and the narrowness of my experience and of the basis on which I have had to work will make it advisable in many cases to regard y. as denoting "received from a Yezdi source" and k. as "received from a Kermani source". Where no indication of source is given y. is to be understood, but in such cases it is believed that the k. form would be substantially the same.

Considerations of space have obliged me to adhere with but little divergence to the path traced by the G.I.P. A number of interesting phonetic and morphological phenomena, peculiarities of idiom and construction, parallels in the Bakhtiari and Kermani dialects, and the question of representation in the Arabic script, on which the material I have collected would enable me to comment, I have been obliged, at least for the present, to pass by on the other side. As lying still further off the track I have omitted all mention of the texts and contents of the "discourses" and stories, which might be of some interest to philologists and specialists in folklore. Common themes with slight modifications have been found in the folk-tales of the Bakhtiaris, the Kermanis, and the Gabrs.

The system of phonetic representation employed in these notes conforms in general with that of the G.I.P., but a few additional symbols have been introduced, principally in order more fully to distinguish finer shades of vowel sounds.

ā represents a sound approaching to that of English *a* in "cat", Jespersen's æ, but having, I think, more of the pure *ā* sound.

-ah represents much the same sound as the last when final, or something nearer pure *ā*, followed by a slight aspiration.

The final *-h* of the Arabic script is omitted except when it represents this sound. The resulting *-a* is the short of pure *ā*.

ā denotes the alternative, "*ā* and the corresponding short," or, "*ā* and the *u*-sound of English 'but'. Jespersen's *Λ*."

ē is used for an "open" *e*, which I judge to approximate to Jespersen's *ε* as in English "men".

e is the indistinct vowel sound in English "water".

o in general represents the sound in English "on", Jespersen's *ɔ*, but *-o* final is the short of *ō* as in English "toe".

ō stands for "*ō* or *o*".

-ō stands for "*-ō* or *-o* the short of *ō*".

ē stands for "*ē* or *e*".

ā stands for "*ā* or *à*".

On *v*, *w*, see § 163. 1. I should have liked to employ some special symbol as in my MS., *v*, *w*, or Jespersen's *ʋ*, but in view of the variability and uncertainty of the sound I have decided that this would have meant excessive and probably inaccurate refinement.

For the sake of convenience I have in general employed the contractions for grammatical and other terms used in the G.I.P., even where these differ from what would naturally be used in English. Thus KM. for "Kāshān Dialects".

The following exceptions and additions are to be noted :

Ar. = Arabic.

G. = Gabri.

y. = Yezdi, from a Yezdi source. (Gabri.)

k. = Kermani, from a Kermani source. (Gabri.)

P. = Persian, Modern Persian.

Mn.P. = Modern Persian.

Lit.P. = Mn.P. Literary Language.

O.C.P. = Ordinary current (colloquial) Persian.

Ker.P. = Kermani dialect of Mn.P. (spoken by the Muslim inhabitants of Kerman City).

H. = Paul Horn, *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*, Strassburg, 1893.

Hü. = H. Hübschmann, *Persische Studien*, Strassburg, 1895.

"II. PHONOLOGY."

"A. VOWELS."

160. "Only in a few individual cases does the vowel system of the C.D. approach nearer to the original than that of Mn.P."

Corrections and variants.

I have not met with "*paχtmān*", only *paχōdmān*, with the p.p.c. or adj. *paχa*.

The case is perhaps not a very good one if Bartholomae's derivation of *puχtan* from Ir. **paχ₂ua-* is accepted. v. Zum AirWB., § 36.

Add: G. y. k. *vahter*. P. *bihtar*.

"Quantitative and Qualitative alteration of vowels."

There is a good deal of fluidity in the pronunciation of vowels both as regards quantity and quality. The same individual will frequently vary his pronunciation of the same word.

I. "Vowel Assimilation."

Corrections and variants.

"*Ungušter*," I have only heard approximations to *əngušter*. An *a* vowel before *n* is generally palatalized to *è* or *i*.

"*Gulū*" is the ordinary pronunciation in O.C.P.

Add:

The following may be given as typical examples of vowel assimilation in G. The Lit.P. is given in brackets.

y. k. *zuwān*, *zavān* (*zabān*), *suwuk* (*sabuk*), *χiz* : *χazōd*-
(*χaz* : *χazīd*), k. *χurō* (v) (L.W. Ar. *χarāb*).

-*dh* + *i* gives both -*ēi* and -*ī*.

y. *hēmre-i*, k. *'ēmri* (*hamrāh i*), y. *sīrmē-i* (*surmahī*).

y. k. *χadī* : *χēdē-i* (G. *χada* + *i*), *rawūnē-i* : *rawūnī*
(*rawānah i*).

2. "Vowel Shortening."

Corrections and variants.

"*Buhin* (*buin*)," why necessarily "borrowed"?

Generally *bōēn*, *boyēn*, *boiyēn*, *bōhēn*.

The generalization that *h* in Gabri is silent is incorrect. An etymological *h*- initial is often, and medially between vowels is usually, silent. An excrescent *h* glide like that in the example is often employed by some persons to fill the hiatus. In my experience the *y* glide is commoner, and *h* is principally affected by *k*. *k* has also a tendency to cockneyism, showing a strong inclination to drop initial *h*-, and to supply it before an initial vowel where it should not exist, as in *hē* for the vb. prefix and the prep. *ē*.

"In accented syllables."

"*Vuk*," egg, I have not heard, but there is y. *huk*, *χuk*, to which *χīya* is an alternative, while *χoya* occurs in the sense of "testicle".

I have also heard *χōg i kark*, hen's egg, cf. P. *χāg-ina*.

All these are y. In k. there is *χoiya* = egg.

"*Keh*," broken straw (not "grass"), rather *kāh*, *kēh*.

"*Kuh*," mountain, is probable, but I have only heard y. *kāh*, *kōh*, k. *kāh*.

Add:

Besides "Bebh. *guš*, ear", put G. *gūš* alternating with *gōš*. I have heard *hu'k*, earth, through *χōk* (P. *χāk*), and *zardulū* beside *zardōlī*, apricot (*zardālū*).

Other instances are: *mušk*, mouse (*mūs*), y. k. *χēnōd*, beside k. *χīnōd*, read, Lit.P. *χānd*.

3. "Vowel Lengthening."

Corrections and variants.

I do not know either "mārd" or "lāv", y. k. mērd, merd; y. k. lau, y. lēau. There is y. k. χārt, eat, Lit. P. χ'ard, O.C.P. χurd, and I have heard y. mōšt (mušt), gīrōn, girūn (girān), y. dōnī, k. dūnī (dunyā). The lengthening in these cases is probably largely a question of the incidence of stress accent.

4. "More isolated cases."

Corrections and variants.

For "sūv" read y. sō^a. Final -v usually only appears in such cases as an off-glide when a vowel follows, e.g. sōi : sōvi.

"Siv. ma, sheep, Mn.P. mēš." Cf. G. miš, but gōmēš (gaomēš).

"Sejen, needle, Mn.P. sōzan," rather G. sijan.

"Sejed, burns, Mn.P. sōzad," read: y. isējīt, isējīt, k. isējīt, but y. k. sōt, sōta, and Cs. sūjnōd- : sūjn- (sōχt, sōχta, sōzānd- : sōzān-).

The forms with sēj- and the like are presumably derived from the old Cs. base, in Av. saōčaya-, cf. Afγ. sēdzī, he burns (trs.), and swadzī, it burns (intrans.).

Add:

A number of additions might be made, some of which occur in the following sections.

161. "G. ī ← ū."

Corrections and variants.

y. k. dīr also represents P. dēr, late, etc., O.P. darga.

For "zīd" read zī.

Add:

dīd, smoke, P. dūd; dīk, spindle, P. dūk; tīd, mulberry, P. tūt; mīm, wax, P. mōm; pailī, side, P. pahlū; pīristī, swallow, P. pīristū, pīristuk; dastīr, priest, P. dastūr (O.P. *dastabara-, v. H. No. 568).

On the other hand, y. *sūd*, profit (but H. No. 751, G. *sīd*); *pūl*, money (beside G. *aldī*); *sutān*, pillar.

"G. *ū* ← *au*."

Corrections and variants.

"G. *gōš* (*gūš*?), ear," *guš* and *gōš* are common, *gūš* less so.

Add:

būd, smell, Av. *baōda-*; *rūd*, river, O.P. *raotah-*; y. *kāh*, *kōh*, k. *kūh*, mountain, Av. *kaofa-*; *gūšt*, meat, O.P. **gaušta-*? v. Hū. No. 944; *gō*, cow, Av. nom. *gauš*, acc. *gāvəm*; y. k. *sūjnōd*, burn, Av. V *saoč-* (*saok-*).

G. *ū* ← *-ava-*: y. *nū*, new (H. No. 1045, G. *nove*), Av. *nava-*, but G. *nōh*, nine, Av. *nava-*.

"G. *ī* ← *ī*."

ī (? *ē*) ← *ai*."

"KM. *šīr*, milk, *šūr*, lion." G. in both cases *šīr*.

Add:

ī seems to be general in G. for both *ī* and *ai*.

ī ← *ī*: y. k. *šīr*, milk, Skt. *kṣīrā-*; y. k. *vīr*, recollection, Av. **vīra-*, v. G.I.P. i, 2, p. 26, § 5. 1. But *rēš*, beard, Lit.P. *rīš* (v. Hū. No. 640).

ī ← *ai*: all y. k. *vīn-*, see, O.P. *vain-āhy*; *dīn*, faith, Av. *daēna-*; *gōmīz*, urine, Av. *maēz-*; *rīj-*, pour, Av. V *raēk-*. But y. *rēsōd-*: *rēs-*, spin, cf. Skt. V *reṣ-*, O.C.P. *rīs-*.

162. "G. *ō*, *ū* ← *ā* (frequently)."

Corrections and variants.

"*vād*, wind"; read *wōd*, *vōd*.

"*berār*, brother"; read: k. *birār*, *berār*; *dūwēr*, y. *diwēr*.

"*bāliš*," read: y. *bōliš*, pillow.

"*bānda*, morning," read: k. *bōnda*, to-morrow (morning).

"*nūn*" and "*būn*" are correct.

Add:

Written *ā* in G. is rarely so pronounced. Before *n* it is frequently, but not always *ū* or *ō*, also in y. sometimes as

a when final. Otherwise *y*. has as a rule *ō*, and *k. ā* alternating with *ō*.

Frequent interchange occurs between *ō*, *o*, *ū*, and *u*.

Examples of this vowel are abundant: *y. bōl* (P. *bāl*), *y. sōt-*: *sōj-*, *k. sāt-*: *sāj-* (*sāxt-*: *sāz-*), *y. herdā*, *k. hērdā* (*fardā*), *y. bōlū*, *k. bālā* (*bālā*), *y. tō*, *k. tā* (*tā*); *y. k. zōnōd-*: *zōn-*, *zōn-*, *zūn-*, *zun-*; *k. zūnād-* (*dānist-*: *dān-*), *y. dūm* (*dām*), *y. pō* (*pā*), *y. rōnōd-*: *rūn-* (*rānd-*: *rān-*).

Plural ending of nouns *y. k. -ūn*, also *k. frequently -ōn* (*ān*). Cf. also § 169. 1.

Add:

It is further to be noted that in a number of cases we find the equation G. *ī* = P. *ā*.

y. penjī, fifty, P. *panjāh*; *y. tēnī* (also *tēnō*), alone, P. *tanhā*, Phl. *tanihā*; *mē-ūnjī*, centre, *miyānjā*, but P. *jā* = G. *yō*, *yā*. *y. k. vījār*, bazaar, P. *bāzār*; *y. wōdīm*, almond, P. *bādām*, but Kurdi *bahīv*, Bakhtiari *boiyim*.

Also in a few P.Ar. L.W.s, e.g.: *y. k. hisīb* (*hisāb*), *tīlī* (*tīlā*), *y. kitīb* (*kitāb*).

B. SEMI-VOWELS AND CONSONANTS.

163. 1. "The preservation of initial original *v* and *y* as against Mn.P. *b* (*g*) and *j*."

Corrections and variants.

"*Vād*," "*vārān*"; *re* pronunciation of *ā* vowel see above, § 162.

Add:

The *v* sound in G. appears to me to be neither a true *v* nor a true *w*. I think it is a bilabial spirant, Jespersen's *ʋ* (see Otto Jespersen, *Lehrbuch der Phonetik*, 1913, pp. 13 ff.).

Initially before *o* and medially between vowels it tends towards *w*, elsewhere it is more akin to *v*. This is only a rough generalization. According to my observation *y.* inclines towards the *w*, and *k.* towards the *v*.

"Bebh. *mīvinam*," cf. G. *ivīnē*, I see. (k. has also subj. *vēīnē*.)

"Kr. (etc.) *ye, yā, yu*, barley," cf. G. y. *jāh, jā*.

"Nay. *yūmā*, Kurd. *yūma*, clothes," cf. y. *yōma*, k. *yūma*, "kirbās" (coarse cotton cloth).

Further examples:

V. y. *wōs*, bos, k. *vōs*, bus (az *baskih*, for the reason that); following y. k., *vēšter* (*bēštar*), *vahter* (*bihtar*), *vača* (*bačča*), *vī* (*bē*), *vērra* (*barra*), *verōwer*, etc. (*barābar*), *vašna* (*gurisna*, O.C.P. *gušna*), *vašt* (*gašt*), *vidert* (*guzašt*); y. *varzigar* (*barzigar*).

Y. y. k. *yōs* (*jōš*), *yō*, *yōga*, k. *yā-* (*jā*); *ve'yūz*, seek (*bi'jōvī*), Av. *√yaod-* v. G.I.P. i, 2, p. 129, § 75 A; (?) y. *yārū*, *yōrū*, broom (*jārūb*).

The reverse is seen in y. *Jēd*, Jew, P.Ar. L.W. *Yahūd*.

2. "O.P. *d*—'Medic' *z* || Mn.P. *d*."

O.P. *θ*— " *s* || Mn.P. *h*."

Corrections and variants.

Z. Read: y. k. *zōnōdmūn*, y. k. *zōmōd*, k. *zāmāt*.

Add:

In most cases, however, G. appears to follow Mn.P. in its vagaries, cf.:

G. <i>dūst</i> ,	Lit.P. <i>dōst</i> ;	G. <i>til, dīl</i> ,	Lit.P. <i>dīl</i> .
y. <i>derīō</i> ,	}	<i>daryā</i> ;	G. <i>zimastān</i> ,
(also, <i>derī?</i>)			
k. <i>deryā</i> ,			<i>zamistān</i> .
G. <i>burz</i> ,	<i>burz</i> ;	<i>siwarz</i> ,	<i>supurz</i>
			(<i>supul</i>).

Queries:

y. k. *zōr*, wall, = P. *dīwār*, O.P. **daidabara-*.

Etymology of G. *zim* in "*zim garaftmān*", to learn?

S. "*kasūk*", read *kasūg*.

Add:

y. k. *mas*, big, Mn.P. *mih*. There is also k. *mōzim* (once recorded by me).

In general G. appears to follow Mn.P. in maintaining the *s*, or replacing it by *h*. Cf.:

y. *sur* (*surx*), *səng* (*sang*), *dah* (*dah*), *rübō(h)* (*rübāh*);
k. *sat-*: *sinj-*, weigh, (*saxt-*: *sanj-*).

With reference to G.I.P. i, 2, p. 93, § 42. 2, Phl. *dāsr*, *dāhr* (?), G. has y. *dōra* and *dōrs* (for *dōsr* ?), sickle. Bakhtiari has also the *s* in *dās*.

3. " I.G. $g_2, g_2^h = \text{Av. } j \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{weakened original } \check{e} \end{array} \right\} = \text{G. } j, \check{e} = \text{Mn.P. } z$.

Initially $j-$ = G. $y-$."

a. *Corrections and variants.*

"*yen, yenūk*," read: y. k. *yèn, yèñōg, y. yèñug*; but whence comes y. *zīvna*, k. *zīūna*, wife ?

Add:

G. (all y.) *tōja* (*tāza*), *gašniš* (*gišnīz*), *ibriše* (**mībarīzam*, from *birīštan*), *yōvidmūn* (*jāvīdan*).

(?) y. *yeng* (also *mèng*), rust (*zang*).

But G. (all y.) *zōdmūn* (*zādān*), *zenda* (*zinda*), *zēñjīr* (*zanjīr*), *zindūn* (*zindān*).

b. *Corrections and variants.*

"G. *vi-vašī*, er spricht," read y. k. *i'vaša*, and k. *aša*.

"G. *vījār*," read y. k. *vījār*, k. *vījār*.

Add:

Connected with $\sqrt{\text{raok-}}$ (*raoē-*) appear also to be: y. *rōz*, burning brightly (of a flame); y. k. *rūš*, bright, giving light (y. *čirō rūš vəkū*, light the lamp), and k. *rūšēn*, *raušēn*, cf. Mn.P. *rōšan*, Av. *raoχšna-*.

sūjnōd, etc., v. § 161. y. *wōj*, k. *wāj*, beside y. *hōwōz*, P. *āwāz*, $\sqrt{\text{vaē-}}$.

But: *itōz-na*, he gallops, probably L.W. from P. *mītāz-ānad*; *ipēša*, he cooks, beside P. *mīpažad*, Av. *paēa-*.

164. "Weakening of Post-vocalic Vowels."

a-b. *Corrections and variants.*

"G. *lāw*, lip," read y. k. *lau*, y. *lō^u*, *lēau*, (?) *lē*. *v* may

be developed when a vowel follows, e.g. *lěv i wō*, edge of the water.

"G. k. *ō*, y. *vō*, water," read y. *wō*, k. *ō*.

"G. *šō*, night," read y. *šau*, k. *šo*^u (*šavi*).

"V. *kōik*, etc., partridge," cf. G. y. *kau*^ug.

Add:

(all y.) *tau*, fever (*tab*); *tō*, sunshine (*tāb*); *gō*^u (*gāv*); *čaus-*, *čavs-*, sticks (**čaps-*, P. *časp-*); *auwr* (*abr*); *kauš*, *kā-uš* (*kafš*); *binauš* (*binafš*); *sauz* (*šabz*); *χawer*, *χaber* (*χabar*).

After r, (?) *sarōa*, cough (*surfa*).

k. *nāyāv* (*nāyāb*), *χurōv* (*χarāb*), y. k. *suwuk* (*sabuk*).

Contrast y. *juwōp* (*jawāb*).

Many of the above are, of course, P.Ar. L.W.s.

165. "Intervocalic *t* (Mn.P. *d*) changed to *y* and then rejected."

Corrections and variants.

"G. *per*, father," read y. *bdēr*, k. *bidēr*. I do not know "per" in G., but "*pēr sag*" (*pidar sag*!) is often enough heard in various parts of S.W. Persia.

"*Māye*, weib," read, y. *mōya*, *moiya*, also *mōdīna*, k. *māda*, female.

"*Kede* (H. Sch.), *χade* (J.), house, L.W.," read y. *χada*, *-χta*, k. *χēda*, *kēda*.

Add:

y. k. *mēr* (*mādar*), y. *diwēr*, k. *brār*, *birār*, *dōwēr* (*birādar*); y. k. *bē*, *bē*, second, other, beside y. *bedī*, *bdī*, k. *bidī*, *bēdī*, again, (cf. Av. *bitya-*). See also § 180. 3.

The final *-d* of a past base of a verb is in some cases lost before the vowel of an ending, e.g. *bō-ē* (**bōd-mān*), I was; *šō-ē* (*šōd-mān*), I went. Often optionally, as in y. k. *dōyē* || *dōdē* (impf. *dōd-mān*), *rasoiyēn*, k. *rasōn* || *rasōdēn*, they arrived, and many others.

Whence comes the *-w-* in y. *ēiwir*, k. *ēuwēr*, veil (*ēādar*)?

"When *d* arising from this *t* comes at the end of a word it is sometimes preserved in the C.D. G. retains its dentals most tenaciously. It preserves them apparently under the influence of sentence-sandhi before an initial vowel, especially when following a long vowel."

Corrections and variants.

Read: y. *zōmōd*, k. *zūmāt*, *zāmād*.

These final *d*'s are usually preserved, but the final *d* of a 3rd sg. pret. is occasionally in y. and frequently in k. suppressed, and in k. it is also often pronounced as *-t*.

y. k. *dī(d)*, k. *dīt*, seen; y. *dō(d)*, k. *dād*, *dāt*, *dā*, given.

Always y. k. *dī kertmān* = to procure, produce (from *dīd* ?).

"Gabri has preserved even the original voiced dental when it falls at the end of a word."

For "*nad*, reed", read y. *nēd*.

Add:

y. *kōd*, when?, Av. *kaḍa*; (?) y. *nōd*, throat, etym.? Also medially in y. *wōdīna*, mirror, P. *āīna*, *ā* + *√dāi-* (Skt. *√dhāi-*), v. H. No. 62.

Mōd, mother, in *mōdmīra*, husband's mother, is probably borrowed.

r + t. "KM. *ōrt*, flour," cf. y. *wōrt*, k. *vōrt*.

"v.k.z. *kōrt*, knife," cf. y. *kōrt*.

Add:

Av. *ərə + ta-*, Mn.P. *-ard*, *-urd*, is represented in G. as a rule by *-art*, *-ert*.

y. *kart*, k. *kert* (*kērd*), Av. *kərta-*, Mn.P. *kard*.

y. *bart*, k. *bert* (*burt*), Av. *bərta-*, Mn.P. *burd*.

y. *mart*, k. *mert* (*mārt*), Av. *mərta-*, Mn.P. *murd*.

G. *mart* means both "killed" and "broken", and probably represents two roots, cf. Skt. *√mr̥-*, *mr̥yāte*, die, and *√mr̥-*, *mr̥yāti*, crush, smash.

Av. *arə + ta-*, Mn.P. *-ārd* is represented in G. as a rule by *-ōrt*, *-ārt*.

G. *kört*, Av. *karsta-*, P. *kārd*.

G. *wört*, O.P. **arta-* (Hü. supposes an old form with long vowel, Ir. **ārta-*), P. *ārd*.

y. *wört*, *wurt*, k. *ört*, *vārt*, brought, Mn.P. *āwurd*, and k. *burt* (see above), are possibly due to the influence of Mn.P., the vowels *u*, *ō*, and *ā* being in G. to some extent interchangeable.

I have also K. *berā-verta*, probably borrowed P. *barāwarda*.

y. k. *mērd*, *merd*, man, may be compared with Kasch. *mird*, O.P. *martya-* (v. G.I.P. i, 2, p. 25), as against Mn.P. *mard* and Av. *marsta-*, but the final *d* seems to point to a mere borrowing from Mn.P.

y. k. *χārt* corresponds to Mn.P. *χard*, *χurd*, but Av. (infin.) *χarētē*, Bakhtiari *χārd*, etc.

166. "More isolated sound phenomena."

a. "Interchange of *s* and *š*, and assimilation of *st* to *ss*, *s*."

Corrections and variants.

G. *s* = Mn.P. *š*.

I have only y. *šuš*, lungs. y. *sūr*, k. *šūr*, saline.

"Gabri L.W. *durušt*, stark (German) = Mn.P. *durust*."

There seems here to be a confusion of Mn.P. *durušt* = coarse, big, etc., and *durust* = completed, correct, etc. Both words appear in G. as follows:—

G. y. *durušt* = Mn.P. *durušt*.

G. *dirist* = Mn.P. *durust*.

Add:

y. k. *yōs*, Mn.P. *jōš*, Ir. $\sqrt{*yauš-}$, cf. Skt. $\sqrt{yuš-}$ (*yōš-*).

G. *š* = Mn.P. *s*.

This is frequent before *t*.

G. (all y. k.) *dašt* (also *du*), hand (*dast*); *bašt*, tied (*bast*); *vīštōda*, standing (*wā-īstāda*); *īštēd*, taken (? *sitānd*, v. H. & Hü., No. 709).

b. "Intervocalic *h* is lost."

Corrections and variants.

"*nād*, placed," read: y. *nōd*, k. *nād*.

y. k. "*eti*, he gives"; read: *ata*, *ēta*, etc. (prefix vowel varies between *a* and *i*).

Add:

G. <i>i'nè</i> ,	I place,	P. <i>mī'niham</i> .
<i>pèn</i> ,	wide,	<i>pahan</i> .
<i>dē'na</i> ,	horse's bit,	<i>dahana</i> .
<i>mō'ūna</i> ,	monthly wage,	<i>māhāna</i> .

Note: *χavēr* (on the analogy of *divēr* ?), sister, *χ'āhar*.
There is another y. form, *χā*.

167. "Occasional change of *r* to *l*."*Corrections and variants.*

I have y. *barg*, k. *balg*, leaf. From the *b* it would seem to be L.W. H. No. 203 gives G. *varak*, which would seem probably to be Ar. *warag*, used in P. for the leaf of a book.

Sarv, cedar, appears as *sabl* in the place-name Sablistān, but this is more probably Ker.P. than G.

"*Pāl*, bridge," in O.C.P. *pāl*, not *pūl*, and so in G.

Add:

G. *l* = Mn.P. *r*.

G. (all y.) *gōdāl*, hollow in ground, O.C.P. *gudār*; *dālaχ*, dust, Afy. *dāra* (Steingass, P. *dāla*, dust); *dōčul*, meeting, (?) O.C.P. *dūčār*; *malēm*, ointment, P.Ar. *marham*.

G. *r* = Mn.P. *l*.

y. *zerī*, leech, Ker.P. *zulū*, Mn.P. *zālū* (v. G.I.P. i, 2, p. 52, § 21. 4), k. *muqābira*, meeting, P.Ar. *muqābila*.

168. "Sound groups with Spirants.

1. The groups *χ^t*, *χ^r*, *χ^m*, *χ^v*."

a. *χ^t*.

Corrections and variants.

For "*dut*" and "*vāt*", read y. k. *dōt*, *dōtug*, k. *dōtēr*;
y. *wōt*, *vōt*, k. *vāt*.

Add:

y. *sōt-* : *sōj-*, make, P. *sāχt-* : *sāz-*.

y. k. *rēt-* : *rīj-*, pour, Lit.P. *rēχt-* : *rēz-*.

k. *sat-* : *sinj-*, weigh, Lit.P. *saχt-* : *sanj-*.

The modern Gabr has, however, no difficulty about pronouncing *χt*. He uses the words *saχt*, *baχt*, *taχt*, *taχta*, *raχt*, *pardōχt*, etc., while for *ber i χada*, door of the house, he says y. *barēχta*, and for *muhkam*, firm, *muχtēm*.

b. *χr*.

Medial.

Read with Ber. *sur*, red.

Add:

G. *čer*, wheel, P. *čarχ*; y. *ta^hl*, k. *tā^hl*, bitter, P. *talχ*, Phl. *tāχr*, Afγ. f.sg. *tarχα*.

Initial.

"*herīdmūn*, to buy"; read: y. *herīd-* : *χarīn-*, k. (h)*ērīd* : (h)*ērīn-*.

"*Orus* (i.e. *horus*), cock", read y. *horus*, *χurus*.

c. *χm*.

Add:

y. *dēma*, "Tower of Silence," P. *daχma*. But *zaχm*, a piece of meat, etym.?

d. "*χv-*, *χ^r-* initial = G. *χα-*, *χυ-*."

Corrections and variants.

Better: *χv-*, *χ^r-* = G. *χ*.

"*χarten*" is a k. form, an adaptation of O.C.P. *χurdan*.

Read: y. k. *χārtmūn* : y. *iχarī*, k. *iχrī*, thou eatest.

Add:

y. k. *χas*, O.C.P. *χus* (خوش); y. k. *χad*, *χα*, O.C.P. *χud* (خود); y. *χavēr*, *χā*, O.C.P. *χāhar* (خواهر).

2. "The groups *ft* and *fr*."

a. *ft*. Preserved in G."

Corrections and variants.

ft appears in G. more often on the whole as *pt*.

Read: *kapt* and *kāft*; y. *χōpt*, k. *χuft*.

Add :

y. *jōpt*, *jupt*, *juft*, pair, P. *juft* (Av. *yuxta-*, Skt. *yuktá-*).

y.k. *garaft* (*garapt*), seized, P. *girift*.

y. *taft*, steam, fumes ; y. *šiptōlī*, peach, P. *šaftālū*.

b. "fr, medial, persists."

Corrections and variants.

"*Vabr* (Ber.), snow." I have only y. *varf*, k. *berf*.

G. *jār*, *jahr*, deep, Av. *jafra-*, would suggest that "*vabr*", if it exists, is due to a later metathesis of *varf*, and does not go back direct to the original *vafra-*.

"here, wide" ; read : y. *hēra*, *hara*, k. *pēraχ*.

"*herātmūn* (= *er°*), sell" ; read : y. *hērōtmūn*, 1st sg. pres. *hērōše*, k. *ērātmūn*, *hērāse*, *irāše*.

Add :

y. *hērdū*, k. *ērdō*, y. k. *ērdā*, to-morrow.

y. *hērmunōdmūn* : *hērmōn-*, k. (*h*)*ērmōn-*, denominative from "*farmān*".

3. "The group *šm* appears to lose the spirant."

"*čem*, eye," rather *čēm*.

Add :

pašm, wool, is the same as in P.

(Note 7) "*θr* probably always becomes, as in Mn.P., *hr* and thence *r* with a lengthened preceding vowel. But of available examples it is hard to say whether they are original or borrowings."

Corrections and variants.

"G. *mār*, mother." I have heard of *mār* in k., but the usual forms are : y. k. *mēr*, k. *mēr*. Cf. also y. *mōd*(*mīra*), (husband's) mother.

"G. *pōrer*, son." The ordinary forms are : y. k. *pōr*, *pōrug*, k. *pur*, *purōg*, (rare) *pōhēr*, *pōrēr*. In the last the final *-ēr* may be an artificial addition on the analogy of *bidēr*, *χavēr*, *dōwēr*, and *mēr*, cf. the case of Mn.P. *pisar*, see Hü. p. 204. For the forms possibly arising from *piθr-*, father, and *brāθr-*, son, see § 165.

There is also parallel to *mōd*, *pidmēra* (*fidmēra*), husband's father.

Add:

y. *tōr ma tōre*, twilight, P. *tār(ik)*, Av. *taθra-*.

y. *dōra*, *dōrs*, cf. Skt. *dātra-*.

In general G. appears to agree with Mn.P. in the treatment of *θr*.

169. "Initial Syllables."

1. "In G., especially in the y. dialect, prothesis of *v* before an original *ā*."

"*vō*, water," rather y. k. *wō*.

"The following vowel may further be shortened."

This is not in my experience usual. y. *wōhin*, iron (not *vuhen*), *wōšnōi* (*āšnāi*), *wōš* (*āš*); y. k. *wō* (*āb*), *wōdim* (*ādam*).

"*vuk*, egg," see § 160. 2 above.

Add:

In k. with *wō-* appear perhaps more frequently *ā-* and *vā-*. Before *n* in both y. and k. the *w-* is often absent, and the vowel varies: *ō*, *ā*, *o*, *ū*, *u*; e.g. y. k. *ōma*, *āma*, *oma*, *ūma*, *uma*, he came (*āmad*); also k. *inda* (*āmada*). But y. *wōmōda*, prepared (*āmāda*).

k. *ān*, that, is probably a borrowing of Lit.P. *ān*, O.C.P. *ūn*.

ā- initial is dropped in y. *nōr*, pomegranate (*anār*); y. k. *taš*, fire (*ātīš*).

2. "Initial *h-* disappears sometimes in the C.D."

Add:

The initial *h-* of *hēč* persists in G. *hēčī* and *hēšči*, but sometimes falls in other words, especially in k., e.g. *hēm-*, *ēm-*, P. *ham-*; *ēml*, load, P.Ar. *haml*; y. *hīzma*, k. *īzma*, and *hīma*, firewood; y. k. *hašt*: *ašt*, leave, P. *hištan*.

Initial *χ-* of Mn.P., whether original or excrescent, is commonly reduced in G. to *h-*.

G. (all y.) *hušk*, dry (*χušk*); *hišt*, brick (*χišt*); *hūš*, ear

of corn ($\chi\ddot{u}\check{s}$); *horök*, food ($\chi^e\text{uräk}$); *hōrmō*, date ($\chi\text{urmā}$); *hōlī*, empty ($\chi\ddot{a}lī$, P.Ar.).

170. "Reduction of word-endings in verb inflexion."
Corrections and variants.

"-*tī* of 3rd sg. pres. and -*d* of 3rd pl. pres. are dropped in G."

"*ekerā*, he does," read y. k. *ik^era*, k. *ik^era*.

"*ebirnin*, they cut," read y. k. *iberinen*, k. *ibirnin*.

"2nd pl. *ebirnūt*, you cut; *ekerī* beside *ekerūt*, you do," read as above: *iberinūt*, *ibirnūt*; *ikrit*, *ik^erit*.
I do not know *ekerī* as a pl. form.

As regards the ending of the 3rd sg. pres., it is to be noted that the -*t* is preserved in: *ibūt*, he becomes; *išūt*, he goes; *itūt*, he comes. I have also y. *im^erit*, k. (*vē*)*im^erit*, *dāra merit*, he dies; y. *iš^ejit*, k. *s^ejit*, it burns; k. *minūt*, it resembles (P. *mānad*).

The consonant of all terminations is preserved in the inflexion in the negative of the pres. indic., and the vowel is lengthened, or changed, to *ī* or *ē*. Further, a final vowel is added, generally -*a* in y. and -*ē* in k., e.g. the negative of *ik^erē*, *ik^erē*, I do, is as follows:—

y. sg. 1. *na ik^erīma*.

pl. 1. *na ik^erīma*.

2. *na ik^erīya*.

2. *na ik^erīta*.

3. *na ik^erīta*.

3. *na ik^erēna*.

In the 3rd sg. forms which have a -*t* in the affirmative only the final vowel is added, e.g. y. *na šūta*, k. *na šūtē*, he does not go.

I have examples of the above form of negative inflexion in the case of some ten different verbs, and it seems to be general. I have noted *na dōra*, he has not, as an exception; and k. *na zōnmē*, *na zunmē*, I do not know, has curiously dispensed with the vowel of the termination.

In the pres. subj. the ordinary terminations of the affirmative pres. are retained, e.g. *na ik^era*, he may not do. But in k. I think that the negative form occasionally

occurs, and sometimes the extra final vowel without the consonant.

"*rt* in the pret. of *r*-roots is only partially preserved in G. (according to the position in the sentence)."

Corrections and variants.

Read: *kart* and *kah*. Add: *bart*: *bah*; *χart*: *χah*, eaten. I know no other examples of shortened forms. *wört*, *würt*, etc., brought; *mart*, died, broken; *vidert*, etc., passed.

"G. loses the *m* ending of the 1st sg. pres., but it is preserved in the pl. after the long vowel."

Corrections and variants.

-*m* is preserved in the 1st sg. pres. indic. neg., see above.

"-*yē*, I am; *ekenē*, I dig"; read: -*e*, or -*è*, and y. *èkènè*. The final vowel is elusive, *è* or *e* (i.e. *ə*), but it is never confused by a Gabr with the -*a*, -*e* (*ə*) of the 3rd sg.

"A final consonant often disappears after a long vowel."

Corrections and variants.

"*rū*, day," always, as far as I have seen, *rūf* when used alone, but y. k. *èmrū(f)*, k. *imrūf*, *amrūf*, to-day; y. *nīmrā*, midday.

"z. *nū*, bread," cf. G. *nūn*, *nū*.

Add further examples: y. *zī* (*zūd*), *kulō* (*kulāγ*), *ēirō* (*ēirāγ*), *hēnī* (*hanūz*), *ustū* (*ustād*, O.C.P. *ustā*).

The final *d* of a 3rd sg. pret. is frequently dropped, especially in k., where it also frequently appears as a *t*.

k. *rasō(d)*, *dō(t)*, and *dū(-d, -t)*, *talabā(d)*, *venōt*, *persāt*, etc.

"Frequent reduction of a final double consonant."

Add:

y. k. *a'bēn*, tie (*bi'band*); y. k. *mēz*, y. *miz*, *muz*, wages (*muzd*); also medially, y. k. *nazīk*, near (*nazdīk*); but *nīzd* i, to, with (a person).

"Loss of -r of Impv."

"KM *ke*, dostthou," add: G. y. k. *vēkō*, *vēkū*.

"KM *be*, bear thou," add: G. k. *vēbō* (? and *ba*).

III. INFLEXION.

A. NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

170 (a). "The plur. of nouns in G. is denoted by the suffixes *-ān* and *-hā*, pronounced *-ūn* and *-hū*."

"G. *vačāhūn*, children; *asp^hhū*, horses; *vōvhū*, waters."

Corrections and variants.

Read: § 170 (a) for "§ 170", which is duplicated in the text.

Endings: y. k. *-ān*, *-gūn*, k. *-ōn*.

y. k. *vačāgūn*, k. *vačvūn*; y. k. *māh*, month, pl. y. k. *māgūn*, also *māhō*.

The *-ūn* suffix is not very extended in its use. Examples: y. *mērd-ūn*, men; k. *yēn-ūn*, women; *pādišāh-ūn*, kings. It appears to be always used after the suffix *-ug*, *-ōg*, e.g. y. *yēnog-ūn*, *mērdog-ūn*, *purōg-ūn*, *dōtōg-ūn*.

y. k. *-hō*, *-ō*, *-wō*.

In ordinary speech usually *-ō*, except after a vowel. Examples: (inanimate), y. *wō-hō*, water; *pō-hō*, feet; *sar-ō*, heads, etc.; (animate), y. *bidēr-(h)ō*, fathers; *χavēr-(h)ō*, sisters; *mēr-(h)ō*, mothers; *divēr-(h)ō*, brothers; and *divēr-ūn*, *pur-ō*, youths; *dōt-ō*, girls; *asp-ō*, horses; *gō-wō*, oxen; *qōtir-ō*, mules.

In words ending in *-a* this is absorbed by the *-ō*, e.g. y. *siwa*, dog, pl. *siwō*; *asta*, bone, pl. *astō*.

The *-ē*, *-è* of precision or indication (*vide* § 173) may be added to the plural, in which case *-ō* does, or may, disappear. y. *mī χadè* (for *mī χadōè*), these houses.

The usage as regards employing the sg. for the pl. appears to follow that of O.C.P.

172. 1. "Accus. -rā," read y. k. -rō, k. -rā.

"vikerid," preferably with a final -t. y. vēikrit,
k. vēkerit.

The use of -rō, -rā appears to correspond closely with that of -rā in O.C.P.

2. I would write: "rī zavīn rō rūšnō'ī 'ta."

Is the χ in "rūšnāχī" well authenticated, or is it only the possible h glide exaggerated?

The prep. e (ī, ē) seems to correspond pretty exactly in use with P. bih, bah.

3. I do not know "mūsū" as a G. form for "fish", and failed to get it acknowledged. y. sg. mō'ī, mūhī, pl. mō'īō, mūhīō; k. sg. māhī, pl. māhīhī (māhīhī nē = it is fishes, in answering a riddle).

"deryā"; read: y. dēri'ō, k. daryā, derī'ā.

"The izāfa of the Genitive may be suppressed."

I have remarked the suppression in k., but I do not think it is common in y.

k. merdum ō šahrē, people of that city. k. vēšō mo ber zindūn, go to this door of the prison.

"dūher," presumably a slip for "dōtēr".

173. "The -ī of Singleness, or Indefinite Article, is used in the C.D. as in Mn.P."

It is commonest in conjunction with a preceding yak. Yak rūfī, one day, a day. y. yak sewa'ī ōna bō, there was a dog there. To this are probably to be referred such cases as y. her kōmī yakī qurun šō garaft, each one of them got a Qran; y. kōm wōdimī bo? which individual was it?

From this -ī is to be distinguished the -ē, -è, -e of precision or indication (yā ī išārat) which may accompany the demonstrative adjs.

y. ō wōdimē χado ō vača 'š vōt, the (that) man said to the (or, his) child. y. mō kore, this affair; y. mo sēndīχe, this box; ō waχtē, at that time.

In *barè wō(vē)kū* : *barè qulf ikū*, open the door : lock the door, it is probably this -ē. Otherwise it may be the acc. suffix -e so common in Ker.P.

174. 1. "*Ašdahāhū i mas*, great dragons"; read : y. pl. *ēdahōhō*, k. sg. *ašduhō*, *ašduhā*.

2. "The Comparative."

"The comparative used with superlative sense (Reh.)."

Add :

The use of the compar. for the superl. is the same as in O.C.P.

y. *vahter i hēma ha*, it is the best of all.

y. *mastir i hēma na*, it is the biggest of all.

(*Mastirīn* is the only instance of the superl. suffix of which I know.)

"Doubled Suffix."

"k. *Bahtartar*," cf. G. *vahterter*, better; *vatterter*, worse.

Read : y. *kēlōi sengīnter ez wōhin un*.

B. NUMERALS.

175. "*Gabri te*, i.e. Mn.P. *ta*."

Corrections and variants.

y. *tā*, *tà*, *tè*. k. *tā*, *tā*.

y. *dā tā*, *dū tè*, *čēn tā*, *čēn tēi* (P. *čand tāi*), *čōr ti bè*, four others. k. *čēn tāi*.

Note.—y. *hijda*, *hēida*, seventeen, and cf. y. *ēdahō* = *ašduhā*.

§ 174. 1. I have met k. *hafsōd*, *hašsōd*, 700 and 800 respectively.

3. "Ordinals: *duyum*, second, *sīyum*, third."

Corrections and variants.

y. *dōwum*, *dōvum* : *dōyumī*, y. k. *sēvum*, *sēwum* (doubtless under influence of *dōwum*, as P. *dōyum* is result of influence of *sēyum*. v. G.I.P. i, 2, p. 116).

C. PRONOUNS.

176. "The Personal Pronouns."

Corrections and variants.

I do not think that 1st pl. "me" and 2nd sg. "tū" are in use, nor 3rd sg. acc. "īrā". *Īrā* and *ūrā* are common in O.C.P. in the sense of the acc. dat. of the demonstratives *īn*, this, and *ūn* (*ān*), that.

The following are the forms of the personal pronouns as I have heard them:—

	y.	k.
1st sg.	mè, me,	mè.
acc.	merō.	merā, mèrā.
pl.	mā (mō).	mā.
acc.	mōrō.	mārā, mun (once).
2nd sg.	tā.	tā, tah.
acc.	terō.	tārā (1st vowel, à, a, e, or u; 2nd, ō or ā).
pl.	šumō.	(?) šumā.
acc.	šumōrō.	(?) šumārā.
3rd sg.	īn.	vīn, īn.
acc.	īnrō.	vīnrā.
pl.	iyè, iyē, yè, yē.	vīā, vīyā, vīhè, vīhō.
acc.	īērō, īērō, yērō.	vīērā, vīhērā.
sg.	ō	ō, wō, hō, ōī.
acc.	—	[ōra (acc.) and (ber)ve [†] , are prob. borrowings.]
pl.	—	šūn, īšūn, īšōn, ūšūn.

Note also the double plurals of multitude: y. *mōhō*, *šumōhō*, (i)yèhō, k. *māhō*, cf. O.C.P. *māhā*, *šumāhā*, Chitrali Pers. *māyān*, *šumāyān*.

In y. *χado wōš vēva*, *χado wōšō vēva*, tell him, tell them, perhaps merely the simple enclitics -ōš and -šō are to be seen, otherwise *ō* + *ōš*, *ō* + *šō*, "that him," "that them."

177. "Suffixal Pronouns."

I do not know why the vowels should be omitted in the singular forms given in the G.I.P., unless it is in order to avoid dealing with the difficulty of the alternative forms to which I refer at the end of this paragraph. If this is the case they should have been shown as *-m*, *m-*, etc.

I have the following forms:—

	y.		k.	
1st sg.	um.	pl. mō.	sg. um.	pl. mon, mun, mū.
2nd	ōd, ud.	dō.	ut, ot, ōd.	dō, dū, dū.
3rd	uš.	šō, šu.	uš, ōš.	šū, šūn.

Corrections and variants.

These forms are used:—

1. As pronominal genitives, or possessive adjectives corresponding to Mn.P. *-am*, *-at*, *-aš*, etc.
2. As pronoun genitives dependent on prepositional nouns.
3. As pronouns in the acc. case, and sometimes in the dat.
4. As the agential case of the pronouns with the preterite of trans. verbs.

Examples:—

1. *Bidērōd*, thy father; *ēēmuš*, her eye.
ēōr nafar šo, four of them; *šīvoš*, the bottom of it; *rāuš nazik un*, the road to (of) it is short; *hama mo*, all of us; *mī kōrōdō*, these doings of yours.
2. *az višuš*, from the direction of him, from him.
3. *dūstuš na dōrē*, I don't like him; *kakuš vėkū*, kiss her; *mē 'š ēvīne*, *mē vėvīnē 'š*, I shall see him, I may see him.
4. *xūb ud dīd?* did you see well?

When the introductory pronoun in the nom. immediately precedes the agential form of the pronoun in the 1st and 2nd sg., elisions take place, giving *mē'm* and *ta'd*.

In addition to the above the following forms also occur in the singular :—

1st. *mē, mē, me.*

2nd. *dē, dī, dē.*

3rd. *šē, šē, šī, šē.*

These forms are rather obscure. They seem to be invariably employed as the agent cases with the perf., impf., and plup. tenses. These tenses have an optional prefix *i-*, *è-*, and what sounds as *mē mī karta*, I have done, might be explained as *mē 'm (=um) i karta*. But this would not explain all the cases in which the *mī, dē* forms are found. It would be necessary to assume that these combinations had been misunderstood and the resulting *mī, dē*, etc., had been generalized, and *še* formed on their analogy, in order to account for their common appearance with the prefixless preterite, and otherwise where they are not in contact with the prefix, as in the following examples :—

y. *mē mo ēumē mē nišūn i in dōd*, I showed him this thing.

k. *oi'ina rā še vort berāber i pādīšāh*, he brought the mirror (and put it) in front of the king.

k. *še qabāl kah*, he agreed.

y. *mē suwōduš m'istēt*, I took a copy of it.

y. *in kauš i mē šē wuliš i karta*, he has exchanged my shoes.

y. *mē mo kōrē mī nē^t karta*, I have not done this thing.

In other cases it is open to suspicion that the prep. *è* (*e*, *i*) plays a similar part to the prefix.

y. *mē izn mē in dōd*, I gave him permission (*mē è in*, or *'m è in*).

y. *dušmān šē in dōd*, he abused him.

These forms also occur with the force of other oblique cases :

y. *girèn š' adèn*, give it a knot, knot it.

y. *mōšt dē viš ēkāde*, I shall strike you with my fist
(*dē* = *dē* + *ē* ?).

y. *šē xabar ikū*, inform him.

k. *dē hēmrah toiye*, I shall go with you.

Still further difficulty arises in the case of *šē*, if, as seems certain, there is a prep. *šē* meaning both "to" and "from".

The G.I.P. also gives the prep. *ē* as meaning "from" as well as "to", and it would often be possible to resolve *šē* into *š* + *ē* = to, or, from it, its . . . , the *š(e)* representing the gen. or another obl. case of the 3rd sg. pronoun.

y. *mē šē himrah šōye*, I went along with him.

y. *ēm šē rī ūwēn*, throw something over it.

y. *šē šiv i pō berīšta*, it has gone from under his foot.

y. *šē tū*, into, or into it.

Where one might have the O.C.P. *man (bah) hamrāhaš*, (*bah*) *rū'aš*, *az zīr i pā'aš bē'rūn rafta (ast)*, (*bah*) *tū'š*.

In some cases, however, the *-š-* might be identified as the agential; *ēm šē hem nōd*, he shut his eyes = *ēm uš* (by him) *e hem nōd*, otherwise *ēmuš* = his eyes, or *ēm šehem* = *ēašm baham*. Similarly, *da šē fulūna ēum kušt*, he touched a certain thing with his hand (lit. he struck his hand on something).

In the following, if it is grammatical, the first *šē* must be pure preposition.

hēci šē hēš faqirī fujerī šē na dōdē, he used not to give anything to any poor people.

Cases, however, in which the possibility of the idea of the 3rd pers. pron. is entirely excluded appear to be rare. The approximate meaning is, however, never obscure, and I did not fully realize the difficulty of the question of parsing while I still had means of making investigations at first hand.

See further §§ 187. 2, *a* and 192. 1, s.v. *šē* below.

178. "The Reflexive Pronouns."

I have the following forms:—

	y.	k.
General.	?	χ^a , acc. $\chi ar\bar{o}$.
sg. 1st.	$\chi adum$.	$\chi adum$, $\chi udum$.
2nd.	$\chi ad\bar{o}t$, $\chi ad\bar{o}d$.	$\chi ad\bar{o}t$, $\chi ad\bar{o}d$.
3rd.	$\chi adu\bar{s}$.	$\chi adu\bar{s}$, $\chi ad\bar{o}s$, $\chi ud\bar{o}s$, $\chi a\bar{s}$.
pl. 1st.	$\chi \bar{a}m\bar{o}$.	$\chi am\bar{u}n$.
2nd.	$\chi ad\bar{o}$.	?
3rd.	$\chi a\bar{s}\bar{o}$.	$\chi a\bar{s}o$, $\chi a\bar{s}un$.

The form χad is also used in combination with the personal pronouns as in O.C.P., e.g. y. χad i $m\bar{e}$, χad i $t\bar{o}$ ($d\bar{o}$), χad i $\bar{i}n$, χad i $m\bar{o}$, χad i $\bar{s}um\bar{o}$, χad i $y\bar{e}$.

Also with a noun as k. χad i $d\bar{o}tug$, the girl herself, O.C.P. χud i $du\chi tar$.

179. "The Demonstrative Pronouns."

Corrections and variants.

The following are the forms I have recorded:—

	y.	k.
THIS ONE.		
sg.	$m\bar{i}n$.	$m\bar{i}n$.
pl.	$m\bar{i}'e$.	$m\bar{i}y\bar{a}$, $m\bar{i}y\bar{e}$, $m\bar{i}y\bar{e}$, $m\bar{i}h\bar{e}$.
acc.	$m\bar{i}'\bar{e}r\bar{o}$.	$m\bar{i}y\bar{e}r\bar{o}$.
THAT ONE.		
sg.	$\bar{i}n$; \bar{o} .	$v\bar{i}n$; un ; \bar{o} .
acc.	$\bar{i}nr\bar{o}$; $\bar{o}r\bar{o}$.	
pl.	(\bar{i}) $y\bar{e}$, $y\bar{e}h\bar{o}$.	$v\bar{i}y\bar{a}$, $v\bar{i}'\bar{a}$, $v\bar{i}y\bar{e}$, $v\bar{i}h\bar{e}$.
acc.	$\bar{i}y\bar{e}r\bar{a}$.	$v\bar{i}'\bar{e}r\bar{a}$.
THIS SAME ONE.	sg. $m\bar{a}m\bar{i}n$, $m\bar{a}m\bar{o}$.	$m\bar{a}m\bar{o}$.
THAT SAME ONE.	sg. $m\bar{a}'\bar{i}n$.	$m\bar{a}v\bar{i}n$, $m\bar{a}v\bar{o}$.

In regard to $\bar{i}n$, $v\bar{i}n$, and \bar{o} , see also § 176.

The form "yi, der, er, derjenige", I do not know, unless it is the "ya" in k. $\chi iy\bar{a}l$ $\bar{s}\bar{e}$ $d\bar{i}l$ χa kah ya na $ja\chi er$ $pa\chi a$, $\bar{s}oiyad$ $\bar{s}\bar{e}l\bar{e}m$ $v\bar{e}'\bar{i}\chi re$, (which from the context might mean) she thought in her heart, that is cooked liver, perhaps she (my neighbour) may give me some of it to eat.

Note.—*bād az ōi kī*; *bād az mōi kī*, after that . . .

Bād az ōi kī dalloq saruṣ tarāšōd, after (that, that) the barber had shaved his head.

3. The General Pronouns.

Corrections and variants.

"*kas*," I do not know used alone in G., except in k. as a noun = person. There is also the compound, *her kas*.

"*hamah*," *hēma*, k. *ama*.

y. *hēma i rūj*, all the day.

"*har*," *her*, *ar*, etc., is an adjective. It occurs in the following composite pronouns:—

<i>herkē</i> , <i>her kī gī</i> ,	everyone, whoever.
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<i>her ēē</i> , k. <i>her ēē kē</i> ,	whatever.
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<i>her kōmī</i> , <i>her χudumī</i> ,	
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k. <i>her kudumē</i> ,	each one.
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<i>her χudumī kī</i> ,	whoever.
------------------------	----------

<i>her kas</i> ,	everyone.
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<i>hertī</i> ; <i>her yakī</i> ,	each one.
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(commonly constructed with the plur.).

y. *Her kī mēhmān hēn*, whoever are guests, all the guests there are.

y. *Her kas yakī sōpra χašo 'tōrēn*, each one bring(s) his) their own napkin.

"*Kī*," I only know in compounds: *her kī*, everyone; y. *hēškī*, k. *hēškī*, no one.

"*cim*," I do not know. *Ĉum* is a noun meaning "thing", *ĉumē* = something.

"*bidī*," y. *bedī*, *bdī*; k. *bidī*, *bēdī* is used as an adv. = again. *Bedī na āma*, he did not come again. I have noted it used meaning "another" only once in k. *χadumī bēdī* = some other person, someone else.

The adj. is y. k. *bē*, *bē* = other. *Yakī bē* might be used as a pron. = another. k. *kum bē* . . . *na* . . . , no one else . . .

D. VERBS.

181. 1. "Remains of old Present (-base) Formations."

Corrections and variants.

"birn- : brīd-, cut." The forms are said properly to be :

y. berīn- : berīd-, k. bīrn- : bīrnād-(bern- : bērnād-),
but my k. authority constantly uses the y. forms.

y. ēēn-, ēīn- : ēēnōd-

y. ɣarīn- (subj. vēhrīna) : herīd-.

k. herīn-, hērīn- (subj. vērīna) : herīd-, hērīd-, ērīd-.

I do not know "ne ɣurne" (namīɣ'arad). y. ɣar-,
ɣr- : ɣārt-; k. ɣer-, ɣr- : ɣārt-, eat.

Add :

y. darīn-, drīn- : darīd-, tear.

k. dērīn- : derīd-. (Cf. Skt. √dṛ̥, dṛ̥ṇāti.)

y. k. āštīn- : īštēd-, take up, etc. (Cf. Lit.P. sitādan,
O.C.P. sitūndan : sitūn-, take from.)

2. "Phonetic variations of the ending of the root."

(a) Final a Dental.

"v. kr. bend-, G. bass-, tie." Cf. G. y. k. bēn- : bašt-.

(b) Labial.

"ašnuv- : ašnuft-, hear." y. āšnō(w)- : ašnōft-, k. āšnō(w)-
(impv. vēšēnō) : ašnuft-.

Add :

y. nīv- : nīft-, send.

y. škōp- : škōft-, škōpt-, split.

Palatal.

(c) "vaj- : vāt-, speak." y. vāj- : wōt- (vōt-), k. vāj-,
vaj-, aj- : vāt-, vōt-.

Add :

y. k. rīj- : rēt-, pour out.

y. sōj- : sōt-, k. sāj- : sāt- construct (P. sāz- : sāɣt-),
but y. vīj- : vīɣt-, sift.

Final -z.

y. vēz-, vēz-, viz- : vašt-, also vēzōd-, k. vēzād-.

"Arvaštāmūn" (in Note 1) = (1) to jump (as in a game),
(2) to give a start (with surprise, etc.).

Add:

y. *verōz-* : *verōšt-*, pluck (a flower), shear (a sheep).

y. *darz-* : *dašt-*, sew.

y. *giz-* : *gašt-*, bite.

y. k. *arz-* : (*h*)*ašt-* (also y. *arzīt-* ?), leave, abandon.

Probably loan-words from Mn.P. :—

y. *pardōz-* : *pardōxt-*, pay,

y. *tōzn-* : *tōχnōd-*, gallop,

in place of G. **pardōj-* : **pardōt-*, etc.

3. "Different Roots in Pres. and Pret."

How does the matter stand as regards: *nīg-* : *nāšt-*, sit; and *šenōj-* : *šenāšt-*, to seat?

4. "Varying from Mn.P."

y. k. *kr-*, *k^rr-*, k. *kēr* : y. k. *kart*, *kert*, *kah*, to do.

y. k. *dōr-* : *dōrt-*, also *dōšt-*, to possess, etc.

Add:

y. k. *gōr* : *garaft-*, seize.

pēš : *paχōd-*, cook.

k- : *kapt* = *kaft-*, fall.

χīn- : *χanōd-*, k. *χēnād*, *χīnōd-*, read, sing.

mīn- : *mēnōd-*, k. *mīnōd-*, etc., (1) remain, (2) resemble.

5. (a) "Transfer of Pres. Stem to Pret."

"KM. k. *ēin-* : *ēin(d)*, to collect," for G. see above subsec. 1. There is also a perf. pc. y. *ēēda*. In Ker.P. *ēin-* : *ēīnd-*.

Add:

vēz- : *vēzōd-* (*vašt-*); *vēn-* : *vēnōd-*, throw, Bakhtiari
van- : *vand-*.

(b) "Transfer of Pret. Stem to Pres."

Correction:

The pret. base is *kušt-*. *Kūd-* is only the pres. base in both y. and k.

Add:

y. *χōpt-* : *χōpt-*, to sleep.

k. *χuft-*, also *χaus* : *χuft-*.

6. "Formation of Pret. Base in the C.D. by suffixing *-ā(d)*, *-ō(d)* to the Pres. Base, especially in such vbs. as in Mn.P. have the Infin. in *-īdan*."

The suffix is in G. y. *-ōd*, k. *-ād*, *-ōd*. Infin. *-ōdmūn*, *-ādmūn*. Especially in k. the *d* is frequently dropped when followed by a vowel, and dropped or changed to *t* when final

Add:

Equivalents of examples given from other dialects.

G *kiš-* : *kišōd-*, P. *kašid*.

gart- : *gartōd-*, P. *gardīd-*.

This formation is very common in G., even when the corresponding verb in Mn.P. has not got *-īd-*, e.g. :—

G. *zōnōdmūn*, P. *dānistān*.

kanōdmūn, P. *kandan*. (Is Afγ. *kanal*, dig. p.pc. *kanōdé*, a mere coincidence? Afγ. *ō*, like G. *ō*, corresponds to original *ā*.)

"G. *śnas-* : *śnasād-*." I do not know the latter form, which, however, probably exists as a new formation. I would give:

y. (1st sg. pres.) *iśināse* : *śnōχt-*, *isnōχt-*, recognize.

For "G. **īst-* : *īstād-*" read : y. k. *w-īst-* : *w-īstōd-* (= O.C.P. *wā-istādan*?).

y. k. *hēm-ušt-* : *hēm-uštōd-*, k. *-ād-*, to stand up.

182. "The Person endings of the Present."

y. k. sg. 1. *-ē*, *-e*.

2. *-ī* (k. occasionally *-ē*).

3. *-a*, *-e*.

pl. 1. *-īm*.

2. *-īt* (sometimes approaching *-īd*).

3. *-ēn*, *-in*, *-en*, *-an*.

The *-e* of the 1st and 3rd sg. are not, however, identical; there is always some subtle difference between them which the Gabr never fails to recognize.

"The Pret. base is identical with the 3rd sg. Pret."

Add:—with, however, the following exceptions:—

3rd sg. pret. (alternative forms), *kah* (*kartmān*), *bah* (*bartmān*), *šō* (*šōdmān*), *bō* (**bōdmān*), *χah* (*χārtmān*). Also such cases as *dō* for *dōd*.

"The Present base is identical with the 2nd sg. Imperv."

Add:—with, however, the following exceptions:—

kō, *kū* (pres. base *kr-*); *bō* (? *bah*), (*br-*); *Šō* (*š-*); *bū*, *bō*, (*b-*); *k. χō* (*χr-*, *χer-*; *χārtmān*); *y. k. va*, *k. vā*, *vō* (*y. k. vāj-*, *k. vāj-*, *āj-*).

For the impv. prefixes see § 183.

Dōdmān, to give, has 2nd sg. impv. *adan*, *adēn*, beside, *ātē*, *ādē*, the pres. being *itē*, *ētē*, etc. *Nōdmān*, to place, has 2nd sg. impv. *ūne*, pres. base *-n(ē)*. In these cases the initial vowels are mood or tense prefixes.

"The person endings in general agree with those of Mn.P. and are to be similarly explained."

Add: This is clear in G. from the negative forms, e.g. *ikrīta*, etc. (v. § 170), though the accompanying long vowel in some cases requires explanation.

183. "Tense and Mood Particles."

1. "G. *v-*. *a*. before the Impv."

Corrections, etc.:

G. *y. k. vē-*, *vē-*, *vi-*, *va-*; usually *v'* before a vowel.

"Impv. without particle, *va*, speak."

The prefix is rarely omitted, and I have never met *vēva* without it. Examples of omission are: *bū* (**bōdmān*) and *nē* (*nōdmān*).

Vē-, etc., however, disappears after the negative particles (whether the mood is impv. or subj.) *ma* and *na*. Also usually (?) when there is a separable prefix, e.g. *ar-čīnūt*,

pick up! *vō(vē)kū*, open! But *(vē)verkū*, put on (clothes), draw (water).

Other prefixes in use with the impv. are:—

i-, in *ikū* = *vēkū*, do!

a-, *ā-*, *à-*, appearing in:

y. k. <i>agor.</i>	P. <i>bigīr.</i>
<i>atèn, adan, àtē.</i>	P. <i>bidih.</i>
<i>àben, abèn.</i>	P. <i>biband.</i>
y. <i>āprūn.</i>	G. vb. <i>parōntmūn.</i>
y. <i>āχōpt</i> , k. <i>axuft.</i>	P. <i>biχ'āb.</i>
k. subj. <i>axaus'im.</i>	

ū-, appearing in:

y. <i>ūwen.</i>	G. vb. <i>venōdmūn</i> , throw.
<i>ūnīg.</i>	P. <i>binīšīn.</i>
<i>ūnè, una.</i>	P. <i>binih.</i>
y. k. <i>ūrīj.</i>	P. <i>birīz.</i>

bē-, *bī-*, appearing in:

y. k. *bī-ū*, come! and *bē-ōr*, bring!

(with some latitude of vowel sounds in each case).

"Negative Imperative."

G. *mā-*, *mà-* replaces the affirmative impv. particle. Sg. *makū*, pl. *ma'ikrīt*, don't do!

(In O.C.P. *nakun* is in much more common use than *makun*.)

As in O.C.P. the subj. with *na* is frequently used for the impv.: *Bedī mosè kōrè na ikrīt*, don't do such a thing again!

(b) "The prefix *v-* used with the Present to which it gives the force of a Subj. or Fut."

Corrections and variants.

Vē-, etc., is in G. only used with the force of the pres. subj., not of the fut. It is dropped in the negative after *na*.

"Fut. G. *vūē*, thou wilt come."

I have never heard such a form, and failed to get it

authenticated. Only the pres. forms are used with the sense of the fut., e.g. *it-ò-è*, I shall come, etc.

Where the prefixes *a-* and *u-* appear in the impv. they similarly appear in the pres. subj. *Bē-*, *bī-* also appears in the subj. of *omodmān*, come (v. § 189), and of *wōrtmān*, bring, e.g. 3rd pl. k. *bē-ārèn*.

(c) "The prefix *v-* before the simple and the composite Preterites in the KM (but not in G. ?)."

The *vē-* prefix does not appear in G. before either simple or compound pret. tenses;

(d) nor before the infin.

2. "G. *e-* (H.Sch. *he-*, but pronounced *e-*)."

Add:

G. y. k. *i-*, *e-*, *è-*; also k. *hè-* (*h* pronounced).

This prefix is usually elided after a preceding vowel: y. *her* *χudumī kī mōrō 'zōna*, whoever knows me.

The *a-* and *u-* prefixes appear in the same verbs which take them in the subj. and impv. *Vide* preceding subsections.

(a) "It precedes the pres. without appearing markedly to modify its meaning."

In y. it appears rather to be essential to the pres. indic., just as *mī-* is in O.C.P. It frequently disappears by elision as already remarked.

In k. it appears to be less essential, and it is often omitted even when preceded by a consonant.

As in the KM. it comes, at any rate frequently, between a separable prefix and the verb, e.g.:

ar-igōren, they hold up (*argaraftmān*).

ver-ikren, they put on (clothes).

But *iv-īsta* = (?) O.C.P. *wāmī-īstād*.

In y. (k.) *vē-ikrē*, *na-ikrē*, *ma-ikrīt*, I may do, I may not do, don't do! the *i-* is perhaps euphonic. I have *vē-kèrē*, without it.

As in the KM. this prefix does not, I think, normally bear the accent.

In y. it appears with the force of the pres. subj. in *è'bè, è'bī, etc.*, beside *vè'bè, vè'bī, etc.*, I may become, etc. (**bōdmūn*).

(b) "Before the Pret. to which it gives the sense of the Imperf. G. *e'čērādīn(d)*, they were grazing."

The (*d*) is certainly not G. For the impf. and its prefixes, also the perf. and plup., see below, § 187, 1, c.

3. "et-, t-, d-.

(a) Before the pres. in G. it would appear to occur in the case of particular verbs."

Corrections and variants.

G. y. k. *it'ōrè*, I am coming, v. § 189.

y. <i>it'ōrè</i>	} I am bringing.
k. <i>it'ārè</i>	

The only other verb in which I have found it is *hēm'uštōdmūn*, to stand up. 3rd sg. pres. y. *hem'it'ušta* (contrast impv. 2nd sg. *hēm'ušt*).

This prefix appears only in the pres. indic. with pres. or fut. force. It is dropped after the negative particle *na*, in *n'ōta, n'ōita, etc.* (for *na + it'ōt*), in which the *-ta* is the ordinary ending where there is a negative, v. § 170. I have no examples of the other two verbs in the negative.

(b) "Before the Preterite. Apparently not in Gabri."

On the contrary, it appears in the impf. of the first two of the verbs just mentioned. I do not know about the third.

Omodmūn, come, impf. sg. 1st, y. *t'ōmōde* and *t'ōmaiye*, v. § 189. k. 3rd pl. *berit'ōmāyēn*, they used to come out, and *t'ōmōdēn*.

Wōrtmūn, bring, y. *n'au tōrta* = P. *na bāyad āwurd*.

k. *šukr i χudā šo yā tōrt*, they kept rendering praise to God.

This brings G. usage into line with what is recorded of the KM.

4. "The particle *mī* is non-existent or very rare in G." It does not exist in G. proper; I have only met it in quotations from Lit.P.

184. "The Passive construction of Transitive Preterites."

(a) "*Irāde um kert.*"

The logical subject is frequently, but not necessarily, omitted when it is a pronoun. As stated in the note to the text, the agential pronoun may stand at the beginning of a sentence. The example given, "*uš wōt,*" he said, is very common in narrative.

(b) "The Contaminated Construction."

This is extremely common. Indeed, the use of *-rō* appears to me to conform very much with that of *-rā* in O.C.P. It is doubtful whether there is much appreciation in G. of the passive nature of the pret. construction. Examples:—

y. *kè rō 'd dī?* whom did you see?y. *fulūna kas rō ēūv uš kušt,* he beat so and so.y. *īn rō mè pè nīft,* I sent him back.k. *saruš rā še kamer i mūrōi sawārī uš bašt,* he tied the end (of the thread) to the waist of the black-ant.

(c) "Influence of the Trs. Constr. on the Intrs."

"me . . . om ne-šu, I have not gone."

I think I have occasionally met similar cases, but they are rare, and I can find no example in my MSS.

185. "Auxiliary Verbs."

1. (a) "From the root *ah-*, to be."

The forms of the ordinary "enclitic" verb, derived from *√ah-* and other sources which I have found in use, are as follows:—

	y.	k.
Pres. sg. 1.	-e, -è.	-ē.
2.	-ī.	-ī.
3.	-un, -unē; -na, -ne, -nè.	-ōnè, -unè; -ne, -nè.
pl. 1.	-īm.	-īm.
2.	-īl.	-īl.
3.	-an, -en, -èn.	-èn, (y)èn.

The “-na” forms of the 3rd sg. are used after vowels, *è èi na?* what is it? but also less frequently after consonants, e.g. k. *100 tūman qīmatuš nè*, 100 tumans is its price.

“*ōne, ōnī, ōna*, etc.”

I know only the following forms, which I have already given above: 3rd sg. y. -*un*, -*unē*, k. -*ōnè*, -*unè*.

There are, however, some other forms in *n* with *i*- or *è*- as initial vowel.

2nd sg. k. *kēinī* (beside *kēī*, *kaiī*), who art thou?

3rd sg. y. *kīènè*, k. *keinè*, who is it? k. *ēīèna*, what is it?

Perhaps there is a 3rd pl. in the -*ānan* of the following: k. *bahem qārānan* (? = *qahr ānan*), they are quarrelling.

(b) “Independent Auxiliary from *ah*-.”

The forms I have met with are:—

	y.	k.
sg. 1.	<i>hè</i> .	<i>hè, hē</i> .
2.	<i>hē</i> .	<i>hī</i> .
3.	<i>ha, a</i> .	<i>ha</i> .
pl. 1.	<i>hīm</i> .	(? <i>hīm</i> .)
2.	<i>hīt</i> .	(? <i>hīt</i> .)
3.	<i>hèn</i> .	<i>hèn</i> .

In the negative:—

sg. y. k. 1.	<i>nèhè.</i>	pl. y. (and k. ?) 1.	<i>nēhīm.</i>
2.	<i>nēī.</i>	2.	<i>nēīt.</i>
3.	<i>naha, na.</i>	3.	<i>nèhèn.</i>

The 3rd sg.s affirmative of the enclitic auxiliary, -*un*, and of this, *ha*, appear to be practically identical in sense and use.

The contracted negative 3rd sg. *na* (*naha*), which is generally used, has to be carefully distinguished from the affirmative -*na* of the enclitic auxiliary.

2. "From the root *bā-*, become."

The following are the principal forms which I have noted, with the tense and mood prefixes:—

Impv. sg. *bā*, *bō*, *vēbū*, pl. *būt*.

PRESENT (AND FUTURE).

Indic. sg. 1. <i>īb'è</i> .	pl. 1. <i>ibīm</i> .
2. <i>ibī</i> .	2. <i>ibīt</i> .
3. <i>ibūt</i> .	3. <i>ibē'n</i> , <i>ibèn</i> .
Subj. sg. 1. <i>vèbè</i> , <i>èbè</i> .	etc., endings as in
2. <i>vēbī</i> , <i>ēbī</i> .	indic.
3. <i>vēbūt</i> , <i>ēbūt</i> .	

There is no essential difference y. as given above and k. I have k. 2nd sg. fut. *ēbī*. In subj. k. 3rd sg. *būt* is common, and I have no forms with prefix *è*.

PRETERITE.

Indic. sg. 1. <i>bō'è</i> .	pl. 1. <i>bō'īm</i> .
2. <i>bō'ī</i> .	2. <i>bō'īt</i> .
3. <i>bō</i> , <i>bah</i> .	3. <i>bō'en</i> .

There is no radical difference between the y. forms, as given above, and k.

3rd sg. *bah* is said to be y., and *bō* k., but from both sources I have *bō* generally and *bah* occasionally. A *y* or *h* glide is common between the vowels, especially the former. Thus: 1st sg. *bō'è*, *bōyè*, or *bōhè*; 3rd pl. *bō'en*, *bōyèn*, *bōhèn*, also *boiyèn*, and k. *bōn*.

In k. there also appears to be a 3rd sg. *boyè*.

Impf. I have in both y. and k. 3rd sg. *ibō*.

PERFECT.

	y.	k.
Participle.	<i>ibda</i> .	<i>bèda</i> , <i>bida</i> , (<i>ibda</i>).
Indic. sg. 1.	<i>ibde</i> .	<i>bide</i> .
2.	<i>ibdī</i> .	<i>bēdī</i> .
3.	<i>ibda</i> .	<i>bèda</i> , <i>bida</i> .
pl. 1.	<i>ibdīm</i> .	<i>bēdīm</i> .
2.	<i>ibdīt</i> , <i>ibdīd</i> .	(? <i>bēdīt</i> .)
3.	<i>ibdan</i> .	(? <i>bēdèn</i> .)

PLUPERFECT.

	y.	k.
Indic. sg. 1.	<i>ibda bō'è.</i>	(? <i>bèda bō'è.</i>)
2.	<i>ibda bō'ī.</i>	(? <i>bèda bō'ī.</i>)
3.	<i>ibda bō (bah).</i>	<i>bèda bō.</i>

And so on, *ibda*, *bèda* remaining invariable.

From k. source I have frequently had *ibda* forms, but from y. only *ibda* forms.

I have k. *mibāšēn* for Lit.P. *mibāšand*, once only.

Forms in the negative. I have the following:—

Impv. sg. y. *ma bō.*

Pres. indic. y. 3rd sg. *na(i)bāta.* k. 2nd sg. *na bīyè,*
3rd, *na bātè.*

Pres. subj. (?) k. 2nd sg. *na bīyè.* In any case the prefix is dropped, e.g. *na bī*, *na bāt.*

Pret. indic. k. 3rd sg. *na bōyē* (with impf. force, glossed as equivalent of P. *namīšud*).

3. "From root *šu-*.

Apparently only in G. sometimes used as an Auxiliary Vb., and perhaps in Bebh. Otherwise in the C.D. and usually in G. it has preserved the older meaning of 'go.'

Corrections and variants.

I am not aware of the use of G. *šodmūn* (*šudmūn*) as an auxiliary unless it be so considered in its occasional idiomatic use in y. (and in k.?) with the pret. base of a trans. vb., with a passive sense, e.g.:

darīd īšta, (it) has been torn ("gone torn").

sōnōd īšta, rubbed (polished?).

sōvīd īšta, rubbed down, worn away.

taxt ī čumuš sōvīd īšta, the sole of the shoe has got worn down.

rēt īšāt, it gets spilt.

There is a parallel idiom with *omodmūn*, to come: *mart itōl* : *mart uma* ; *darīd itōl (uma)*, where it

supplied the intrans. of the trans. vbs. *martmūn*, to break, and *darīdmūn*, to tear.

For the conjugation of *šōdmūn* see § 189 below.

186. "Participles and Infinitive.

1. The Pres. Pc. appears to be foreign to the C.D."

Add:

The only forms showing pres. pc. endings which I have met with are: y. *parinda*, bird; y. *hērōšenda*, seller; in the latter of which the borrowed ending has been added to a true G. base. In O.C.P. the pres. pc. is dead and only appears in a few noun forms.

"G. *durū-vēz*, lying, untruthful," beside *durūvīz*, *durōvīz*; I have also *durū-vāḡ*, lying.

Of what G. vb. is *vīz* the pres. base? It looks like a borrowing from some other dialect.

2. "Preterite Participle.

1. from old p. pc. in *-ta-* (extended) *ta-ka*.

2. new formations from vb. stem plus *-ta*.

Of these (1) identical with Pret. Stem; (2) chiefly used in compound Pret. forms."

Corrections and variants.

I would give the forms quoted and suggested in the text as follows:—

y. k. *kart*, *kah* : *karta*.

y. *wōt* : *wōta*.

y. k. *vašt* : *vašta*.

y. *dīd*, *dī* : *dīda*.

y. *dōd*, *dō* : *dōda*.

y. k. *ōma* : *ōmda*.

y. *šah*, *šō* : *īšta*.

k. *šō* : *šēda*.

y. *kašōd* (*kišōd*) : *kašōda* (*kišōda*).

(Minor k. variants of some of above have been referred to earlier. For the variations of the initial vowel of *ōma*, *ōmda*, see § 189.)

See also p. pc. of **bōdmān*, § 185. 2, above.

With the contracted, or short, pret. form, *kah*, *kāh*, are to be compared *bah* : *bart*, *χah* : *χārt*. Among the extended forms the reduced *kēna*, *ēda*, and *paχa*, beside *kenōda*, *ēnōda*, and *paχōda* respectively, are to be noted.

y. *mē 'm i* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{kenōda} \\ \textit{kēna} \end{array} \right\}$ *bō*, I had dug.

3. "Infinitive.

a. In G. Pret. Base + *-mān*."

Corrections and variants.

All the *a*'s in the examples are pronounced y. *ō*, k. *ā*, *ō*.

"Justi gives *-tvān*, *-dvān* (*-tvān*, *-dvān*) with change of *m* to *v* characteristic of Kurdi."

Add:

-mān is the suffix ordinarily in use, but *-vān* also exists.

There is no reason to bring in the *-t*, *-d* of the pret. base in one case and not in the other.

It is probably correct to regard the *-mān* and *-vān* as being identical in origin.

There are in G. several examples of the change *m* → *v*, where *m* is intervocalic, e.g. *namak* → *niwak*, salt. The reverse process—the nasalization of a non-nasal labial—may also be remarked in several P.Ar. L.W.s, e.g. Ar. *kibrit* → G. *kēmrit*, sulphur, matches.

"Less frequent in G. is the borrowed infin. form of the Lit. Language, e.g. *χarten*, to eat."

Add:

In y. I have met, I think, no example of the borrowed infin. Instances occur occasionally in k.

In k. the *-t* of final *-št* of a pret. base is frequently dropped before the infin. suffix, e.g. :

<i>vaš(t)mān</i> , to run away.	<i>šēnāšmān</i> , to seat.
<i>bašmān</i> , to tie.	<i>nawišmān</i> , to write.

187. "Tenses and Moods.

1. Simple Tenses."

Add:

(a) There are, however, exceptions to the fact of 2nd sg. impv. (less its prefix) representing the pres. base of the vb., e.g. *vēkū*, do thou, pres. base y. *kr-*, k. *kēr-*. (See § 182 above.)

It is not true of G. to say that the impv. prefix is optional. *Bū* (**bōdmūn*) appears almost always to dispense with it, and it disappears after the negative particle, but otherwise it is always, as far as I have observed, present. For its various forms v. § 183. 1.

The 2nd pl. impv. and 2nd pl. indic. are, without exception that I know of, identical in form, the prefixes being in both cases disregarded.

(b) The Present.

For the forms of the pres. indic. prefix see § 183. 2. In y. I do not think that it is ever regularly omitted, though when preceded by a vowel it is frequently elided. The *t* of the *it-* prefix in *itōè*, *itōrè* certainly never disappears. In k. the prefix *i-*, *è-* is frequently dropped.

For the forms of the pres. subj. prefix vide § 183. 1 above. The *vē-*, etc., prefix is only dropped after the negative particle. As far as my examples go, the particular form of the prefix (*vē-*, *a-*, *ū-*) favoured by a verb in the impv. is preserved by it in the subj.

The prefix *bī-*, *bē-* only appears with the verbs *omodmūn* and *wōrtmūn*. As these verbs are also almost alone in taking the *it-* prefix in the indic., it looks as if they may have been borrowed bodily from some other dialect.

(c) "The Preterite.

The prefix *e-*, *a-* may precede the Pret., giving it the force of an Impf."

Add:

Vide § 183. 2 (b).

The *impf.* of *intrans. verbs* appears normally to be the form of the *pret.* + prefix *i-*.

y. *i'nàsta*, she was sitting; y. k. *i'bō*, he was.

k. *i'tersōden*, they were afraid; *ē'mīnāyēn*, they used to remain; *i'gyertādēn*, they used to wander about; *i'duruḫšād*, it was glittering.

The prefix *il-*, *t-* appears again in the case of the verbs *omodmān* and *wōrtmān*, v. § 189.

y. k. *mē 'tōmōde*, and, *mē 'tōmaiye*, I was coming.
k. 3rd pl. *itōmāyēn*.

k. *šukr i ḫudā rā šō yā tōrt*, they kept on giving thanks to God.

The standard paradigm of the *impf.* of a *trans. vb.* is as follows:—

y. sg. 1. *mē 'm ēkartē*, I was doing.

2. *ta 'd ēkartē*.

3. *in 'š ēkartē*.

pl. 1. *mō mō 'kartē*.

2. *šumō dō' kartē*.

3. *yē šō 'kartē*.

It should be noted, however, that the sing. forms are pronounced as "*mē mī kartē*", etc., and the analysis above is tentative.

Note that the "*kartē*" and similar forms are differentiated from the *perf. pc.* by the final vowel *-ē* instead of *-a*.

y. *mē mō kōre mī kartē*, I was doing this.

y. *mē mō kōre 'm na 'kartē*, I was not doing this.

k., however, seems also to use the shorter form of *pc.*, e.g.: k. *ḫārkešī šē kah*, he used to collect firewood.

k. *faurī šē dirist ikah*, he used to put it right at once.

k. *muddatī der zindān šē ser ibert, vē šawārā šē rūj ikert*, he was passing a long time in prison and kept turning the nights into day.

I have a similar example in y.:

y. *kērō 'š ēkušt?* whom was he striking?

beside: y. *kērō 'š kušt?* whom did he strike?

It will be noticed that the impf. has often a frequentative sense.

The Continuous Tenses.

When stress is laid on the actual course of the action a special idiom is used in both y. and k. This consists of the pres. or impv. of the principal verb preceded by the same tense of the verb *dörtmān*. The sense seems to correspond almost exactly with the English "to be in the act of".

This idiom in the past gives the true impf. Examples:—

INTRANS. VERB.

- | | | | |
|-----------|------------------------------|---|---------------|
| y. sg. 1. | <i>mè dörte</i> | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{tömöde.} \\ \textit{'tömaiye.} \end{array} \right.$ | I was coming. |
| 2. | <i>ta dörti</i> | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{tömödi.} \\ \textit{'tömaiyi.} \end{array} \right.$ | |
| 3. | <i>in dörta</i> | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{tömödu.} \\ \textit{'töma.} \end{array} \right.$ | |
| pl. 1. | <i>mā dörtim itömaiym.</i> | | |
| 2. | <i>šumā dörtit itömaiyt.</i> | | |
| 3. | <i>yè dörtèn itömaiyn.</i> | | |

(In the plural presumably also *dörtim itömödīm*, etc.)

TRANS. VERB.

- | | | |
|-----------|-------------------------------|--------------|
| y. sg. 1. | <i>mè dörte 'm ikartè.</i> | I was doing. |
| 2. | <i>ta dörti 'd ekartè.</i> | |
| 3. | <i>in dörta 'š ekartè.</i> | |
| pl. 1. | <i>mō dörtim mo 'kartè.</i> | |
| 2. | <i>šumō dörtit do' kartè.</i> | |
| 3. | <i>yè dörtèn šo 'kartè.</i> | |

(Read: *mè dörte mī kartè*, etc.)

The corresponding present tenses are:—

INTRANS. y. sg. 1, *mè dörè 'tòè*, etc. I am (in the act of) coming, etc.

k. *mè däre imère.* I am in the act of dying.

TRANS. *mè dörè ikerè, ta dörī ikerī*, etc. I am (in the act of) doing, etc.

These exactly correspond with the common idiom in Ker.P.:

dāram mīāyam, I am (in the act of) coming;

dāštām mīāmadām, I was (in the act of) coming,

which I do not recollect to have noticed in other parts of Persia.

2. "Compound Tenses.

a. Perfect."

The perf. is formed in the case of *intrans. verbs* by substituting the personal endings for the final *-a* of the longer form of the preterite pc. (the perf. pc.). For examples see paradigms, § 189.

In the case of *trans. verbs* it is formed by using the longer form of the pret. pc. (without inflexion) with the agential forms of the pronouns.

The type is: *mē 'm īkarta* (*mē mī karta*), I have done. Vide paradigm, § 188.

In the case of both *intrans.* and *trans. verbs* the *i-*, *è-* prefix appears to be inherent in the perf. pc.

INTRANS.

(All y.) *hōpat—īkafta*, a calamity has fallen upon—; *mart i'umda*, it has broken (*intrans.*); *az safar yomda*, he has returned from a journey; *χaš yōmdī*, you are welcome.

k. *nē (na + i ?) umdē*, I have not come.

TRANS.

y. *šo kafan o dafan īkarta*, they have buried him.

y. *šikōp ībarta*, it has taken a crack, it has cracked.

y. *tālīm šē zim īgarāfta*, he has learned.

k. " *mē mī nē dīda*," I have not seen (it).

k. *ēn šē χarj īkarta?* how much has he expended?

The prefix is perhaps to be seen in the y. forms *īšta*, *ībda*.

For the possible bearing on the question of the form of the agential pronoun (having the vowel after the consonant), v. § 177.

Add:

PRES. PERF. SUBJ.

INTRANS., perf. pc. + pres. subj. of **bōdmān* without prefix.

y. *mè omda bē*, I may have come.

y. *in omda bāt*, he may have come.

TRANS., the form of the perf. indic. + *bāt* (invariable prefixless 3rd sg. subj. of **bōdmān*).

mè . . . mī karta bāt, I may have done.

y. *in mo kāre šī karta bāt*, he may have done this.

y. *mè mo kōre mī nē karta bāt*, I may not have done this.

k. *jahatē mo kē tēnā diltangī na dārta bāt*, so that she may not have had vexation (from being) alone (= might not be vexed by being alone).

(b) "Pluperfect."

INTRANS., perf. pc. + pret. of **bōdmān*.

y. *mè āmda bō'ē*, I had come.

ta āmda bō'ī, etc.

in āmda bō, etc.

etc.

y. *fulāna kas mo gape šē vīr īšta bah (bō)*, this matter had passed from the memory of so and so, i.e. he had forgotten it.

k. *ager nē nāšta bōhīm*, if we had not sat (down).

k. *yēnugē ser i munāra merta bō*, the woman had died on the top of the minaret.

TRANS., the form of the perf. indic. + 3rd sg. pret. of **bōdmān*.

y. *mè—mī karta bō*, I had done, etc.

ta—dī karta bō.

in—šē karta bō, etc.

y. *χado fulāna kas me wōta bō*, I had said to so and so.

k. *javābuš sē vāta bō*, he had answered him.

k. *vē ēumē uš nē iχarta bō*, and he had eaten nothing.

(c) "The Future."

Add:

There are two ways of expressing the future with parts of the loan-word *χ^oāstan*.

1. The 3rd sg., *χāhad* (*χōhad*) with the pres. subj. inflected.

y. *mē χāhad vēikre*, I shall (will) do.

in *χāhad vēikra*, he will do.

2. The pres. indic. of *χ^oāstan* inflected as in O.C.P., with the invariable pret. base.

y. *mē χōham* (*χāham*) *kart* (*kah*), I shall, or will, do.

in *χōhad kart* (*kah*), he will do.

The second alternative is an exact reproduction of O.C.P. usage, *man χ^oāham kard*, etc.

Where there is no special emphasis, or expression of determination, certainty, etc., the future is expressed by the pres. indic. This is also the case in O.C.P.

I know nothing of the "true Gabri forms, pres. sg. 1. *vūe*, 2. *vū*, 3. *va*. Pret. *vut*, *viut*".

But the impersonal:

Pres. y. *ū*, *vū*, *ūt*, *vūt*; k. *vō* (*ō*), *wā* (?),

Pret. y. *vyōst*; k. *viōst*, *viāst*,

meaning "*wish, desire, want (to)*", are worth noting.

mē mē-ū(t), + acc. = I want (something).

mē mē-ū(t), + subj. = I want to do (something).

y. *mē kōrt mē-ū*, I want a knife.

y. *kumī rō dē-ū*, which do you want? (sg.).

k. *mē terā mēvo*, I want you.

y. *hiza mē vyōsta nūn vehrīne*, yesterday I (have) wanted to buy bread.

k. *mē viōst višē*, I wanted to go.

The pron. scheme with this vb. is similar to that with the perfect tenses.

188. "Paradigm of a Transitive Verb."

	y.	k.
INFIN.	<i>vōtmūn, wōtmūn</i> (to speak, say, tell).	[<i>vātmūn, vōtmūn.</i>]
IMPV.	sg. 2. <i>vēvā.</i> pl. 2. <i>vēvajīt.</i>	<i>vēvā, vēva, vēvo, vēvāj.</i>
PRESENT.		
Indic.	sg. 1. <i>mè èvaje.</i> 2. <i>ta èvajī.</i> 3. <i>īn èvaja.</i> pl. 1. <i>mā èvajīm.</i> 2. <i>šumō èvajīt.</i> 3. <i>iyē èvajèn.</i>	<i>mè èvāje, èvajè, etc.</i> Also: <i>ajè, ajī, aja, ajīm, ajīt, (vīyā) ajèn.</i>
Subj.	sg. 1. <i>mè vēvajè, etc.</i> (inflections as in indic.).	<i>-vāj-, and -vaj-.</i>

PRETERITE.

Indic.	sg. 1. <i>mè—umvōt(wōt).</i> — <i>vāt, —vōt(wōt).</i> 2. <i>ta—ud vōt.</i> 3. <i>īn—uš vōt.</i> pl. 1. <i>mā—mō vōt.</i> 2. <i>šumō—dō vōt.</i> 3. <i>iyē—šō vōt.</i>
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IMPERFECT.

Indic.	sg. 1. <i>mè—mī vōtè</i> (<i>wōtè</i>). [<i>—vātè</i>], <i>—vōtè(wōtè).</i> 2. <i>ta—dī vōtè.</i> 3. <i>īn—šī vōtè.</i>
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PERFECT.

Indic.	sg. 1. <i>mè—mī vōta</i> — <i>vāta</i> , [<i>—vōta</i>]. (<i>wōta</i>). 2. <i>ta—dī vōta, etc.</i>
Subj.	sg. 1. <i>mè—mī vōta</i> [<i>—vāta bāt</i>]. (<i>wōta</i>) <i>bāt.</i> 2. <i>ta—dī vōta bāt, etc.</i>
Partic.	<i>vōta(wōta).</i> <i>vāta, vōta.</i>

y.

k.

PLUPERFECT.

Indic. sg. 1. *mè* — *mī vōta* [*—vāta bō*].(wōta) *bah* (*bō*).2. *ta—dī vōta bah*(*bō*), etc.

Notes.—1. Square brackets denote that though I have not recorded the form it certainly exists.

2. For the pronunciation of initial *v-* before *ō*, vide § 163, addition.

3. For variations in the pronunciation of the prefixes *ē-* and *vē-*, see §§ 183. 2 and 183. 1.

4. For variations in the pronunciation of the agential pronouns and the question of the consonant + vowel forms, see § 177 in two places and § 187. 2.

5. For variations in the personal endings see § 182.

189. "Paradigm of an Intransitive Verb."

The conjugation of y. *šōdmān*, y. k. *šudmān* (to go), is as follows:—

INFIN. *šōdmān*, *šudmān*.

PRESENT.

Indic. sg. 1. *i'šē*.pl. 1. *i'šim*.2. *i'šī*.2. *i'šit*.3. *i'šāt*.3. *i'šen*.Subj. sg. 1. *vēšē*, etc. (endings as in indic.).

There is no essential difference in the present tense between y. and k.

PRETERITE.

Indic. sg. 1. *šō'ē*.pl. 1. *šō'im*.2. *šō'ī*.2. *šō'it*.3. *šō, šah*.3. *šō'en*.

The same remarks apply as in the case of "*bō'ē*"; see § 185. 2. 3rd sg. *šah* is said to be specially y., but *šō* appears to be the common form everywhere.

The *y* and *h* glides are common. In *k*. there is also a 3rd sg. (affirmative), *šōyè*.

IMPERFECT.

Indic. I have 3rd sg. *k*. *išō* and *hēšō*.

PERFECT.

	y.	k.
Indic. sg. 1.	<i>īštè</i> .	<i>šēde</i> .
2.	<i>īštī</i> .	<i>šēdī</i> .
3.	<i>īšta</i> .	<i>šēda</i> .
pl. 1.	<i>īštīm</i> .	<i>šēdīm</i> .
2.	<i>īštīt</i> .	<i>šēdīt</i> .
3.	<i>īštèn</i> .	<i>šēdèn</i> .
[Subj. sg. 1.	<i>īšta bè</i> .	<i>šēda bè</i> .
2.	<i>īšta bī</i> ,	<i>šēda bī</i> ,
	etc.	etc.]
Partic.	<i>īšta</i> .	<i>šēda</i> .

PLUPERFECT.

Indic. sg. 1.	<i>īšta bōè</i> .	<i>šēda bōè</i> .
2.	<i>īšta bōī</i> ,	<i>šēda bōī</i> ,
	etc.	etc.

(*īšta* and *šēda* invariable, *bōè* inflected as in § 185, subsec. 2 above).

NEGATIVE FORMS.

Impv. *k*. *mašō*.

Pres. indic. (and fut.) *y*. sg. 1, *na šima*; 3, *na šūta*;
k. sg. 2, *na šiyè*; 3, *na šūtè*.

Pret. and imperf. *k*. sg. 3, *na šōya*, *na šōyè*.

y. *omodmūn* : *omdūn* (? = *om(o)d(v)ūn*), *k*. (?),
 (to come).

Impv. sg. 2, *bīū*, *bēō*.

pl. 2, *bēōyīt* (*y*. *tōīt*, once).

PRESENT.

Indic. sg. 1.	<i>ītōè</i> .	pl. 1.	<i>ītōīm</i> .
2.	<i>ītōī</i> .	2.	<i>ītōīt</i> .
3.	<i>ītōt</i> .	3.	<i>ītōèn</i> .

Subj. sg. 1. <i>bī-yoi-yè,</i> <i>bē-ō-yè.</i>	pl. 1. <i>bī-yō-yīm.</i>
2. <i>bī-ō-yī.</i>	2. <i>bī-yō-yīt.</i>
3. <i>bī-yōt.</i>	3. <i>bī-yō-yen.</i>

PRETERITE.

Indic. sg. 1. <i>ōmai-è.</i>	pl. 1. <i>ōmai-yīm.</i>
2. <i>ōmai-yī.</i>	2. <i>ōmoi-īt.</i>
3. <i>ōma.</i>	3. <i>ōmoi-èn.</i>

IMPERFECT.

Indic. sg. 1. <i>it-ōmōde.</i>	pl. 1. <i>it-ōmōd-īm.</i>
2. <i>it-ōmōd-ī.</i>	2. <i>it-ōmōd-īt.</i>
3. <i>it-ōmōda.</i>	3. <i>it-ōmōd-èn.</i>

Also: *mè dōrte 'tōmōde*, etc., and *mè dōrte 'tōmai-yè*, etc.; v. § 187, 1, c.

PERFECT.

Indic. sg. 1. <i>omd-è.</i>	pl. 1. <i>omd-īm.</i>
2. <i>omd-ī.</i>	2. <i>omd-īt.</i>
3. <i>omd-a.</i>	3. <i>omd-èn.</i>
Subj. sg. 1. <i>omda bè.</i>	etc.
2. <i>omda bī.</i>	
3. <i>omda bāt.</i>	

Partic. *omda.*

PLUPERFECT.

Indic. sg. 1. <i>omda bō-è.</i>	etc.
2. <i>omda bō-ī.</i>	
3. <i>omda bah (bō).</i>	

Notes.

1. There is an immense amount of vowel and glide variation permitted. Thus pres. indic. as given, or with *y* or *h* glide.

Pret. *-ay-*, *-aiy-*, *-ai-*, *-oi-*.

3rd sg. *ōma*, *āma*, *ūma*, *uma*.

Perf. *ō-*, *ā-*, *o-*, *ū-*, *u-mda*.

Impv. and subj., the prefix vowel varies *bī-*, *bē-*.

The first glide appears and disappears, e.g. *bīyōt*, *bēōt*. The second glide similarly, e.g. *bēō-ī*.

2. The forms given above are primarily y., but they all also stand good for k.

The following special k. forms and variants may be added:—

Impv. sg. 2, *bīvera*, *bīvrē* (*bīw-*), (etym. ?).

Pres. indic. sg. 1, *'toiye*, *tāye*; 3, *ètā*, *itā*.

pl. 3, *itā^{an}*.

subj. sg. 3, *bīyāt*, *bīā*; pl. 3, *bēyān*.

Imperf. indic. pl. 3, (*ber*)*itōmāyēn*.

Pret. pl. 3, *ōmāyēn*, *āmen*.

Perf. indic. sg. 2, *īndī*; 3, *īnda*.

Perf. partic. *īnda*.

3. G.I.P., § 189, note 5. Justi's *آه*, *آه* to be explained as *h* glide, and final *h* to indicate in Arabic script the presence of a final vowel.

آه, i.e. *آه*, *itot*.

Ibid., note 6. Justi's *أمة*, *أمة*, Browne's *أمة*. In neither case does the second zammah represent the pronunciation *āma*, *ōma*, etc., but never "*āmu*"; and possibly *āmahēn*, but not "*āmuhēn*".

The following negative forms of *omodmān* may be recorded:—

Pres. indic., y. sg. 1. *nōīme*. 3. *nōīta*, *nōta*, *nōtē*, *nōt*.

k. sg. 2. *nātē*. 3. *nāīta*, *nōitē*, *nōta*, *nāt*.

Pret. y. sg. 3. *nā āma*. k. *no amaiya* (*omaiyē*).

Perf. indic., y. sg. 3. *nē ōmda*.

190. "Examples of Perfect and Pluperfect Transitive."

(a) Gabri.

In both the G.I.P. examples note the form of the agential pron. *še*, unexplained but agreeing with what I have given above throughout.

For examples of intrans. verbs and further examples of trans. verbs v. § 187. 2.

191. "Passive and Causative."

1. "Passive."

Appears to be rare in the (C) dialects, except as in § 184."

Yes, this is so.

"Uses such as (Justi) *vāt umde bu*, it had been said, are probably imitations of the Lit. Language."

I have not met this exact use, but cf. § 185. 3.

Add:

The passive is obtained by using the perf. part. (invariable) with parts of the verb* *bōdmūn* (inflected), e.g.:

mè kušta bè. I am beaten.

mè kušta bōè. I was beaten.

mè kušta ibda bōè. I had been beaten.

mè kušta ibda bè. I may have been beaten.

k. *zunāda bō*, be it known (that . . .).

k. *matlab šūn berāverta na bo*, their object was not secured.

2. Causative.

Corrections and variants.

I have not met *zōnōdmūn* ("zānādmūn") except as the equivalent of P. *dānistān*. *Zōdmūn* means "to give birth", "to have a child" (intrans.). A woman who has just given birth is spoken of as "*zōda*", used as a noun.

For "*jenūk*", read *yēnug*.

With "*kr. sūjūnādén*, P. *sōzānīdan*", cf. G. *šūjñōdmūn* and O.C.P. *sūzāndan*.

Add:

The causative is in G. regularly obtained by adding to the pres. base of the simple verb -*n*-, which gives the cs. pres. base, and -*nōd*-, which gives the cs. past base, e.g. *rasōdmūn*, to arrive, Mn.P. *rasīdan*.

Pres. base, *ras*-.

cs. pres. base, *rasn*-, *irasne*, I cause to arrive, or reach.

cs. past base, *rasnöd-*, *mè 'm rasnöd*, I made it reach, etc.

But,	Pres. base.	Past base.
y. k. <i>nàštmün</i> , to sit.	<i>nīg</i> ¹	<i>nàšt-</i> .
cs. y. <i>šenàštmün</i> , to make sit.	y. <i>šenōj-</i> .	y. <i>šenàšt</i> , k. <i>šenōšt-</i> , <i>šundàšt-</i> .

O.C.P. *nišin-* : *nišast*; cs. *nišan-* : *nišand-*.

IV. INDECLINABILIA.

192. 1. "Independent Prepositions."

Of the prepositions given as borrowed from Mn.P., *bi*, *be*, *bē*, *bè* is in common use in y. and k.; so also is *pīš*, but as in O.C.P. it takes the *izāfa* and is really a noun with a preceding preposition understood.

Der is not very common, its place being usually taken by *tā*.

I have frequently met with *bā*, *bō* in k., but not in y., where it seems always to be replaced by *χado*.

Add:

y. k. *az*, from.

y. k. *bād az*, after, Mn.P. *ba'd az*.

y. k. *pīš az*, before.

y. *tō*, *tā*, *tē*; k. *tā*, up to, till, Mn.P. *tā*.

y. k. *berī*, for, Mn.P. *barā'ē*.

k. *ber*, *ver*, on, upon.

"Older forms."

y. k. *vī*, without.

"*lī* = an, zu." I do not know this, nor did my y. informant recognize it. There is *lē*, *lēv* equivalent to Mn.P. *dam* = edge. (*lēv* ← *lab*? or *lēv* ← **lèv* ← *lēm* (edge) ← *dam*? Cf. *lē'au*, § 164.)

"*χadu*," read: y. k. *χadō*, occasionally *χadī* = with, along with (association, instrument, means).

¹ I have once, k. impv. sg. "*ānīt*", but this would seem probably to have been a mishearing.

y. *brinj xado maska šetèn*, they give her rice with butter.

y. *xadī yakī gèpō*, along with a sheep's trotter (?).

y. *xadòhèm*, with each other, together.

y. *xado* } *in um vôt*, I told him, spoke to him.
 bī }

y. *xadō wōwī garm vača rō išūran*, they wash the child with warm water.

y. *xado irīja iberīnan*, they cut (it) with a saw.

"*e* = Mn.P. *az*" is certainly not in common use. y.k. *az*, *ez* is the common thing. In examples like "*e seng*" (§ 190. 1, a) it would easily arise from *ez seng* → *es seng*. An *i*, however, occurs in G. after *bād*, *pīš*, and comparatives (where O.C.P. has *az*) which may be this *e*.

y. *bād i*, *pīš i*, *nīmrū*, after, before, midday.

y. *zōtaš vēštar i mē nē*, he is older than I.

k. *ārzu dē del beršūt*, the longing may go out from (quit) your heart. (Perhaps it is contained in "*dē*".)

k. *mu jī kārī kī i dašt i mē arōma*, this is the action that has come from my hand (i.e. that I have done). (*i dašt* = *az dast* ?)

"*e* = in, an, zu, gegen," y.k. *ē*, *e*, *i*, k. *hē* = to, etc. (corresponding to all uses of O.C.P. *bih*, *bah*). This is very common in both y. and k.

kumak i mē 'ta, he gives (to) me help.

višim i himām, let us go to the bath.

i bar, (to) outside; *i āna*, (to) there; *i tū*, (to) inside.

čēm um i fulūna čum kaft, my eye fell on such and such a thing.

The above examples are all y., but are good also for k.

y.k. *šē*, *še* = to.

This is common, but it is usually difficult to say whether it is not to be regarded as *š* of the 3rd pers. pron. + *ē*. *Vide* § 177 above.

- y. *čum šē rī ūwen*, throw something over it (but cf. O.C.P. *čizi rūaš bēandāz*).
- y. *šō'e šē piš*, I went in front (? of them).
- y. (*čumē*) *dašt i wōrūs ikren, yā šē tū maknū inan*, they put the thing into the bride's hand, or place (it) in (her) "maknu".
- y. *da šē f. čum kušt*, he put his hand on (= touched) such and such a thing.

Here is it, *da šē* = hand on, or *da uš ē* = his hand on ? *š* is rather far from the verb to be the agent. pron. This sort of question presents itself in the majority of cases. See also, however, examples in § 177 above.

In the following *šē* = to, appears to be certain :—

- k. *aldī zīyōd šē ō pīra zālī uš dōd*, he gave a lot of money to the old woman.
- k. *saruš rā šē kumer i mūrēi suwārī uš bašt*, he tied the end of it to the waist of the black-ant.
- y. k. *šē, šē* = from.

I have few examples, and the same difficulty as in the last case exists in regard to the *š* :—

- y. *taxta šē šiv i pō bar īšta*, the plank has slipped from under his foot (v. § 177).
- y. *šē aqab vēšō*, go after or behind (him) (O.C.P. *'aqabaš birō* or *az 'aqabaš*).
- y. *in šē nōd vēna*, he throws from (his) throat, i.e. he vomits.
- k. *šē viš wā pers*, inquire from him.
- k. *ser rišta šē kemer wā kah*, he untied the end of the rope from his waist.

"G. *rū*" ; read y. k. *rī*.

Add :

This is only one of a large series of nouns which are followed by the *ižāfa* and have a preposition expressed or understood before them. The same phenomenon is

extremely common in O.C.P., from which most of the G. forms are borrowed. Examples in G. are—

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| k. <i>hè bārè,</i> | regarding, | P. <i>dar bārah i.</i> |
| (i) <i>bōl'ī,</i> | on (to) the top of, | <i>bālā i.</i> |
| k. (<i>še</i>) <i>der,</i> | round (it), | <i>daur i.</i> |
| <i>dīm i (ber),</i> | in front of (the door), | <i>dam i.</i> |
| <i>gal i,</i> | (hang a thing) from
(a peg), | Ker.P. <i>gal i.</i> |
| <i>had i,</i> | towards, | (bah) <i>taraf i.</i> |
| <i>hēm'r'ī,</i> | along with, | <i>hamrāh i.</i> |
| <i>lōi,</i> | beneath, | <i>lā i.</i> |
| <i>pailī,</i> | beside, | <i>pahlū i.</i> |
| k. <i>pēi,</i> | after, in pursuit of, | O.C.P. <i>pai i.</i> |
| <i>pīš i,</i> | to, before (persons), | <i>pīš i.</i> |
| <i>pōi, še pō,</i> | beside, alongside of, | (? <i>pā i,</i> at the
foot of). |
| <i>rī, še rī,</i> | upon, | <i>rā i.</i> |
| <i>ser i,</i> | at the end of, | <i>sar i.</i> |
| <i>šiv i, še šiv,</i> | below, beneath, to
beneath, | <i>zīr i, (bah) zīr i.</i> |
| <i>tug i, tōg i,</i> | under, | <i>zīr i.</i> |
| y. <i>tug i wō išāt,</i> it goes under the water. | | |
| <i>vēj i, viǰ i,</i> | at the side of, beside, | <i>kinār i, pahlū i.</i> |
| y. <i>vēj i rah,</i> at the side of the road. | | |
| y. <i>vēj i mè nāšta bah,</i> he was sitting beside me. | | |
- "kr. *ver* = before, with, = Mn.P. *pēš*."
- y. k. *wer i, ver i.*
- y. *wer i* }
pīš i } *fulūna kas niŕtmūn,* to send to someone.
- y. *wer i dašt i mè ustū bah,* he became an expert
 (learnt his trade) at my hands.
- k. *ver i soiya χuft,* he went to sleep in the shade.
- y. k. *vēs i, viš i* = the person, or presence, of someone.
- y. *zūr šē vēs vōrt,* he shoved him.
- y. *zurb šō vēs ikušta,* they have struck him.

y. *her kōmī šo yaki qurun šo vēš garaft*, each of them got a *gran* from (him).

y. *az višūš*, or *az viš i in*, *me vyōsta*, I have asked for it from him.

y. *mē dē viš evajē*, I tell you, say to you.

y. k. *tū (itū, šē tū)* = in, into, O.C.P. *tū i, tū*.

In G. *tū* never has the *ižāfa*. It usually comes between a demonstrative and the noun.

y. *mō tū šair*, in this city.

k. *tip kapt mō tū ēah*, he fell into the (this) well.

2. "Verbal Prepositional Prefixes."

(a) "G. *ā-* = Ir. *ā-*

in G. *āšnuftmūn*, to hear."

Doubtful. Ir. *ā-* would normally give G. *wō-, ē-*. In *āšnuftmūn* the *ā-* may be only an inorganic vowel to assist the pronunciation of the initial double conson. *šn-*. I have also "*išnuft*".

Add:

G. *ōmodmūn*, P. *āmadan*, to come.

G. *wōmōda*, P. *āmāda*, prepared.

k. *wōrōsta*, *ārāsta*, P. *ārāsta*, adorned, dressed up.

k. *berāverta*, P. *barāwarda*, brought out.

ā prep. in y. k. *verōwer*, P. *bar-ā-bar*; y. *sarōšiv*, P. *sarāzīr*, downwards.

(b) y. k. *hēm-*, k. *ēm-*, *ām-* = Ir. *ham-*.

Add:

y. k. *hēm-ustōdmūn*, to rise, stand up.

k. *hēm-kuštmūn*, to close (the mouth).

(d) G. *n-* = Ir. *nī-*.

Read: *nōdmūn*, k. *nādmūn*.

šēnāštmūn : *šenōj-*, Cs. to make sit (down).

nāštmūn : *nīg-*, to sit (down).

(e) G. *pē*, *pēⁱ*, *pē* = Ir. *pati-*.

pē gertōdmūn : *pē gert-*, to return.

Pē is practically an independent adverb meaning "back", "again".

y. *tō pē nē gertōdē*, so long as I have not, i.e. by the time I have, returned.

The following are from k. records: *pē garaft*, he took back; *pē tātē*, I shall come back; *pē duwōra*, again, a second time; *pē* (also *ifē*) 'dēn, he (? they) gives back; *pē ništ*, (he) sent back; *rēsmūn pē mē gyau kuh*, I again let down the rope.

(f) G. *pēn-* = Ir. *apa* + *ni-*.

k. *pēn'ārtmūn* : *pēnār-*, take, seize.

y. usually with metathesis: *parōntmūn* : *parōn-*, *prōn-*.

(g) " G. *vā-* = Ir. *apāč-*, Mn.P. *bāz*."

Read rather: y. *vō-*, *wō-*, k. *vā-*.

Cf. O.C.P. *wā-* in *wā kardan*, to open; *wāguzār k*, to entrust, to make over.

vō- admits verbal prefixes, e.g. *vō'ikarta*, *vō(vē)kū*.

Add:

k. *vāpersōdmūn*, to inquire, impv. sg. *vāpers*; k. *wā bo*, (he) became.

wō- is also used independently = O.C.P. *wāz*, *wā*.

y. *ber i kōtī wō na*, the mouth of the tin is open, i.e. the tin is open.

(h) " G. *ver-* = Mn.P. **upari-*, Mn.P. *bar*."

Read: G. *ver*, *wer* = O.P. *upariy*, **upari-*.

Ver kertmūn = to put on clothes, but it is doubtful whether this is *upari-*.

y. *vača rō išūren*, *wō šē ver ikren*; *bād jōl o wer i vača* 'tōrēn *še ver ikren*, they wash the child and pour water over it; then they bring the child's clothes and put them on (it).

See also § 192. 1, s.v. *ver i*. Cf. O.C.P. *sardāri baras* *bād*, he had on a frock coat. See Horn, Nos. 190, 191.

Add:

vergīsnōdmūn, pres. 3rd sg. *ver'igīsna*, to vomit.

Ver šikasta is probably a loan-word from O.C.P. *war-šikasta*, bankrupt.

k. *Pādišāh šāhzāda rā šē ver penārt*, the king embraced (*šē ver* = to his breast, to himself?).

(i) "G. *ve-*, *v-* = Ir. *vi-*."

"G. *vaōrten* (Justi) = *vergehen*.

vedārt (H.Sch.) = *er ging vorüber*. From Ir. *vi-tart*, Mn.P. *guḡaštan*."

Corrections and additions.

vē-, *vē-*, *vi-*.

I do not know "*vaōrten*". "*Vedārt*" would be pret., but the vowel is wrong.

k. *vedert*, *vēdert* : *vēdr-*, y. *vidr-*, pass by; but the past base is usually metathesized into y. k. *divert*.

In G. *vištōdmūn*, to stand, to what is the *v-* referable? There is *wāstādan*, *wā'istādan* in O.C.P. with *wā-* (same as in G. above?).

y. k. *ber*, ē *ber*, Mn.P. *dar*, *badar*.

"*Berkerten*," rather *ber kertmūn*, to turn out, expel.

"*e ber umde*" = I (not "they") have come out.

ē *ber šo*, he went out; *ber vōrt*, brought out.

y. *fulūna kas az dīn a xaš e ver šah*, so and so became a pervert (went out from his own religion).

There is a y. *bar*, *bār* = outside (perhaps from P. *badar*); *bār vištōda*, standing outside.

Add:

G. y. k. *ar-*, *ār-*.

This is the commonest verbal prefix in the language. In some cases it corresponds to Mn.P. *bar-*.

The following examples are y., but it is found also in k:

arkēnōt, pulled off. *ar-nō'ita*, Mn.P. *barnamī-āyud*.

arkišōd-, pull up. *ar-čēnōd-*, pick up.

Further, y. : *argaraft*, *argalōd*- (roll over), *arkart*-, *arkušt*-, *arpēnārt*-, *arvašt*-. k. *arōma*, came up.

It admits the verbal prefix *i*- between it and the verb, but *vē*- is dropped in all cases that I have seen.

193. "Adverbs."

(a) "Of Place."

Corrections and variants.

"Where?" y. *kōē*, *kōī*, k. *kuyā*, *kuyā*, *kōī*.

"Whither?" k. *ikoīo*, *ikō*. "Whence?" y. *az kōē*, k. *az kōyō*.

"*e kujā* (H.Sch.)" is not Gabri.

"Here," y. *mōna*, *mōnē*, k. *mōnē*, *munē*.

"There," y. k. *ōna*, *ōnē*, *āna*, k. *wōnē*.

The prep. *i*, *ē* may be prefixed to these when motion is involved.

Add:

bār, outside.

utā, inside (similar form in Ker.P.).

y. k. *tug*, down, below.

y. *bōlā*, k. *bālā*, up, above.

y. *sar ō šiv*, downwards.

k. *gyau*, down, downwards.

k. *ker* (?), outside, away.

(b) "Of Time."

Corrections and additions.

"When?" y. *kōd*.

"Bebh. *īsa* = now, *āsa* = then." Cf. G. y. *osu*, *usā*, k. *usō*, then, at that time, next.

Add:

y. *mēna*, *mēnē*, now.

y. k. *nē*, now, presently.

y. *mōmne*, *māmina*, k. *mōmne*, *mōmnē*, *nōwē* = now.

Loan-word y. k. *bād*, *bāduš*, k. *bādun*, thereafter (k. *bādun mō* = then, thereafter ?).

"G. *imrū*, *emrū*, to-day = Mn.P. *imrōz*."

y. *èmrūj*, *èmrā*, k. *èmrūj*, *amrūj*. Cf. with O.C.P. *amrūz*.

Add: y. k. *imšau*, to-night.

Read:

hèrdā, etc., v. § 168, 2, *b*.

y. *hiza*, k. *ezēi*, yesterday.

I think that Ber.'s "*gerdā*" and "*geze*" are undoubtedly wrong. I was unable to get them recognized.

Add:

y. *bdī*, k. *bèdī*, etc., v. § 180, 3, again, after that, in the next place.

k. (loan-word) *bāz*, again.

(c) "Of Manner."

"KM. (L.W.) *ēūn*," cf. y. k. *ēūn*, k. *ēīn*, how?

Add:

G. *ēijūr*, how?

y. *ēandūnī* (*mas*), so (big) as all that.

y. *ēandīnī* (*mas*), so (big) as all this.

k. *ēē gūna*, how?

"G. *mūse* = 'so' (German).

y. *mōše*, *mōsē*, k. *musē*, *mōsē*, *mamōsē*, adj. = such, of such a kind; adv. = thus.

(d) "Of Degree and Quality."

"G. *bes* L.W. Mn.P. *bas*."

I have y. *wōs* and *bos*, k. *vōs* and *bus*.

Read: *zīyōd*, *zīgād*, *kēm*.

(e) "Of Reason."

"G. *ēire* L.W., why?"

Read: y. *ēirō*, *ēēra*, *ēirā*, k. *ēērā*.

Often *berī ēē ēī*.

(f) "Of Negation and Affirmation."

G. *na*, often *nē* before *i-*, occasionally *no*, *nā* before *ō-*, *ā-*.

mē mo kōrē nēikarta, I have not done this; but *na ikrīma*; *naikrē*, *nakerē*, I do not do; I may not do.

Add: *balē*, *hā*, yes.

Add:

Miscellaneous.

šoyad, perhaps.

y. *magir*, k. *mēg^{er}*, perhaps (with a negative implication), one would think that —.

y. k. *ji*, also, indeed, etc. (a very common word often without much meaning).

194. Conjunctions.

Corrections and variants.

"G. *ke*, *ki* = that."

Read: y. *kī*, *kē*, *kē*, *gī*, k. usually *kī*, *kī*.

"That" = "in order that" may be omitted.

y. *ō wōdimē* — *išta ya ēumī dī vēkra*, the man — has gone to (in order that) get something.

χado in vēva (kē) — *vēikra*, tell him to (that he should) do —.

"*Berī ā ki*," read: *berī ō(i) kī*, because.

"*agir*," read: y. *āgir*, k. *ag^{er}*, *agerkī*, if.

"*u, ve*," read: y. *va, ve, ō*, k. *vē, vē, va*, and.

y. *ō* usually between nouns. It is often indistinct and difficult to distinguish from the *izāfa*.

Add:

y. k. *amā*, *walē*, but.

k. *ēūn*, when.

There are many compound conjunctions, probably all borrowings from O.C.P., e.g.:

agerēē, *agerkē*, though.

bō wujādi kī, though.

bi šertī gī, on condition that.

<i>čerāki,</i>	} because, for the reason that, etc.
<i>čūnki,</i>	
<i>az woski,</i>	
<i>bi jahati ki,</i>	
<i>berī xāteri kī,</i>	
<i>ba wōsītēi ki,</i>	} in the case that, if.
<i>hergōi kē,</i>	
<i>hergēi gī,</i>	
k. <i>berī mu ki,</i>	because, for the reason that.
k. <i>hergō,</i>	in case.
k. <i>der bēni kī,</i>	while.

All the above would probably be used in either dialect.

XIII

THE LADY OF THE WEIR

By R. GRANT BROWN

THE Kyauksè district is at once the smallest and the richest in Upper Burma. Two rivers, the Zawgyi and the Panlaung, enter it from the mountains in the Shan States to the east, and from them spring a number of canal systems. These existed long before the British annexed the country, and tradition ascribes them to the great king Nawyāta¹ (Anuruddha), who reigned from 1044 to 1077 A.D.

Kyauksè means "stone weir", and the headwaters of three of the canals are at the little town of that name. Here also is the curious figure, of wood overlaid with gold-leaf, representing the Lady of the Weir (Plate I). The figure is certainly of considerable age, but archæology in Burma is not yet sufficiently advanced for even an approximate date to be fixed. I am informed by Wun Chit, who was governor of Kyauksè at the time of the annexation, that the headdress is composed of lacquered cane or some other substance in which the hair is encased.

The local legend is that this lady was one of the wives of Nawyāta and sister of the Shan king of Myogyi, which lies among the hills above where the Zawgyi enters the district, a few miles within the Shan States. At that time no town was founded, and no great building erected, without sacrificing one or more human beings, whose death was believed to be necessary to the success of the work, and whose spirits afterwards guarded it. The custom had

¹ This is the modern Burmese form of the name, spelt according to the phonetic system prescribed by the Government of Burma, with the substitution of *ā* for *a* to represent the indeterminate vowel (as in *among*). The other is the Pali form, transliterated in accordance with the Geneva Convention.

such vitality that in spite of the spread of Buddhism, which Nawyāta himself did much to make universal in Burma, human beings are said to have been buried alive under the gates of Mandalay when it was built in 1857, though no evidence of this is procurable. According to one version of the legend, one person was to be killed at each weir, when the young queen asked whether her death would not be sufficient for all. This was agreed to, and at the time of the British annexation it is probable that every weir in the district had near it a shrine in which was a wooden figure of the queen overlaid with gold-leaf. Since then some have disappeared, having been burnt or eaten by white ants. Both the weirs at Kyauksè, however, have figures in good condition. That mentioned above is at the Zidaw weir. Another (Plate II) is at the Minyè weir, the headquarters of the Minyè and Tāmōk canals. This is of less artistic value than the first, and is probably of later date. Near it is a much-weathered stone figure, about three feet high, with a primitive club (Plate IV). This is popularly supposed to represent an attendant on the queen, but closely resembles the *dvarapala*, or door-keeper, found at the gates of temples or pagodas elsewhere.

At the Nwadet weir, near where the Zawgyi enters the district, is another figure of the queen, also overlaid with gold, but of ruder workmanship (Plate III). It will be noticed that in all these figures the left arm is bent so unnaturally as to appear as if it was deformed. The position can be imitated, however, by making the left hand revolve on the wrist-joint as far as it will go to the left and forcing the bent elbow to the right. The Burmese are naturally supple, and extreme flexibility of the joints is regarded as elegant.

The next two photographs, Plates V and VI, are of figures resting in the same shrine as the last. Myinbyuyin ("Master of the White Horse") appears to be specially



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honoured as a local deity, though he is well-known elsewhere and his story is the subject of a favourite play. It is told at some length in the "Legendary History of Pagan", published anonymously by the present Assistant Government Archæologist in the *Rangoon Gazette* of the 24th September, 1907, and its substance is as follows.

Nāyabādi Zethu, brother and successor of King Minyin Narathunka of Pagan (1164 A.D.), had a beautiful wife whom the monarch coveted. He was sent to suppress an imaginary rebellion, but suspecting his brother's designs he left behind him his faithful servant Ngā Pyi and his best charger, and told Ngā Pyi to ride straight to him if anything should happen. No sooner was he gone than the king sent for the girl, and Ngā Pyi rode off to inform his master. At nightfall he came to a stream where he rested, not knowing that the prince's camp was on the other side of it. The horse's neigh was recognized by his owner, and when Ngā Pyi presented himself next morning he was killed, and became a *nat*, or spirit to which special powers are attributed.

The local legend as told to me makes Ngā Pyi halt on the brink of what he took for a wide river, but what was really a sandy desert. It is quite possible that the worship of this *nat* is far older than Nāyabādi Sithu, but that it has been associated with a historical event. The sandy plain mistaken for a river even suggests an ancient tradition of the wanderings of the race. It will be noticed that the name Myinbyuyin is inapplicable to Ngā Pyi, who was not the owner of the white horse; yet no one suggests that the *nat* was the real owner, Nāyabādi.

Udeinna, the Elephant-tamer (Plate VI), is also specially connected with the district, as he is said to have been born at Indaing, two miles north of Kyauksè, after his mother the Kethāni queen was carried away by a monstrous bird from the palace at Kawthambi (Kosambi) and dropped

into a banyan-tree. The original tree is said to have disappeared within the last five years.

Plates VII and VIII represent figures of considerable interest, but difficult to identify. They are wooden statues overlaid with gold-leaf, and stand in a small brick shrine on the pagoda platform at the top of Kyauksè Hill. They are popularly called the Brother and Sister, with reference, perhaps, to the King of Myogyi and Nawyāta's queen, but Plate VII certainly does not represent a woman as supposed. Mr. Taw Sein Ko, the Government Archæologist, informs me that the three-tiered crown indicates a supreme king, and a crown with the upper part bent back, as in Plate VIII, a subordinate ruler. He thinks the former figure may possibly be that of Nawyāta himself, while the latter may well represent the unfortunate King of Myogyi, with whom it is popularly identified.

This king is given the title of Kotheinyin, which appears to mean "lord of nine hundred thousand villages". The legend is that Nawyāta sent for the king, expecting him to render homage, and that Kotheinyin, who regarded himself as of equal rank but was too tender-hearted to drag his people into war, sank his pride and started for Pagan. But on reaching the whirlpool in the Zawgyi, where it emerges from the precipitous rocks marking the border between Burma and the Shan States, he was so overcome with shame that he threw himself into the river and was drowned. He would seem to be more in place as a local deity in the Shan States than in Burma, but Nawyāta's dynasty weakened after his death, and the Shans overran Burma. The figure may date from their domination.

It is characteristic of the freedom-loving Burmese, however, that their national heroes are not their powerful kings, who subdued neighbouring races and founded great empires, but victims of their cruelty, more or less obscure

and sometimes of alien race. The greatest of Burmese kings, and the man to whom, more than any other, the universal acceptance of the southern and purer form of Buddhism is due, is Nawyāta, yet no one worships at his shrine. One of the most important festivals in the country is that at Taungbyōn near Mandalay, where thousands of people from all the country gather to do homage to two obscure brothers, said to be partly of Indian origin, but more likely Arabs, who were put to death by him because they failed to provide their quota of bricks for a pagoda which he was building. Here also are worshipped their mother, a wild woman of Mount Pōppa; their guardian, a royal minister, and his sisters; Tibyuzaung the Dethroned, a snake-worshipping predecessor of Nawyāta; the equerry whose story is told above; and the Blacksmith of Tāgaung, whose strength was so great that the king was jealous of him, but could only destroy him by making his sister his queen, using her as a decoy, and burning him alive in a sacred tree. To these must be added the Blacksmith's relations, including the aforesaid sister, who threw herself into the flames; his wife the Snake-woman; and another sister who married a minister of Pegu, but set out to find her brother and died of exhaustion on the way.¹

At the foot of the picturesque hill, nearly a thousand feet high, which dominates Kyauksè, are two huge boulders, also called the Brother and Sister. Here again there may be a reference to the King of Myogyi and his sister, but the people have no very definite ideas on the subject, and the divinities may well be of more ancient date. There is, at any rate, no hesitation in appealing to them in time of sickness. Then offerings

¹ This festival is described in Professor Ridgeway's new book, *Dramas and Dramatic Dances*, and a more detailed description by the present writer is appearing in the July-December number of the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*.

of fowls (once, no doubt, sacrificed on the spot, but now bought dead in the market) are made to them, and left to the birds of the air. If this fails, recourse may be had to the municipal hospital and more modern methods of treatment.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- I. The Lady of the Weir (Zidaw).
 - II. The Lady of the Weir (Minyè).
 - III. The Lady of the Weir (Nwadet).
 - IV. Stone figure at the Zidaw Weir.
 - V. Myinbyuyin, the Equerry.
 - VI. Udeinna, the Elephant-tamer.
 - VII. Figure on Kyauksè Hill.
 - VIII. Figure on Kyauksè Hill.
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XIV

THE FRAVASHI OF GAUTAMA

By ELIZABETH COLTON SPOONER

ON the reliefs of the Gandhāra School, in all scenes where Gautama is shown, and thus in constant association with him, there appears a figure which has been the subject of much discussion. He is called Vajrapāṇi by reason of the thunderbolt which he either grasps by its middle, or supports on the palm of his hand. This thunderbolt is the exact copy of the weapon which Indra, or Sakka, holds; but in these sculptures it is not so much a weapon, to my mind, as it is a symbol of divine authority, which is a matter of importance for the interpretation of the figure.

This weird Vajrapāṇi has been identified in several ways. He has been called Māra¹ because of his supposed look and gesture of a wild, hateful demon, lurking and leering, and finally standing, so it was wrongly held, triumphant among the Malla nobles at the Buddha's death. But I find no evidence to support this theory in the matter of aggressiveness. There is no menace to the life of the Master by this attendant, no hint of evil purpose in pose or manner, so far as I can see. Rather he is a guardian, and as such more consistent. For what donor would order a sculpture of the Death scene wherein the Arch-Tempter would be represented?

General Cunningham identified Vajrapāṇi with the wicked cousin of Gautama, Devadatta.² If this were so, we should have Vajrapāṇi represented as a mere man among men, a plotting, malicious human being, not the Vajrapāṇi of the sculptures, who, spirit-like, floats in

¹ Grünwedel & Burgess, *Buddhist Art in India*, pp. 89-90.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 88.

the air at times, with the gods.¹ And further, would Devadatta find a place among the mourning followers around their dying Master?

In this Mr. Vincent Smith bears me out when he says: "The older writers on Buddhism wrongly identified the Thunderbolt Bearer as Devadatta, the heresiarch enemy of Gautama Buddha; or as Māra, the Buddhist Satan; or as the god Sakra, the Indra of Brahmanical mythology. Dr. Vogel," he goes on to say, "has recently started a fourth theory, ingenious but not proved, that he should be regarded as a personification of Dharma, the Law. The best supported hypothesis is that which treats him as a Yaksha, or attendant sprite, inseparable from the person of the Buddha. Probably the sculptors intended that he should be considered invisible to spectators, in accordance with a well-understood convention."²

The Yaksha theory is supported by M. Foucher when he calls Vajrapāṇi "une divinité d'ordre inférieur", and adds that "Le *Lalita-vistara* l'appelle un chef des génies".³ But how or why the chief of the Yakshas should come to hold such prominence in the Gandhāra sculptures, or should be depicted as inseparable from Gautama, is not apparent.

He cannot be Indra, for he is represented in the same group with that god; and I will endeavour to show later why I hold that he cannot represent the Dharma.

Who, then, is this figure, which so eloquently pleads for recognition, this unadorned, unclothed being, this invisible guardian spirit, tireless and constant, the only one who never leaves the Master's side?

A second figure, that of a monk, appears in almost equally constant association, it is true, and it is this fact which led Dr. Vogel to his theory, as he thought that

¹ Foucher, *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique*, p. 358.

² Vincent Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 108.

³ Foucher, loc. cit.

this triad must depict the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha. But I find that the monk is absent in twenty-three plates in M. Foucher's great work where Vajrapāṇi appears, so that the two figures are certainly not on a parity. Vajrapāṇi's first appearance in the biographical series of the Buddha story is in the scene representing the young prince leaving home. The question arises, would the Dharma, as yet unrevealed, appear right here, and, too, as a ruddy youth? With the thunderbolt in his hand, Vajrapāṇi alone accompanies Prince Siddhārtha, Chandaka, and Kaṇṭhaka as they fare forth into the silent night. From that hour he never leaves the Master's side, until the coffin lid has been closed in the grove of *sāl* trees at Kusinagara, after which he disappears altogether from view. Would the Dharma thus disappear at Buddha's death?

He is, from the beginning to the end, inseparable, as inseparable from Gautama as his very breath. Does not the clue to his identity lie within this fact? Is he not a *double*, or counterpart of Gautama?

If we examine for a moment a few of the sculptures reproduced by M. Foucher, we find striking proof of this suggestion. Let us take the scene of the Departure from the Palace (p. 357, fig. 182). Here is Prince Siddhārtha leaving the royal palace in the splendid vigour of early manhood. In every detail of feature and bearing, he is the ideal of a royal youth. Here, for the first time, we see Vajrapāṇi, floating high in the background, thunderbolt in hand, but invisible, as Mr. Vincent Smith maintains. Mark the same radiant beauty, the same splendid virility, reflected in the Thunderbolt Bearer, who is here the exact counterpart of Prince Siddhārtha. Compare this scene with the austerities of Gautama (Foucher, p. 381). The fair young prince is no longer recognizable, the ravages of fasting and exposure to the elements have done their worst. The sunken eye-sockets, hollow cheeks,

and drooping corners of the mouth tell the story of these six long years of vigil and fasting. Directly behind Gautama is Vajrapāṇi, still grasping the thunderbolt. But notice the marvellous correspondence between the expressions of the mental and physical depletion of the two. On Vajrapāṇi's face Buddha's sufferings are copied; here are the same sunken eye-sockets, the hollow cheeks, the faint and drooping mouth. Would Māra show such sympathetic suffering with one of his intended victims? Or could the Law, still unrevealed, become emaciated?

Again, in events of storm and stress, or of special danger, as, for instance, in sculptures where the Nāgas, the opponents of the Buddha, appear, and unusual effort is needed to bring about their conversion, the skill of the artist is taxed to mirror the feelings of Buddha in the Thunderbolt Bearer. In fig. 251, on p. 505, in the scene of the visit of the Nāga Ēlāpatra, the hostile and strained attitude of Vajrapāṇi reflects the excitement and alertness in the mind of the Master, who as Lord of Truth is confronted by Evil. Again, in fig. 272, p. 549, we see Vajrapāṇi in active hostility, where somewhat drastic powers appear to be needed to convert the Nāga Apalāla.

What seems to me a further notable instance of the close bond uniting Buddha and Vajrapāṇi is afforded by the ordination of Nanda (p. 471, fig. 238*a*). The torso of Vajrapāṇi is slightly inclined forward, and the interest expressed by the other invisible beings is feeble in comparison with his own, as he listens with rapt attention to the words which fall from the Master's lips.

In contrast with the militant character of Vajrapāṇi in the Nāga scenes, if we turn to the peaceful events recorded in the biographical series, as, for example, the Buddha's meeting with the grass-cutter (p. 391, fig. 197), the mild and benevolent expression on Gautama's face is matched by the peaceful expression of Vajrapāṇi and his easy, disengaged attitude. Another notable instance

is found in fig. 243, on p. 485, the preaching to the gods of the Trayastrimśa Heaven. Here not only the expression but even the features of the Buddha are reproduced in the Thunderbolt Bearer.

I am aware of the danger of reading too much expression into these faces of stone, owing to the play of light and shade in the photographs, as M. Foucher observes; but it seems to me, on the other hand, that it would be at least unfair to the sculptors to ignore their efforts to portray identity of emotional experience. After all, they have succeeded fairly well. I would point out, moreover, that my contention is not based on facial expression alone. Compare fig. 279, on p. 561. The scene is that of the Mahāparinirvāṇa, and below the couch of the dying Buddha, in the foreground of the composition, we see Vajrapāṇi struggling in sympathetic agony. In the following figure, No. 280, he is prostrate on the ground, as though himself expiring.

Does not this diversity of attitude and expression, harmonious always with the Buddha's, imply a more than human sympathy, and actual participation in his experiences?

I have noticed above that Mr. Vincent Smith suspects that in some of the compositions Vajrapāṇi, though portrayed, is yet invisible. This suspicion I find to be abundantly confirmed. On several occasions, for instance in fig. 222, on p. 441, we see Vajrapāṇi directly interposed between Buddha and a suppliant or worshipper. Here the kneeling figure with clasped hands appears to be addressing Vajrapāṇi instead of the Master, who has turned to greet him. Does not this show that Vajrapāṇi is a purely spiritual being?

Another point signalizing Vajrapāṇi as no mere mortal is his frequent nudity. Would any being but an unclothed spirit interpose between the royal actors in a scene like that of the arrival among the Śākya (p. 462, fig. 232b)?

To sum up, I find Vajrapāṇi characterized by four particular features: (1) divinity, symbolized by the thunderbolt he bears, and embracing, apparently, a protective element; (2) invisibility, evidenced as we have seen above; (3) inseparableness from Gautama; and (4) identity of emotional experience with him.

From the foregoing evidence, in my judgment, Vajrapāṇi represents a double, a spiritual and therefore invisible, counterpart of Buddha. The question now arises, what sort of a "double" is implied by a figure so conditioned? Is Vajrapāṇi to be explained by Hindu thought? He appears to exercise a double function, namely, that of a guardian angel, and yet more, that of a soul mirror, as is shown by the sculptures of the austerities, etc. So far as I know, the conception of the guardian angel is un-Indian. Nor do I find in the Upanishads such a possibility, where everything tends toward unity with the One, the Self. Here the whole endeavour is to do away with, not to multiply, the self. In fact, so far as I can ascertain, there is no precise parallel to Vajrapāṇi in Hindu or purely Indian thought. In what mystic company does such a spirit find a place? Where was such a theory as this figure implies, maintained?

To my mind, this problem finds its only solution in the amplified doctrine of the *Fravashi* in Zoroaster's teaching. The *Fravashi*'s dual character of guardian angel and mystic counterpart provides us with the parallel we seek.

Perhaps the most familiar doctrine in Zoroastrianism is that regarding the *Fravashis*. The word *fravashi* itself means, so the *Encyclopædia Britannica* tells us (11th ed., vol. xxviii, p. 1043), "confession of faith," and when personified comes to be regarded as a protecting spirit. This spirit is believed to be a very part of a man's personality, existing before he is born (*Ency. Relig. and Ethics*, vol. vi, p. 116), a spiritual being of perfect

identification with the man, so much so that he is sometimes called the "spiritual counterpart" and the "external soul" (Moulton's *Early Zoroastrianism*, pp. 254, 267). Mr. Herbert Baynes defines the Fravashi as follows (JRAS., April, 1899, p. 430): "It is the spiritual archetype of every man, without beginning and without end, attaching itself to the body at birth, and leaving it at death," which accounts for the disappearance of Vajrapāṇi from our sculptures after the coffin lid is closed.

If this external soul is identical with a man, then all the man's mental and physical experiences are identically shared by this spirit. There is a complete unity of being. This is the explanation of the identity of condition between Gautama and Vajrapāṇi in the scene of the austerities.

Nor does the fact of Buddha's deification in these sculptures offer any obstacle to the interpretation of Vajrapāṇi which I propose, for Moulton says that all sentient beings, of the good creation at any rate, have their Fravashi, including even Ahura himself (p. 262).

We have seen above that the figure of Vajrapāṇi is marked by four characteristics. Does not the conception of the Fravashi reveal the same? Are not divinity (in the case of a Fravashi linked to a deity), invisibility, inseparableness, and identity of experience equally characteristic of both?

This predication of a Persian character for Vajrapāṇi is supported and confirmed by the actual *vajra* which he holds, and which, called by this same name of *vazra*, is a recorded attribute of Mithra in the Persian system. Shams-ul-Ulema Dr. Modi refers to "Mithra as the angel of light and an associate of the sun, who holds a *vazra*, i.e. a mace or club, in his hand, as a symbol of authority".¹ Moreover, it is by no means incompatible with existing

¹ Cf. *A Glimpse into the Work of the B.B.R.A. Society during the last 100 Years*, p. 115.

theories of the Gandhāra school. It is, in fact, directly supported by what Rhys Davids and Grünwedel say about the Persian background of the Dhyāni Buddha doctrine. They too have pointed out the Persian character of Amitābha's name, which they say refers back to the old Persian light-worship. "The whole doctrine of the Dhyāni-Buddhas and Dhyāni Bodhisattvas appears to rest on the Zoroastrian theory of the Fravashis," and "We have thus Iranian influence distinctly before us, which accords with the local surroundings of the Gandhāra school".¹

The above seems to have been written under the impression that this evident Persian influence was a new appearance in Buddhism in Gandhāra, due mainly to geographical causes. Dr. Spooner's recent papers in the *Journal* have shown, however, that Magian thought and dogma lay rather at the very root of Buddha's system. On this hypothesis the figure of Vajrapāṇi the Fravashi is rather a survival in Gandhāra than a fresh appearance.

As we study the life of the Buddha from these Gandhāra sculptures in the light of the Zoroastrian faith, we have an explanation of this intimate, inseparable figure, the Thunderbolt Bearer. Here Vajrapāṇi finds his true place as the soul-mirror, the external soul, the mystic counterpart of Gautama the Buddha, which we of the Western world call the better self, the guardian angel, and which the ancient Persians called the Fravashi.

¹ Grünwedel & Burgess, *Buddhist Art in India*, p. 195.

DEVIL-WORSHIPPERS: THEIR BELIEFS AND THEIR SACRED BOOKS

By ALPHONSE MINGANA

FOR some time I have felt constrained to set forth what I know about the Yezidis, or Devil-worshippers, because I have had special opportunities of studying their life. The present article is divided into two parts: (1) Yezidi books under the light of criticism; (2) outstanding features of the sect. The final portion of the narrative deals with some newly discovered documents.

YEZIDI BOOKS UNDER THE LIGHT OF CRITICISM

The chief editions of the Yezidi books may be summarized as follows:—

1. Professor E. G. Browne, in 1895, published the translation of an Arabic text¹ in an appendix to Mr. O. H. Parry's book *Six Months in a Syrian Monastery*. This text, which formerly belonged to Professor Robertson Smith, is said to have been written by a native of Mosul,² and consists of the Yezidi *Book of Revelation* كتاب المجلوة and of two other accounts, the greater part of which was afterwards embodied in a second Yezidi book called the *Black Book*.

2. Mr. J. B. Chabot edited³ a Syriac text from the same sources, which corresponds, with slight variations, to the second account of Browne (Parry, loc. cit., pp. 380-3), and seems to be a simple translation of it (Chabot, *ibid.*, p. 100).

¹ Transcribed from a Garshūni copy preserved in *Bibliothèque Nationale* (Fonds Syriaque, 306 and 325), v. *infra*.

² *Ibid.*, p. 356; his name will presently be revealed.

³ In *Journal Asiatique*, sér. ix, t. vii, pp. 100 ff., 1896.

3. Mr. S. Giamil edited a Syriac text in Rome, 1900, with an Italian translation, from a manuscript preserved in the Monastery of "Notre Dame des Semences", of Alkosh, under the title "Monte Singar; Storia di un Popolo Ignoto". This MS. deals with the Yezidis, according to the statement of a Syrian priest named Isaac, who had dwelt among them in order to know them better than others did. The book is often written in the form of questions and answers, and is divided into ten sections, which treat respectively of the works of God and His abode (p. 3), the Creation of Adam and Eve (p. 8), the wonderful deeds of the God Yezid (p. 16), the Yezidi Holy Men (p. 27), the New Year (p. 32), Marriage Customs (p. 40), Death and Burial (p. 53), the Pilgrimage to Sheikh 'Ādi's shrine (p. 67), the Feasts and Gatherings at Sheikh 'Ādi (p. 80), the Yezidi Kings (p. 87).

4. Dr. I. Joseph published at Chicago, in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages* (vol. xxv, January, 1909, pp. 112 ff.), an Arabic text containing more completely the religious books of the Yezidis, i.e. *Book of Revelation* (كتاب المجلوة) and the *Black Book* (سُفْرُ رَش). In this publication the two sacred books are followed by a long narration of Yezidi customs compiled by a certain Jeremias.

I think that these well-intentioned scholars have possibly been misled. The author of all these texts is probably Shammas Jeremias Shamir, a native of 'Ain Kāwa in Adiabène, and a deserter from the Monastery of Alkosh, who died ten years ago at a very advanced age.

We quote about him the testimony of an eye-witness, Mr. O. H. Parry (loc. cit., pp. 252-3)—

"There is an old man, well known to the few Englishmen who have visited Mosul, once an East Syrian monk of the Monastery of R. Hormuzd. He has a history which would be worth writing, especially if he wrote it himself; for he has been a traveller, with the manner of an Englishman, and the heart of

a Syrian; and he has seen many troubles among his own people, and changes in the country from Erzingan to Mosul. But before all things he is a gossip; if there is news from Stamboul, Shammas is the first to retail it; for is not his wife's third cousin third division clerk in the telegraph office? Has the Mufti run off with a Mullah's wife? Shammas was at the bottom of it, and probably supplied from his own stud (for he is a bit of a dealer in horse flesh) the requisite barb. He deals too, in Manuscripts and ancient books, Persian, Arabic, Syriac; and once on a time over-reached himself in this pursuit. Among some books, which I was examining, he showed me one more especially commendable. Its actual personality so shamelessly belied its decent age and virtue as described by Shammas that he drew forth a request that even if he loved gold, he should spare my folly. . . . Truly these people have a strangely twisted sense of straightness, or more dullness than they get credit for."

The above assertion concerning the Yezidi books can be supported by external and internal evidence.¹

EXTERNAL PROOFS

I. Can we find a copy of all this long string of Yezidi lucubrations preceding the epoch of Jeremias? All of them rest on a Syriac and two Arabic writings. As to the Syriac document kept in the Monastery of Alkosh, it cannot precede the year 1865 A.D. I examined it very carefully, and my opinion of it is shared by A. Scher (*Journal Asiatique*, Mai-Juin and Juillet-Août: "Notices sur les MSS. Syriaques conservés dans la Bibliothèque du Couvent de Notre Dame des Semences," 1906, p. 76, Cod. 144).

Let us now turn to the puzzling Arabic documents. In order of date we come first to Parry's text. Its account is drawn up from the MSS. of the Bibliothèque Nationale, above mentioned. Here is what we read in the report of J. B. Chabot,² who has catalogued them (Cod. 300).

¹ We will refer to the *Asiatic Journal* of Chicago.

² "Notice sur les MSS. Syriaques de la Bibliothèque Nationale acquis depuis 1876": *JA.*, sér. ix, t. viii, 1896.

"Again we will write some extracts from the book of the Yezidis entitled *Djalwah*, the *Black Book*" (iii, 2^e, fol. 92*b*, p. 7). By the colophon of fol. 34*b*, we are informed that this MS. has been written by 'Abdul 'Aziz in the year 1889, and Cod. 323, p. 12, fol. 164, tells us that the copyist, the Subdeacon 'Abdul 'Aziz, wrote it for the deacon Jeremias.

I know the Subdeacon Abdul 'Aziz; he has since that time been ordained priest for the Jacobite community at Mosul; and he is now known by the name of Kas 'Aziz.

In considering the provenance and the date of the MS. published at Chicago, we notice that it is still more recent. Its editor, Dr. I. Joseph, simply tells us "The Arabic MS. here printed was presented to me before I left Mosul by my friend Daoud As-Saigh, as a memento of our friendship".¹ The oldest, then, of this string of Yezidi MSS. can scarcely go back to A.D. 1865, and probably all of them were fashioned in the mould of Jeremias.

II. From the avowal of all who have written about the Yezidis, they are prohibited from knowing how to read or write. This I ascertained for myself. One family only enjoys the privilege of having an elementary education. From this fact we infer: (1) The sacred books of the community must naturally be in the custody of this family, i.e., if these books are, for instance, in the village of Kasr 'ez-Eddin, as stated on p. 248, the family must also live there; but this is not the case. (2) If these books exist, they must be read in the annual assemblies of the Yezidis; but many Christian and Moslem spectators of these assemblies have declared categorically that there was no such reading. The books, then, have been written not to be read. (3) The Yezidis mingle in many of their villages with Christians and Moslems; in others that are purely Yezidi a non-Yezidi village is found close to them;

¹ Ibid., p. 111.

how, then, have these Kurds been able to make a secret of their books during 1,400 years so that neighbours do not suspect their existence?

INTERNAL PROOFS

I. These books contain some modern thoughts which betray that their author is Jeremias Shamir. Being from 'Ain Kāwa he spoke vulgar Syriac, and thought in it also. In the Arabic text of these books there are some sentences which suggest that their author, though writing in Arabic, was thinking in Syriac.

1. (p. 119.) لَكِي يَفْهَم وَيَعْلَم لَشَعْبِهِ "to make understand and to teach his people". The Arabic language never expresses a dative-accusative by means of a ل, which is the special sign of this case in Syriac (ܐܝܢܐ ܠܫܥܒܐ).

2. (p. 130.) يَجِبُ الصَّدَقَةُ عِنْدَ أَنْفُسِ الْمَوْتَى "alms are due to the souls of the dead". Such an expression can hardly be Arabic, عِنْدَ being evidently a translation of the Syriac ܠܡܬܝ used in similar sentences.

3. (p. 128.) فَحَبَلَتْ وَوَلَدَتْ لَأَبْنَانَا "and she conceived and brought forth our god". The same remark applies, and in a more accentuated manner, as that of No. 1. The Syriac would be ܡܠܬܝܐ ܡܠܬܝܐ ܠܐܒܢܐ.

4. (p. 128.) سَتَجْذِبُ أُمَّةً وَاحِدَةً وَرَأَيْتَ وَتَلْقُبُ لَأُمَّتِي "You will attract after you a nation which will withstand my own nation". Notice the newly coined verb تَلْقُبُ from the Syriac ܠܡܬܝܐ.

II. These documents exhibit expressions which seem to have a Christian origin; the following words are some instances: the New Testament term Beelzebub (p. 125), the evangelical expression رَئِيسُ هَذَا الْعَالَمِ "The Prince of this world" (p. 119), meaning the Evil One, and the distinction of the two castes clergy and laity, the latter known under the name of الْعِلْمَانِيَّينَ "The Worldly" (pp. 131-2).

An attentive perusal of these books conveys the impression that they are the work of a man whose object was to declare to a foreigner what the Yezidis were, and not for a Yezidi to know what to learn and to practise.

III. Jeremias appended to the sacred books of the Yezidis some interesting records about the beliefs and customs of the Devil-worshippers. The quasi-identity of the style of this later narration, and *la mise en scène* which joins it with the sacred books themselves, are so striking that we are tempted to assign both pieces to a single author. We subjoin some peculiarities which characterize both compositions; but such coincidences being too numerous for our space we will cull only a few from four pages of the *Book of the Revelation* and from four other pages of the Jeremian narration.

1. Jeremias, inspired by his mother tongue, uses the verb preceding a plural subject in the plural, which is absolutely against the Arabic syntax:—

BOOK OF REVELATION. *التي يسمونها الخارجين شرور* "That the outsiders call evils" (p. 119). *ولو كتبوها الأنبياء والمرسلين* "although they were written by prophets and apostles" (p. 120). *لأنكم لستم تدرّون ما يفعلون الأجانب* "because you do not know what the foreigners do" (p. 122).

JEREMIAN NARRATION. *يدورون الكواجك بالسناجق* "The Kotchaks scour the Sanjaks" (p. 137). *ليس كما يليسود* "and not as other people put it on" (p. 137). *يقرون لهم المشايخ* "the Sheikhs proclaim to them" (p. 130).

2. We notice similar mistakes in both writings about the position of the article called *التعريف* in identical places:—

BOOK OF REVELATION. *واحرّك امور اللازمة* "and I move the necessary things" (p. 120). *بعوالم الآخر* "in the next worlds" (p. 121). *بجميع وقايح التي* "in all the facts which" . . . (p. 119).

JEREMIAN NARRATION. ويظنون انه بكثرة الهدايا للمشايع "and they think that by a great number of gifts to Sheikhs and to idols they shun" (p. 133).
 3. The same mistake dealing with the right position of the letter ن in verbs and nouns when they are subjects of the proposition, or the suppression of this ن in these words when they are governed by a particle requiring the jussive tense, occurs in both pieces:—

BOOK OF REVELATION. اظهر معجزاتي وعجايبى للذين "I show my wonders and miracles to those who accept them and ask for them" (p. 121).
 "and the government of the worlds and the change of their governors are settled by me" (p. 121). لا تذكرون اسمي ولا صفاتي لئلا تندموا "do not recall my name nor my attributes, lest ye repent" (p. 122).

JEREMIAN NARRATION. يجمعون الدراهم عند الامير ويقسموها "they gather money in the house of the Emir . . . and they apportion it among them" (p. 137). يجب ان "it is necessary that they should go up the hill" (p. 137). وهناك يجمعون خشب وينقلوه للشيوخ "and there they gather wood, which they carry out to the Sheikh" (p. 137).

IV. The *Black Book* contains such grave inconsequences and so many modern conceptions, that it is impossible to make it go back before the middle of the nineteenth century.

1. On p. 129 we find that Russia constitutes the third sanjak or district where the Kawwāls must go to collect money. Now since Russia did not conquer Transcaucasia till the first quarter of the nineteenth century was over, the mention of Transcaucasia as being under the Russian Government could not be made save by a man living in the middle of that century, and this man is Jeremias.

2. It is told in the *Black Book* (p. 127) that Noah's Ark stopped near the village of 'Ain Sefni, distant from Mosul about five parasangs, and on p. 131 it is enjoined to give money to the Kotchaks, that they may withstand the Roman soldiers. The foundation of the town of Mosul does not go back to the time of Roman domination. Mosul and its suburbs, till the later part of the seventh century, were styled "Tower of the Hebrews".¹ This anachronism may be explained by the restricted historical knowledge of Jeremias.

We need not criticize the relation drawn up by the priest Isaac, since it is not an integral part of the Yezidi sacred books. We observe in it the following inconsistency: Isaac is believed by Jeremias to have been a Jacobite, but in the middle of the book our monk forgets himself, and thinking of his own liturgical books he mentions the Syro-Oriental Breviary, viz. the *Hādhra* and the *Gazza*.

We conclude the first part of our inquiry by remarking that we do not wish our readers to believe that everything in these books is wrong, for they contain some records of the habits and customs of the Yezidis which are incontestably true; but we maintain that it was Jeremias who put them into a sacred book, and formed into a code what the Yezidis practised instinctively according to an oral legislation handed down from father to son and sanctioned by religious authority with an aureole of antiquity going back four hundred years.

OUTSTANDING FEATURES OF THE SECT

I. It is surprising that no Syriac writer has ever spoken of the Yezidis, in spite of the fact that Syrian historians, Nestorian and Jacobite alike, were always among them. The 11th Book of Theodore Bar-Kéwāni's

¹ Cf. A. Mingana, *Narsai Homilies et Carmina*, vol. ii, ad calcem, in the Dialogue of the Angel and Elija.

*Scholia*¹ contains interesting notices about all the Pagan, Christian, and Gnostic sects. If Theodore did not mention the Yezidis, it was because he had identified them with another sect. The ninth chapter of John Bar-Penkāye's book gives us some information about all the Pagan divinities, Eastern and Western, but he is utterly dumb about the Yezidis, his neighbours.²

The word *يزيدي* *Yezidi*, a derivative of *يزيد* *Yezid*, is applied to the Yezidis of our day only by Arabic-speaking Muḥammadans; the vulgar-Syriac speaking Christians in the villages near Mosul call them *ܕܝܣܢܝܬܐ* or *ܕܝܢܝܬܐ* *Daisanites*³ or followers of Bardesanes. Does this name show that they are the partisans of the famous astrologer Bardesanes of Edessa who, in the second century, played so important a rôle in the history of Syriac literature? The daily worship which these Yezidis direct to the stars, to the sun and the moon, may perhaps throw a ray of light on this appellation. It is written in the Yezidi books "When they see the Sun rise, they kiss the place where his rays first fall; they also kiss the spot where the moon first casts its rays and the one which last receives them".

We have, therefore, no good information about the precise origin of the name "Yezidi". Some consider it to be a derivative of Yazid or Yazd, a town in Iran, the country of Mazdaism and Parsiism,⁴ or a relative adjective formed from the Persian noun *يزد* *Yazd*, "the good spirit," in opposition to Ahriman, the evil principle.⁵ A fact which suggests the Iranian origin of the Yezidis is that

¹ H. Pognon, *Inscriptions Mandaites des coupes de Khouabir*. Paris, 1889. IIe Partie, app. ii, pp. 109 ff.

² Cf. A. Mingana, *Sources Syriacques*, vol. i, p. vii of the second part.

³ Cf. Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. i, p. 111.

⁴ William Jackson's *Persia Past and Present*, p. 10, and *New International Encyclopedia* (art. Yezidis).

⁵ Cf. Oppenheim's *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, ii, 148, etc., 1900.

they all to-day speak Kurdish, i.e. a Medo-Persian provincial dialect. But if the following passage, taken from the Arab writer Ash-Shahristāni, has any historical value, this opinion could not be maintained. It is found in Cureton's edition of *Kitāb ul-Milal wan-nihāl* (pt. i, p. 101).

"The Yezidis are the followers of Yezid ben Unaisa who said that he would keep friendship with the first Muḥakkama, before the Azāriḡa; he separated himself from those who followed after them, with the exception of the Abāḡiyah, for with these he was friendly. He believed that God would send an apostle from among the Persians, and would reveal to him a book that is already written in Heaven, and would reveal the whole (book) to him at one time, and as a result he would leave the religion of Muḥammad, the Chosen One—may God bless and save him!—and follow the religion of the Šābians mentioned in the Kur'an. These are not the Šābians who are found in Ḥarrān and Wāsit. But Yezid associated himself with the *People of the Book* who recognized the Chosen One as a Prophet, even though they did not accept his (Muḥammad's) religion. And he said that the followers of the ordinances are among those who agree with him; but that others are infidels and give companions to God, and that every sin, small or great, is idolatry."

It would be rash to attribute a preponderant authority to Ash-Shahristāni, even if this quotation refers to the Yezidis of our day. Muḥammadan writers have sometimes a mania for bringing back everything to Islām; and one can count, even in our days, many convents which, at the time of Muḥammadan Khan's invasions have been renamed after a Moslem Sheikh. Moreover, the above account seems somewhat unlikely, owing to the mention of the problematic pseudo-prophet having come from Persia. Therefore, against Ash-Shahristāni we can quote a passage from Theodore Bar-Kéwāni¹:—

"Les sectateurs de cette religion avaient un chef appelé Papa de la famille des Klilayés, natif de Gaoukai. Ce Papa avait un

¹ Edition Pognon, *ibid.*, pp. 221-2.

esclave nommé Battai, qui, à cause de sa paresse, s'enfuit pour se soustraire à l'esclavage, et se cacha parmi les Juifs. De chez eux il se rendit chez les disciples de Manès, recueillit et mit en ordre quelques-uns de leurs discours et quelques bribes de leurs mystères magiques, et, à l'époque du roi Firouz, lorsque un décret fut rendu contre les idoles et leurs prêtres ordonnant que la religion des Mages seule subsisterait, Battai, voyant que sa religion prenait fin, flatta les Mages et adora les astres. Ils avaient même accepté le feu, et l'avaient placé dans leurs demeures. Il changea son nom de Battai, et pris celui de *Yazdani*, qui signifie "il vient des dieux". Il emprunta aux Juifs la défense de manger de la viande du porc, au Pentateuque le nom du Seigneur Dieu, et aux Chrétiens le signe de la croix qu'il jetait sur l'épaule gauche de ses auditeurs. Ses adhérents disent que la croix est le secret de la limite entre le père de la grandeur et la terre inférieure."

This passage is important and ought to be deeply studied.

The Yezidis carry with them, in order to collect money and tithes, a cock of metal called *Tâous* to which they present divine honours. A great discussion has been raised about the origin of this name, but it has not resulted in a clear solution of the problem. The hypothesis which appears more probable to the present writer is that of Dr. Lidzbarski,¹ who considers this name a falsification of the name of the god Tamuz.

Dr. Joseph (*ibid.*, p. 250) objects that it is not certain that in Kurdish the letter *mîm* changes sometimes to a *wâw*. This objection is not sound, because there are several instances where this change of *mîm* to *wâw* occurs. Here are a few instances: جاو; نام for *name* for *ناو* *eye* for *چام* from *چشم* *half* for *نیم* *bow* for *کمان* etc. The characteristics attributed by the Yezidis of our day to *Tâous*, rejoins Dr. Joseph, are different from those that the ancients attributed to Tamuz. But what are

¹ ZDMG., i, 592.

these characteristics? Before we answer this objection we must have fuller knowledge about the origin of the Yezidis, and about the great transformations that have affected and overturned their religion in the course of centuries. To us their beliefs and their religious observances seem to be an unequal amalgam of Jewish, Christian, pagan, and even Muḥammadan conceptions, and on this ground we are tempted to say that they are a survival from the ancient Chaldeo-Mazdean beliefs, greatly influenced in the second century by some aberrations of Gnostic thought.

We have a historical tradition that, in the Sassanid empire of Persia, there were people who worshipped a divinity called Tamuz. John Bar-Penkāye affirms this for the eighth century, in the ninth chapter of his book not yet printed (cf. our publication *Sources Syriaques*, vol. i, pt. ii, p. 7). Theodore Bar-Kéwāni (sixth century) shows clearly that the worship of Tamuz was prevalent not only in the valley of the Tigris but also in the territory of the Beit-Arabāye, which corresponds to the territory surrounding the mountain of Sinjār as far as Nisibin—the chief centre of this occult religion. We are unable to identify Tamuz with any other name than Tāous. Moreover, the name Tamuz was borne even by Christians in Sassanid Persia (cf. the Patriarch of Seleucia of the fourth century called *Tamuza*). I saw a Christian from the village of Sherānesh (Kurdistan) called Marcos son of Tamuz, and another from the village of Kārepshesh (ibid.) whose name was Tamuz Yalda. I give a passage from Theodore Bar-Kéwāni, as reproduced in the masterly book of M. Pognon (*Inscriptions Sémitiques*, Paris, 1907, pp. 181-2):—

“Ce Tamuza était, dit on, un berger, et il aimait une femme célèbre, et vantée à cause de sa beauté. Elle était de l'île de Chypre et se nommait Balthi, son père se nommait Héracles, sa mère Arnis, et son mari Hephaistos. Elle s'enfuit avec

Tamuza, son amant, dans les montagnes du Liban. C'est elle que l'on appelait aussi le planète Vénus, car à cause de sa corruption, son père lui avait donné ce nom. Son père la pleura sept jours pendant le mois de Tébet, qui est le mois de janvier ; on fit cuire du pain sur la terre, on le mangea, et c'est ce pain que chez les païens, on appelle aujourd'hui encore la galette de la maison de Tébet. Hephaistos, son mari, la poursuivit dans les montagnes du Liban, Tamuza le rencontra et le tua, mais lui aussi mourut déchiré par un sanglier. Cette prostituée, par suite de l'amour qu'elle avait pour Tamuza, mourut de douleur sur son cadavre. Son père, en apprenant sa mort, institua un deuil au mois de juillet, et, de leur côté, les parents de Tamuza le pleurèrent. Tels furent les pleurs que répandirent sur Tamuza des impies que le peuple hébreu imita. Nous ajoutons encore que Héraclès, le père de cette malheureuse, fit son image, en y employant beaucoup d'or, et que comme il était le chef du pays, il força tout le monde à l'adorer. A la fin, pour que sa réputation se répandit davantage dans tous les pays, il força Hamor, roi du pays d'Arab, de fondre une image de la planète de Vénus, et la lui envoya pour qu'il l'adorât lui-même, aussi. Ce Hamor la reçut et la remit à un de ses serviteurs nommé Mouna, pour qu'il veillât sur elle ; quelque temps après on la lui vola et, dans sa terreur, il raconta à son maître que l'image de femme avait été mécontente, qu'elle s'était envolée, et était allée résider dans l'étoile elle-même. Hamor se leva à l'aube, dressa une tente, créa un prêtre de la planète Vénus, et fit de grandes jouissances ; c'est la fête que célébraient chaque année les habitants du pays d'Arab. Quant à ce serviteur, craignant qu'il ne fût reconnu que l'image de femme n'était pas allée dans l'étoile, il s'enfuit, vint sur le Tigre, prit du bois de chêne . . ."

Why is this Tamuz represented under the figure of a bird? In the excavations made in Assyria many representations of bird-like deities have been found. Sir Henry Layard writes about them as follows:—

"The Ynges, or sacred birds, belonged to the Babylonian and probably also to the Assyrian religion. They were a kind of demons who exercised a peculiar influence over mankind,

moi-même. Pendant le sommeil, je me vis dans un jardin splendide, abondamment arrosé et dont les arbres étaient courbés sous le poids de leurs fruits. Les fleurs de tous genres et de toutes couleurs émaillaient ce paradis de délices. Voulant contempler à loisir la beauté de la nature, je m'assis à l'ombre d'un grand arbre, plusieurs fois séculaire et dont les branches étaient couvertes de petits oiseaux chanteurs qui semblaient se disputer la palme de la mélodie " (p. 2).

It is not our purpose to discuss the divine inspirations that the Holy Ghost can lavish upon His servants; but we cannot help wondering at the literary proficiency of our Kurd, who awakens a suspicion that he has been piously assisted in his description by his spiritual father.

During my last journey in Turkey, from January 7 to March 17 of 1913, I was passing near Sinjâr. I asked many friends, Yezidis of Sinjâr, about this discovery, but they were unable to answer my questions, or even to understand them. When I reached Mardin, I communicated my doubts to the Rev. A. N. Andrus, the veteran American missionary who for forty years effectively assisted these devil-worshippers at the British Embassy in Constantinople during the frightful trials which they endured through the intolerant attitude of the governors of Mosul, and who, from 1908 to 1912, distributed more than 4,000 Ottoman pounds to Christians and Yezidis in their utmost need. Our readers will easily imagine that such a man must have certain consideration among the Yezidis. Now I found that he, like me, had been shocked by the strange discovery of Father Anastase, and that he had undertaken a journey in 1912 from April 5 to May 17 in order to verify this story. He passed by Ba'adri and sought information on the spot from the spiritual and temporal chief of the Yezidis, and went to Sinjâr and interrogated Khodar Aliâs, the sheikh of that small country, but only aroused astonishment among the Yezidis, and received negative answers. His excursion, which was undertaken

also for other purposes, has been fruitless so far as the alleged new discovery was concerned.

2. The books discovered by Father Anastase Marie in 1904, and published by him in 1911 in the review *Anthropos*, are the same as the *Book of Revelation* and the *Black Book*, which, according to Father Anastase (p. 7), have been translated from Kurdish into Arabic by a Yezidi versed in the tongue of the sect. We cannot help raising two objections to this: (1) We are not told what utility did the Yezidis experience in translating them. As all the Yezidis speak Kurdish, this translation would be useless to them. Moreover, it is said in the *Black Book* that God spoke to the Yezidis in Kurdish (p. 127, Chicago ed.); why, then, should they have changed this language for that of their persecutors? (2) We ought to congratulate this learned Yezidi who could so easily translate into Arabic a text which would puzzle the best Turanian and Semitic scholars.

The script, too, in which these books are presented is no less strange. It has nothing in common with hieroglyphics; it is not cuneiform, nor Syriac, nor Aramaic, nor Hebrew, nor Kufic, nor Mongolian, nor Mandaite, nor Cypriote, nor Arabic, nor Ural-Altaic, nor Ugro-Tartarie. When and where has this writing been developed? The first author of these Yezidi books, though writing, did not want to be read; and since the inscriptions on stone, the papyri, and the vellum MSS. are mute about the nature and origin of this writing, is it likely that a newly discovered book in the mountain of Sinjâr would reveal its secret existence?

The mountain of Sinjâr formed a Nestorian bishopric under the Metropolitan of Beit 'Arabâyé, and for many years a Jacobite see under the Maphrian of Tagrit. Probably a Nestorian bishop resided there till the Mongol inroads. The Monophysites attempted, with the assistance of their allies, the Henânites, from the seventh to the

ninth century, to supplant the Nestorian community; but their efforts succeeded only during the ephemeral but deadly time of Gabriel the Drusbed, and the Nestorians regained their mastery.¹ It happened about the fourteenth century that Christians dwelling on this mountain were subjected to a horrible massacre by Tartar Khans. In these years of desolation many people inhabiting the villages in the neighbourhood, who had till then remained pagan, went there to seek shelter from the diurnal raids of these barbarous hordes of the plains. All the ancient monuments hitherto found on this mountain are either Assyrian or Christian, and, so far as I know, nothing betrays the presence of the Yezidis before the Tartar invasion. Therefore, the occupation of Sinjâr by the Yezidis can scarcely go back to a period before the fifteenth century. An earlier date is not suggested either by the history of the mountain or by the character of any extant monument.

The chief occupation of these Yezidi villagers is rapine and plunder. There is no shadow amongst them of a religious centre, and simple *Ḳawwâls* go there ordinarily from the villages of *Baḥshîka* and *Baḥzâni*, north-east of Mosul. What use could there be for books in villages so rude, and whose inhabitants do not belong to any privileged caste?

Why is the religious and political Chief of the Yezidis, residing in his palace at *Ba'adri*, near Mosul, ignorant of the fact that his religion possesses sacred books? If he be aware of it, how can he allow them to be kept by uneducated robbers living in Sinjâr? Why does he not enhance his fairy prestige over his subjects by adorning his own gloomy rooms with this treasure?

3. The books recently found by Father Anastase are, as we have seen, the same as those discovered thirty years

¹ Cf. J. Labourt's *Le Christianisme dans l'Empire Perse*, 1904, pp. 217 seq.

earlier by Jeremias. But which of these two men are we to believe? Anastase finished his *Black Book* by "and the sixth changed into atmosphere"; and Jeremias, after this sentence, gives us six pages of fine Arabic writing, as a conclusion to his. Which of these discoverers has dared to lay a sacrilegious hand on these relics of the Yezidis? The text of Anastase is more moderate in its details, and more concise in places that might shock the ears of educated people. Can anyone explain how a text so ancient and so secret has been lengthened, and shortened and changed, as is clearly the case when Fr. Anastase's edition is collated with that of Dr. Joseph? For instance, was it because the following passage was offensive to pious ears that it has been deleted from the *Black Book* in Anastase's edition? (edition Jeremias, p. 223):—

"Now it came to pass, after the creation of Eve and all the animals, that Adam and Eve quarrelled over the question whether the human race should descend from him or from her, for each wished to be its sole begetter. This quarrel originated in their observation of the fact that among animals both the male and the female were factors in the reproduction of their respective species. After a long discussion, Adam and Eve agreed to this: each should cast his seed into a jar, close it, and seal it with his own seal, and wait for nine months. When they opened their jars at the end of this period, they found in Adam's jar two children, male and female. Now from these two our sect, the Yezidis, are descended. In Eve's jar they found nought but rotten worms, emitting a foul odour. And God caused nipples to grow on Adam, that he might suckle the children that came out of his jar. This is the reason why man has nipples."

There are also many anecdotes of a somewhat eccentric character which have been cut out in Anastase's edition. We mention only the following (p. 223):—

"And know that, besides the flood of Noah, there was another flood in this world. . . . Now our sect, the Yezidis, are descended

from No'mi, an honoured person, king of peace. We call him Melik Miran. The other sects are descended from Ham, who despised his father. . . . The ship rested at a village called 'Ain Sifni, distant from Mosul about five parasangs. The cause of the first flood was the mockery of those who were without, Jews, Christians, Moslems, and others descended from Adam and Eve . . . It came to pass that after some time God sent scorpions upon Mu'awiah, which bit him, causing his face to break out with poison. Physicians urged him to marry, lest he die. Hearing this, he consented. They brought him an old woman, eighty years of age, in order that no child might be born. Mu'awiah knew his wife, and in the morning she appeared a woman of twenty-five, by the power of the great God."

What dooms these Jeremio-Anastasian books to condemnation is the strange transposition of similar narratives. For instance, one passage about how God continued the work of Creation is placed by Jeremias after the Creation; but the scribe of Anastase's text, noticing that the place assigned to it was not logical, put it in his narrative before the story of the Creation. Here is the beginning of the passage:—

"None of us is allowed to utter his name, nor anything that resembles it, such as Satan, cord, evil, river, or any word that has a similar sound. All these are forbidden to us out of respect for him. So lettuce is debarred. We do not eat it, for it sounds like the name of our prophetess Hassiah. Fish is prohibited in honour of Jonah the prophet. Likewise deer; for deer are the sheep of one of our prophets."

About the holy soil where these books rest there is a flagrant contradiction between our discoverers, for whereas Jeremias assigns the *Black Book* to Semale or to a village near it (p. 248) and the *Book of Revelation* to the house of Mulla Haidar (p. 247), Father Anastase puts them both on the mountain of Sinjâr. The latter discoverer assures us that dire consequences will follow upon the slightest access to these sacrosanct pieces being allowed. Here is what he says:—

"Le même chef divin (nous) a assurés dans plus d'une occasion que si les livres sont volés on doit détruire immédiatement l'endroit où la boîte avait reposé. Si la boîte est restée après la disparition des feuillets qui y étaient contenus, on doit, aussitôt qu'on s'en aperçoit, livrer aux flammes la petite caisse, et détruire le lieu sacré où elle était cachée; et si enfin les pages divines ont été copiées ou reproduites d'une manière ou d'une autre, de manière à être connues du public, on doit aussitôt après l'avoir appris, jeter tout au feu sacré. . . . Ils détruiraient donc leurs écrits pour démentir tout ce qu'on pourrait dire sur leur compte."

We close our article by the following remark: It is proved that the Arabic language could not have supplanted Syriac and all other tongues spoken in the valley of the Tigris before the ninth century, because in Damascus, capital of the Umayyad empire, it is the Caliph Walid who, about A.D. 714, directed that official acts should be drawn up in Arabic, and no longer in Greek.¹ The text of these books, since they contain many Arabic expressions, cannot go back to the tenth century. Can we conceive that in that century, when all the letters, Oriental and Occidental, were fixed, some unknown man could write in these perplexing letters which make us go back to prehistoric times? Further, is it not very improbable to believe that a thoroughly vulgar tongue should suddenly have become subject to the laws of regular grammar and orthography?

I shall be told that I have treated these Yezidi documents too severely. I answer that it was through my conviction that they were a mere swindle. If the conclusion that I have reached is wrong, I shall be proud to think that by raising a controversy I have prepared the way for a better recognition of their genuineness.

While the present article was being prepared for the press, I was able to examine the recent work of Professor

¹ Barhebræus, *Chron. Syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 115.

M. Bittner, of the University of Vienna, concerning the latest discovery of the Yezidi books.¹ With a praiseworthy enterprise the editor has published the Kurdish original side by side with a new Arabic text differing considerably from the texts previously known. The Kurdish part of the book has been deciphered by means of the alphabet exhibited by Father Anastase himself in the number of the *Anthropos* referred to above. This work I had myself carried out more than three years ago, but owing to the numerous objections raised against the authenticity of these pieces I definitely abandoned my researches. It is to be hoped that the learned Orientalist will render still further service to the Yezidis by removing every doubt which hitherto has made any serious access to their documents very precarious.

¹ *Die heiligen Bücher der Jeziden oder Teufelsanbeter* (pt. iv contains the transcription, translation, and annotations, pp. 1-98; and pt. v contains the original Kurdish script, consisting of 14 plates). Vienna, 1913, in the series *Denkschr. der Kaiserl. Akad. der Wissensch. in Wien*.

XVI

THE DEATH OF HEMU IN 1556, AFTER THE BATTLE OF PANIPAT

By VINCENT A. SMITH

NO incident in Akbar's life is better known or more universally accepted than the supposed refusal of "the spirited boy" to strike with his sword the captive and wounded Hēmū after the second battle of Pānipat in November, 1556.

This is the anecdote as told by Elphinstone, partly after Ferishta (Firishta):—

"Bairām was desirous that Akbar should give him the first wound, and thus, by imbruing his sword in the blood of so distinguished an infidel, should establish his right to the envied title of 'Ghāzī' or 'Champion of the Faith'; but the spirited boy refused to strike a wounded enemy, and Bairām, irritated by his scruples, himself cut off the captive's head at a blow."¹

Elphinstone's version really is a considerable variation on that of Firishta, who wrote:—

"He [Hemoo] was now surrounded by a body of horse and carried prisoner to Akbar, who was about two or three coss in the rear. When Hemoo was brought into the presence, Beiram Khan recommended the King to do a meritorious act by killing the infidel with his own hand. Akbar, in order to fulfil the wish of his minister, drew his sword, and touching the head of the captive, became entitled to the appellation of Ghazy, while Beiram Khan, drawing his own sabre, at a single blow severed the head of Hemoo from his body."²

¹ *Hist. of India*, 5th ed., p. 496.

² Briggs, transl., reprint by Cambray, ii, 189. The name should be spelt Hēmū, not Himū or Himūn. It evidently is a colloquial form of a Hindu name beginning with the word Hēm (gold), such as Hēmchand, a probable name for a Hindu *baniyā*, as Hēmū was. Such colloquial forms are commonly used in northern India.

Probably Elphinstone consulted other authorities. His language gives a colouring of his own to the incident.

The story told by Abu-l Fazl, with his usual tediousness, is as follows:—

“Shāh Qutl Khān brought in Hemū bound. Though they questioned him, he out of uncouthness (*jahālat*) made no reply. Perhaps he was unable to speak, or he was overwhelmed by shame and indisposed to say anything. Bairām Khān Khān-Khānān begged H.M. the Shāhīnshāh to slay with this [? leg. ‘his’] own sacred hand this stock of sedition and to acquire merit by a holy combat. That lord of wisdom and master of sages, . . . replied in words that were the interpretation of truth and were for the instruction of the wise, that his lofty spirit did not permit him to slay a captive and that it seemed to him that in the justice-hall of the Only One there was nothing meritorious in such an act. Though simple loyalists importuned and pressed him, the Shāhīnshāh showed himself more and more averse to the proceedings. I extol the lofty intelligence. . . .

“At last, Bairām Khān Khān-Khānān, when he perceived that H.M. was not inclined to take his view, withdrew from the attempt, and under the influence of hereditary beliefs which take their place in men from imitation of fathers and teachers, himself became engaged in the acquisition of this fancied merit, and with his sword cleansed the world from the contamination of his existence. . . .

“In order to display the majesty of the Shāhīnshāh, and to give a lesson to the superficial, they sent his head to Kabul,¹ while his trunk was conveyed to Delhi and placed on the gibbet of warning.”²

Badāoni’s account is as follows:—

“Suddenly the arrow of death, which no shield can ward off, struck his [Hemū’s] squinting eye, so that his brain passed clean out from the cup of his head, and he became unconscious. . . . So they brought him as he was to the camp. And Shaikh Gadā-i-Kamboh and the others said to the Emperor, ‘Since this

¹ “There is an account of the arrival of the head at Kabul in Bayāzid Biyāt’s Memoirs.”

² *Akbarnāmah*, tr. H. Beveridge, vol. ii, pp. 65-7, and note.

is your Majesty's first war against the infidels, you should flesh your sword in this unbeliever, for such an act would have great reward.'

"But the Emperor replied, 'Why should I strike him now that he is already as good as dead? If sensation and activity were left in him, I would do so.' Then the Khān Khānān was the first to strike his sword into him, as an act of religious warfare, and following his example, Gadā-i-Shaikh, and the others deliberately made an end of him."¹

Although the two accounts quoted differ in certain respects, which need not be detailed, they agree in attributing to the boy Akbar a magnanimous sentiment which prevented him from obeying the instructions of the Protector to flesh his sword on the helpless captive.

The version of the incident given by Ahmad Yādgar is widely different. He says:—

"It chanced that, by the decree of the Almighty, an arrow struck Himūn in the forehead. He told his elephant driver to take the elephant out of the field of battle. . . . When Shāh Kuli Beg was told of what had occurred, he came up to the elephant, and brought it into the presence of Bairam Khān. Bairam Khān, after prostrating himself, and returning thanks, caused Himūn to descend from the elephant, after which he bound his hands, and took him before the young and fortunate Prince, and said, 'As this is our first success, let your Highness's own august hand smite this infidel with the sword.' The Prince, accordingly, struck him, and divided his head from his unclean body" (Nov. 5, A.D. 1556)."²

The version given in de Laet's book agrees substantially with that of Ahmad Yādgar. It is translated from the Dutch of van den Broecke, who derived his information

¹ *Muntakhab-ut-tawdrikh*, tr. W. H. Lowe (Calcutta, 1884), vol. ii, pp. 8, 9.

² "The *Tārīkh-i-Dauid* and many other histories say the young Prince declined to commit this wanton act of brutality, and his subsequent actions render this highly probable. Firishṭa says, that at Bairam Khān's importunity, he merely touched the head of the captive with the sword, by which he became entitled to the appellation of 'Ghāzi'" (Elliot and Dowson, vol. v, pp. 65, 66, and part of note 1).

from "a genuine chronicle of the kingdom". It runs thus:—

"Hemoi milites . . . deserto duce, in diversa abierunt, ita ut Mogoles impedimentis omnibus et elephantis potirentur, & Hemous inter praeliandum sagitta in oculo ictus fugere cogeretur; sed à Couli-gan Marem deprehensus et retractus, Achabari (qui clade Patanensium cognita propere advenerat) sistitur, qui rogatus à Coulinghano, indigno principe facinore, dediticio cervices acinace praecidit, & caput portae Delly affigi jussit."

Or in English:—

"The soldiers of Hēmū . . . deserting their leader, went off in various directions, so that the Mughals gained possession of all the baggage and the elephants, and Hēmū, having been struck by an arrow in the eye during the fight, was constrained to fly; but, having been caught and brought back by Shah Qulī Mahrem-i Bahārī, was placed before Akbar, who had come up in a hurry on learning of the rout of the Pathāns. Akbar, at the request of Ali Qulī Khān, by a deed unworthy of a prince, severed the neck of the surrendered prisoner with a scimitar, and directed the head to be affixed to the gate of Delhi."¹

The fourth and last version of the incident is that recorded in his genuine memoirs by Jahāngīr, the son and successor of Akbar.¹ He must have heard his form of the story from people at court, and it is curious that it should differ from the official account of the incident as given by Abu-l Fazl and Badāonī. Jahāngīr tells the tale in this fashion:—

¹ De Laet, *De Imperio Magni Mogolia, sive India Vera*, Lugduni Batavorum, Elsevir, 1631, p. 174/181. For details concerning the book, see V. A. Smith, "Joannes De Laet on India and Shahjahan," *Ind. Ant.*, 1914, pp. 239-44. There are two issues, with different paging, both bearing the date 1631. The passage is from the *Fragmentum Historiae Indicae* by van den Broecke. In my article in *Ind. Ant.* I followed Lethbridge in spelling "De Laet", but "de Laet" is more correct. "Couli-gan Marem" = Shāh Qulī Mahram-i-Bahārī (Blochmann, *Ain*, vol. i, p. 359, No. 45). "Coulinghan" = 'Alī Qulī Khān, the principal lieutenant of Bairām Khān, and better known by his title of Khān Zamān (*ibid.*, p. 319, No. 13).

"A number of men immediately conveyed Hemū as he was to the king (Akbar). Bairām Khān represented that it would be proper if the king with his own hand should strike the infidel with a sword, so that obtaining the reward of a ghāzī (warrior of the Faith) he might use this title on the imperial farmans. The king answered, 'I have cut him in pieces before this,' and explained: 'One day, in Kabul, I was copying a picture in presence of Khwāja 'Abdu-ṣ-Ṣamad Shīrīn-Qalam, when a form appeared from my brush, the parts of which were separate and divided from each other. One of those near asked, "Whose picture is this?" It came to my tongue to say that it was the likeness of Hemū.'

"Not defiling his hand with his (Hemū's) blood, he told one of his servants to cut off his head."¹

The principal points to be noted in this curious tale are that Jahāngīr knew nothing of his father's alleged magnanimous scruples about slaying Hēmū; and that he represents Akbar as excusing himself from using his sword personally because he had already dismembered the prisoner in effigy, and, in consequence, as making over the killing business to one of his officers.

The queer story about Akbar's unintentionally produced drawing of the dismembered Hēmū is told at length by Abu-l Fazl (*Akbarnamah*, tr. Beveridge, ii, 67, 68), who treats the incident as a miracle, and observes that one day he asked Akbar about the circumstances. The emperor replied: "An invisible inspirer had placed an intimation of it on our tongue; he best knows the secret thereof." Abu-l Fazl leaves the matter at that, and knows nothing of the alleged reference made to the incident by Akbar at the time of Hēmū's execution, as stated by Jahāngīr.

In the garbled *Memoirs* translated by Price, the legend of the picture takes another and absurd form, which need not be quoted.

¹ Transl. Beveridge and Rogers, p. 40.

The attentive reader will not fail to notice that the narratives quoted differ in many minor details. It is needless to examine all those variations and go into a multitude of petty side issues. The main issue is—did Akbar simply obey his guardian and kill the wounded prisoner, or did he refuse to do so, owing to a magnanimous sentiment? We may, I think, disregard Firishta's amiable attempt at compromise, and also put aside Jahāngir's version that Akbar ordered one of his servants to cut off Hēmū's head. The statement that Akbar gave such an order is not in itself improbable, or incredible, but is discredited because it is associated in Jahāngir's narrative with the tale about Hēmū's picture. Abu-l Fazl's highly rhetorical version of the magnanimity story may be neglected, and the issue may be stated as being that between the credibility of Badāoni's plain narrative on one side and the still plainer narratives of Ahmad Yādgar and de Laet on the other.

I accept as proved facts the statements that Hēmū was wounded in the eye by an arrow, that he was brought in by Shāh Qulī Mahram and others in a half-dead and unconscious condition, that Bairām Khān with Akbar rode up from the rear, that Bairām Khān invited Akbar to win the title of Ghāzī by fleshing his sword on the infidel, and that Hēmū was presently killed.

We must remember that at the time Akbar was a boy barely 14 years of age, and that since his birth he had been reared among scenes of violence and bloodshed by Muhammadans who regarded the killing of a Hindu infidel as a highly meritorious act, whether the killing took place in the heat of battle or in cold blood. Is it probable that the boy Akbar in such a position would have felt any scruples? In my judgment it is not. Bairām Khān was the young prince's commander-in-chief, his personal guardian, and the only man who could convert his potential kingdom into a reality. Is it likely

that in the circumstances a boy of 14 would set up his private opinion against that of his guardian and all the bystanders? I have no hesitation in answering the question in the negative. Akbar undoubtedly assumed the title of Ghāzī from the first year of his reign. Why should it be doubted that he did so in virtue of his having slain Hēmū? It is argued that the magnanimity story is in accordance with Akbar's mature character. True, and that, in my opinion, is the reason why the story was invented, possibly by the emperor himself. But, admitting that Akbar, in later life, might have felt qualms about cutting off the head of a surrendered and insensible prisoner, it does not follow that he must have felt the same sentiments at the age of 14.

For these reasons I am of opinion that all probability is in favour of the version of the Hēmū incident as related by Ahmad Yādgār and de Laet. But I do not agree with the Dutch author van den Broecke, as translated by de Laet, that Akbar deserves censure for having done a deed unworthy of a prince in smiting Hēmū with the sword. The boy simply obeyed the guardian, who had a right to expect obedience and was responsible for the act. If we had access to the chronicle on which van den Broecke based his little work we should probably find that the chronicler saw nothing to blame in the action. The censure is passed from the European point of view. Ahmad Yādgār certainly saw nothing blameworthy in the severance of Hēmū's head from "his unclean body". Although Ahmad Yādgār had been in the service of the Sūr dynasty, he displays no hostility to the princes of Bābur's line, whom he always speaks of with respect.

Badāonī hated the defection of Akbar in his later years from Islām, and has not been slow to express his wrath in bitter and contemptuous language. But, nevertheless, he was a courtier, eating Akbar's bread, and there is no reason for surprise at his adopting the late court version

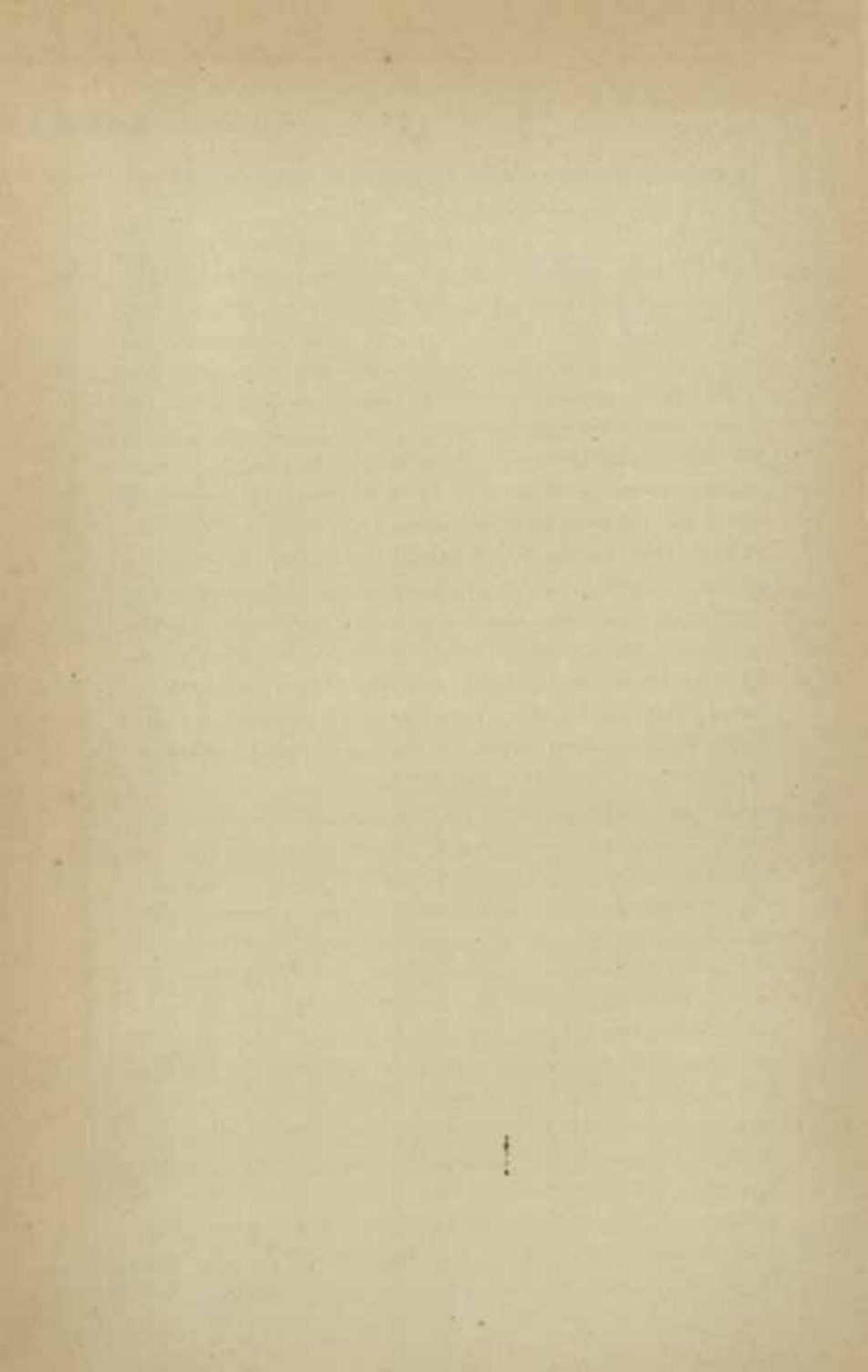
of the Hēmū story, which Abu-l Fazl had decided on as the official form. I believe that Akbar in his latter days shared the European opinion about his boyish action in killing the helpless Hēmū, and so winning the title of Ghāzi at a cheap rate. By the time that Abu-l Fazl and Badāonī wrote their books their sovereign had attained an unexampled height of greatness, and all the courtiers were ready to credit him with supernatural powers and virtues. Plain statements like those of Ahmad Yādgār and van den Broecke's chronicle were not in accordance with the courtly legend.

According to Ahmad Yādgār, the prince divided Hēmū's head from his body; and the Dutch author similarly affirms that Akbar "severed the neck of the surrendered prisoner with a scimitar". Such a performance may seem to be beyond the powers of a lad 14 years of age, but we must remember that Akbar had been trained in all martial exercises from childhood, and was endowed with exceptional bodily strength, which enabled him to perform extraordinary feats when he was grown up. I see no reason to doubt that the boy was physically able to strike off a man's head by a blow with a sharp scimitar. Hēmū, although a person of remarkable ability, gifted, as Abu-l Fazl observes, with a virile spirit, courage, enterprise, and power of organization, was physically a small, puny creature.

My conclusion as to the facts, therefore, is that the current story about Akbar's magnanimity on the occasion of Hēmū's execution is a fiction made up at court to suit the later view of the emperor's character, and that the truth is that the young prince obeyed his guardian and smote off Hēmū's head with a scimitar, thereby securing the title of Ghāzi, which he assumed immediately. Probably Bairām Khān and the other bystanders followed their sovereign's example and plunged their swords into the bleeding body, as Badāonī says that they did.

Hēmū's head was sent to Kābul, to be publicly exposed, while his trunk was gibbeted at Delhi.

Incidentally, the inquiry has been valuable as throwing light on the relative value of the original authorities for the reign of Akbar. The result has increased my suspicions of Abu-l Fazl's veracity, and has shown that even Badāonī was not exempt from court influence. The latter fact is apparent also from the verses full of flattery which that author composed to celebrate the building of the town and palace of Nagarchain, near Agra, in the ninth year of the reign (A.D. 1564-5), which he inserts in his book (Lowe, ii, 68). The *Fragmentum Historiæ Indiæ* contributed by President van den Broecke to de Laet's book, *quod è genuino illius Regni Chronico expressum credimus*, appears to be a practically original authority of considerable value for Akbar's reign. I have already used it freely in other essays. It may be noted that Lethbridge, the translator of part of the *Fragmentum* (*Calc. Rev.*, 1873, p. 179, note), accepted the Dutch author's version of the incident.



MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

MAP OF THE EARTH

The map which is here described has been in the Society's Library for many years, but no record is found as to when and by whom it was presented. It is on a sheet mounted on cloth, 27 inches square, drawn in water-colours with good manuscript.

The map contains the earth, or, rather, the central continent Jambu-dvīpa. It is written in old Gujrātī, but with many small mistakes.

In the centre is Mt. Meru, depicted as a yellow circle with a silver-grey central portion, and the name Meru-parvat written on it. If the map be placed with this name uppermost, it will be in the right position, the top being north, the bottom south, and so on.

Outside Meru and with a diameter of $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches is a large circular belt or ring (silver-grey), which denotes the Salt Ocean, and all the country within this ring is the continent Jambu-dvīpa, of which Meru is the centre. Jambu-dvīpa is shown as divided into five portions, a square compartment in the middle, two large segments north and south of that, and two chequer-shaped compartments east and west of that. In the middle compartment are four horn-shaped mountains in the corners, namely, N.E. Mālyavant, N.W. Gandhamādana, S.W. Vidyutprabhā, and S.E. Somanasa. South of Meru are placed the great jambū tree and Deva-kuru-kṣetra; and north of it are the great śālmali (silk-cotton) tree and the Northern Kurus. In the south segment are, stretching east and west, the Niṣadha range of mountains (red), the great Himālaya range and the little Himālaya range (both

orange). Between these ranges flow the rivers (silver-grey) Harikatā, Harisilālā, and Rohitāsā through Harivāsa-ksetra and Mleccha (barbarian) countries. Out of the little Himālaya range flow S.E. the Ganges and S.W. the R. Sindhu (Indus), and between them is portrayed Ayodhyā, with Prabhāsa S.W. of it and Māgada (*sic*) S.E. of it. In the north segment are four mountain ranges stretching east and west, Nila, etc., with the rivers Narakantā, Suvarṇakūlā, etc., flowing between them through the countries Ramyaka, Airanya-vata, etc. In the two chequer-shaped compartments are mentioned various countries, towns, etc.

Outside the Salt Ocean is another ring (silver-grey), which is called the "Kālodadhi Ocean", that is the "Black Ocean". Outside that again is a double pink and green ring, to which no name is given, but which appears to denote mountains. In the two circular spaces between these three great rings are inserted details of the central continent Jambu-dvīpa, more than could be inscribed therein. These two spaces are divided into compartments by spoke-like bands, which represent mountains. In the top and bottom of these compartments are given further representations of Ayodhyā; and in the east and west compartments further particulars of Mt. Meru. The other compartments contain other details of Jambu-dvīpa.

Many of the above entries mention the dimensions of the natural objects and features specified, the dimensions being always expressed in yojanas. In the four corners of the map are set out compendia of general objects and features with numbers and dimensions. Such particulars concern Jambu-dvīpa and other dvīpas (continents) with their mountains, rivers, and tirthas (places of pilgrimage), and include also certain astronomical details. This description ends in the S.W. corner in the right portion thereof, thus:—"Written by Tilokeand and Dayācand,

GAME OF "HEAVEN OR HELL"

Saṅkyaṁ (attaining the same world)	Sarāpyam (attaining the same form)	Sāṁpiyam (attaining proximity)	Sāyujyādi mukti [. . .]	Sri-Para-Brahma-mokṣaḥ 124 (deliverance into the Supreme Brahma)	Jaya-vijaya-sthānaḥ 123 (the place of victory and triumph)	Sanatsujātaḥ 122 (name of a semi-divine rishi)	Sanatkumāraḥ 121 (name of a semi-divine rishi)	Sanandanah 120 (name of a semi-divine rishi)	Sanakah 119 (name of a semi-divine rishi)
Sammodah 109 (fragrance)	Prāmōdah 110 (excessive joy)	Āmodah 111 (serenity)	Sarvāvaraṇa-bhaṅgaḥ 112 (breaking of all coverings)	Satya-lokaḥ 113 (a world)	Nirāṅjanah 114 (devoid of embellishment)	Mahar-lokaḥ 115 (a world)	Avataraṇa-nirēṇiḥ 116 (ladder of sudden disappearing ?)	Gandharva-gānath 117 (song of the Gandharvas)	Dhruva-maṇḍalaḥ 118 (circle of the Pole-star)
Gaja-vithih Airāvata-pathah 108 (the elephant's way, Airāvata's path)	Niskaivalyam 107 vijñānam (absoluteness, knowledge)	Mahā-purusaḥ 106 (the Supreme Soul)	Ānandah tattvasākṣātkārah 105 (joy, perception of reality)	Rāmbhara 104 (truth, containing knowledge)	Punya-keśa-kṣāṇam 103 (washing off the remains of merit)	Nikhila-bhoga-sthānaḥ 102 (place of complete enjoyment)	Satyambhara 101 (maintenance of truth ?)	Arundhati-sthānaḥ 100 (the place of Arundhati) (the star Alcor ?)	Tapo-lokaḥ sapta-ṛṣi-sthānaḥ 99 (a world : place of the 7 rishis)
Brahma-lokaḥ Dhanvantari 89 (Brahma's world, Dhanvantari)	Devayānah Agniḥ Arciḥ 90 (path to the gods, fire, ray of light)	Ahahah 91 (ah !)	Śakṣa-pakṣah 92 (fortnight of the waxing moon)	Uttarāyanah 93 (northward course)	Deva-lokaḥ aṣṭāṣṭi-sahasra-maharṣi-sthānaḥ 94 (place of the 88,000 maharṣis)	Sāryah 95 (the Sun)	Vaidyutah 96 (fire of lightning)	Mānasaḥ 97 (Lake Mānasa)	Purusaḥ 98 (the primeval Male)
Ahika-bhogeṇā 88 (desire for this world's enjoyments)	Avyaktopāśanā nididhyāsanaḥ uparatiḥ 87 (profound meditation, etc.)	Prārabdha-keśah 86 (one who begins at the end)	Tattva-nirṇayaḥ sarva-karma-phala-tyāgaḥ 85 (determining reality, etc.)	Manasa 84 (reflection, reverence)	Mānah 83 (self-conceit)	Tapah 82 (austerities)	Lobhaḥ 81 (covetousness)		
Prāṇyamaḥ 73 Abhyāsa-yogaḥ (restraint of the breath, etc.)	Yoga-bhāṇaḥ 74 (falling away from yoga)	Pratyāharaḥ 75 (abstraction)	Jñānaḥ 76 (knowledge of God)	Dhāraṇā 77 (deep meditation)	Dhyāna-yogaḥ Samādhiḥ 78 (yoga of reflection, etc.)	Mohah 79 (bewilderment)	Sravaṇah 80 (learning by hearing)		
Asad-upadeśah 72 (evil advice)	Niyamaḥ 71 (self-control)	Tirtha-yātrah 70 (pilgrimages to tirthas)	Gaṅga-snānaḥ 69 (bathing in the Ganges)	Viṣṇu-bhakti-prakaraḥ 68 (excellence of faith in Viṣṇu)	Ahaṅkārah 67 (egotism or pride)	Garvaḥ 66 (arrogance)	Sad-gurūpadeśah 65 (advice of a good teacher)		
Niyama-bhaṅgaḥ 57 (breach of self-control)	Damaḥ 58 (subduing self)	Citta-śuddhiḥ 59 (purity of mind)	Skhalanaḥ 60 (stumbling)	Samādi-sampattiḥ 61 (success in tranquillity, etc.)	Pāruṣyam 62 (harshness)	Satyah 63 (truth)	Citta-bhramah 64 (aberration of the mind)		
Āsaktiḥ 56 (attachment to objects)	Sannyāsaḥ 55 (renunciation)	Bhramah 54 (aberration)	Daya 53 (mercy)	Krodhaḥ 52 (wrath)	Dharmah 51 (righteousness)	Pāpa-ksayah 50 (waning of sin)	Brāhmanyah 49 (status of a brahman)		
Bhūta-drohaḥ 41 (injuring beings)	Gaja-yoniḥ 42 (of elephant birth)	Sad-anugrahaḥ 43 (favour of the good)	Markataḥ 44 (monkey)	Vyāghra-yoniḥ 45 (of tiger birth)	Kupāyācāraṇam 46 (practising evil worship ?)	Sarva-sva-dānaḥ 47 (giving all one's property)	Rāja-yoniḥ 48 (of royal birth)		
Pāṇanyah 40 (columby)	Nirmatsarah santuṣṭah 39 (without envy, contented)	Nirahāṅkārah vicārah 38 (free from egotism, discrimination)	Nirmamah cintā 37 (unselfish ; thought)	Karunā upadeśah 36 (compassion, advice)	Maitri 35 (friendship)	Krocra-cāndrāyanah 34 (the difficult cāndrāyana penance)	Maunah sarva-bhūta-hitaḥ 33 (silence ; friendly to all beings)	Niekāma-karma agnihotraḥ 32 (disinterested action, oblation to Agni)	Yajñah agnayah sakāma-karma 31 (sacrifice, the fires, interested action)
Madya-pā saṅgaḥ 21 (a drinker of spirits, association)	Dyūtaḥ 22 (gambling)	Mahā-bhūta-drohaḥ 23 (injuring the gross elements)	Parāṇa-śravaṇah 24 (listening to the Parāṇa)	Mahā-tirtha-yātrā 25 (pilgrimage to great tirthas)	Nitya-karma 26 (continual rites)	Brahmacaryah 27 (continence)	Vānaprasthyah 28 (status of a forest hermit)	Prajananaḥ gṛhasthāramah 29 (procreation ; householder's life ?)	Himsā 30 (injury)
Mṛgaya 20 (hunting)	Svarna-stayaḥ 19 (a thief of gold)	Dharma-jñānaḥ 18 (knowledge of righteousness)	Praja-pālanah 17 (protection of the people)	Kṣātra-jātiḥ 16 (the Kṣātriya class)	Sva-dharmānuṣṭhānaḥ 15 (practising one's own duties)	Vaiśyah 14 (a vaiśya)	Sad-aparādhaḥ 13 (offence against the good)	Sat-sevā 12 (homage to the good)	Nāradaśramaḥ 11 (Nārada's hermitage)
Ekavimbati-samānya-Narakah 1 (the 21 general Hells)	Udbbijaḥ 2 (sprouting, i.e. vegetation)	Svedajah 3 (moisture-born, i.e. insects)	Andajah 4 (egg-born, i.e. birds, reptiles, etc.)	Jarāyujah 5 (viviparous, i.e. mammalia)	Manuṣya-garbhah 6 (of human birth)	Candālah 7 (a Candāla)	Narakah 8 (hell)	Sōdra-yoniḥ 9 (of śūdra birth)	Sac-chōdraḥ 10 (a good śūdra)

the eminent paṇḍits, disciples of Rūpadhīra Gaṇī, the disciple of Kuśalabhakta Gaṇī, in the Brhat-Kharatara Gaccha (church) and in the branch thereof named after Jinacandra Sūri: in the Sāṃvat year 1873, in the Śāka year 1739, on the 7th (or 3rd) day of the light fortnight in the month Jyaiṣṭha. It is the book of the eminent paṇḍit Pāsadatta (Pārśvadatta); it was written for his private study." The date is the 23rd (or 19th) May, 1817. This translation is by Dr. Barnett, and the date has been calculated by Dr. Fleet.

F. E. PARGITER.

AN INDIAN GAME ; HEAVEN OR HELL

The chart here described is on paper mounted on cloth, 35 by 33 inches, drawn in water-colours with gold illumination. The drawing of the figures and objects is fine, and the ornamental borders of leaves and flowers on gold form appropriate frameworks. It was presented to the Society by Capt. H. D. Robertson on April 16, 1831, and then described as "A coloured drawing on plan of the Shastree's game of Heaven and Hell". The ivory men and dice used in playing the game, given at the same time, are not to be found now.

The chart is a game played with men, which are moved forward along the squares according to the throw of dice.

The squares are numbered in serial order, beginning at the bottom at the left corner and going along the rows, boustrophædon, up to 124 at the top. The main part of the board is divided into three compartments by two horizontal bars of scrolls; and on the right side is a compartment, which contains two blocks of squares divided by a small scroll-bar, and has a separate series of numbers.

There are ladders connecting certain squares, as 12 and 49, 32 and 50. As a ladder implies ascent, the purport seems to be that when the throw of the dice landed

a player on the lower number, e.g. 12, he either proceeded directly through No. 49 or more probably moved straightway into No. 49, omitting all intermediate squares. There are also snakes connecting certain squares, as 19 and 21, 19 and 23, 48 and 88, their heads being always in a higher square and their tails in a lower square. There are sometimes two tails in one square, as in 19 and in 48, but never two heads in one square. Snakes cannot therefore mean moving forward, because two tails in one square, as in 19, makes the move uncertain; but they may perfectly well mean moving back. Thus if a throw landed a player on 21 or 23, he would move back to 19. The snakes therefore seem to mean that, if the player landed on a square in which there is a snake's head, he was seized by the snake and drawn down to the square where the tail is, that is, he had to go back to the square where the tail is.

The compartment on the right side appears to be a side-game developing out of the main game. Two ladders connect it with the latter, namely, from squares 31 and 48; so that it seems that, if the throw landed a player on either of those squares, he moved into this side-game and had to remain there, for there appears to be no exit from it.

On the accompanying paper is a diagram of the chart, giving the numbers and names of the various squares, for every square has one or more names. The language is Sanskrit, with, however, some mistakes; and the Sanskrit names are transliterated and translated in the diagram, so far as space permits.

The game appears to have an educational value, giving as it were an epitome of man's upward course in religious life. He starts from No. 1, which denotes the hells, at the bottom, and the goal is final emancipation into the Supreme Brahma at the top. The various squares with their names denote the several steps by which he may

rise in that upward course, interrupted by squares which mark the various vices which may beset him at various stages. The three compartments into which the main game is divided bear this idea out further. The lowest compartment, containing squares 1-41, deals in its squares with what may be called generally physical and social conditions, virtues and vices. The second, containing squares 42-88, deals rather with moral and spiritual virtues and vices. The third and highest, containing squares 89-124, deals with celestial objects and the highest spiritual attainments, but contains no vices, for the saint in reaching this stage has presumably passed beyond all such defilements.

Here comes in the significance of the ladders and snakes. The ladders connect only good squares, and on reaching the lower good he may mount at once to the higher good. This is especially noteworthy in square 68, from which a ladder reaches directly up to 124; thus teaching that a man who attains to the excellence of loving faith in Viṣṇu proceeds at once to final emancipation into the Supreme Brahma. On the other hand, the snakes connect only bad squares, and signify that, though a man may have attained to a high degree of sanctity, yet, if he falls into the vice designated by a further square, he is overwhelmed and dragged back to a lower bad square, from which he has to work his way upward again. In the third and highest compartment there are no vices and no snakes, so that he has apparently passed beyond the danger of relapse, and proceeds on serenely.

This view, if it is right, gives a clue to the meaning of the right compartment, the side-game, for the two blocks of which it is composed seem to relate to one and the same game. It contains two series of the Nos. 1-3, and the squares 4-10 may relate to both those series, though the connexion in thought is not clear. This side-game is entered from square 31, which signifies "sacrifice, the

fires, and actions (*or* rites) performed from interested motives", and also from square 48, which relates to "persons of royal birth". Such characteristics may lead a man into the pursuit of a self-seeking existence, which may attain to the gods, heaven, and the heavenly nectar, but not to final emancipation into the Supreme Brahma; and there appears to be no escape therefrom back into the main course of true spiritual development. Such seems to be the general meaning of this side-game, though all the details are not clear: and square 6 is not numbered, nor are two other squares.

The game appears to embody the Vaiṣṇava view, for this is implied by the ladder from 68 to 124, already mentioned, signifying that loving faith in Viṣṇu leads direct to final emancipation. Four squares at the left in the top row are not numbered; they all signify degrees of conformity to the Divine, but there is nothing to show what their relation to the game is. In the black square of these, the name cannot be fully made out.

F. E. PARGITER.

M. REINACH'S THEORY OF SACRIFICE

The chief characteristic of all writers on the history of religion is their determination to see only one explanation of any fundamental feature in it. Sir J. Frazer, with Mannhardt, finds in every form of worship the presence of vegetation rites, and, similarly, M. S. Reinach remains, despite his admiration for Sir J. Frazer, convinced that the original form of sacrifice is, indeed, not the gift form, but the communion sacrifice of Robertson Smith, involving the ceremonial eating of the animal which is the totem of the clan at fixed intervals, in order to strengthen the bond of unity between the clan and its totem. It must, however, be remembered that M. Reinach has a special view of the nature of totemism which distinguishes him

from other believers in totemism: he does not consider the totem as primarily an ancestral spirit,¹ but holds that the relation of man to an animal is due to a hypertrophy of the social instinct which permits the formation of any human society by prescribing the relations of friendship between members of the same clan. The effect of M. Reinach's theory is therefore that early worship consists in the sacramental eating of the animal which is regarded as the deity of the clan, and that in course of time the animal god disappears before anthropomorphism, with the result that the animal ceases to be considered as the god, but falls instead into the position of an attendant or adversary of the god killed by him; while on the other hand the sacrifice becomes regarded as the gift to the god of some animal, either a favourite of the god or disliked by the god. His principles, in fact, may be summed up as animal deities before anthropomorphic deities: sacrament before gifts.

To this theory the only real objection lies in its universal application: that there are cases in which it is perfectly applicable should not be denied, for animal worship—the term totemism is so meaningless that it had better be avoided—is to all appearance a genuine early form of religion, and that some animals which appear in the entourage of gods were themselves once really regarded independently as divine, should not be denied. Nor in some cases can we doubt the sacramental sacrifice, and it may be remarked that M. Reinach by remaining fast to the original view of Robertson Smith, frees himself from the difficulties engendered by the theory of Sir J. Frazer that the slaying of the animal is an annual effort to restore the strength of the spirit of vegetation or pastoral life. But it is necessary to deny that all religion is of one type and to reassert the view that the connexion of an animal with a deity need not mean that the deity

¹ *Cultes, Mythes, et Religions*, i, 39.

was originally an animal, and that the gift theory of sacrifice has its due place as an original conception.

It is not impossible to find that M. Reinach himself is by no means quite consistent in his views. In his essay on Samson,¹ which dates from 1912, we find that he insists on finding the original form of Samson in a lion with mane, which was identified later, it seems, with the sun, and he expressly denies that there are any solar myths, believing instead in animal and vegetable myths. The case of Samson is certainly not at all strong in his favour, for all that is necessary to cover the legend of that hero is to assume that it hides the legend of a sun hero, the lion being identified with an incorporation of the sun: the lion is not the sun, but the sun is present in the lion, which therefore is *pro tanto* divine. The nature of such a belief is perfectly indicated by the fact that at Heliopolis a lion was kept in the temple as the representative of the sun-god worshipped there: it is idle to suppose that the lion was the god: the sun was the deity, but doubtless in the minds of the more primitive of the worshippers the lion was really an abode of the divine spirit, while to the more refined the lion was a symbol of the god. But apart from this case, M. Reinach himself, in an earlier paper on Phaethon published in 1908,² expressly admitted that the course of the sun could give rise to the myth of the sun each evening bathing its horses in the waves of the ocean, so clear a case of solar myth that his denial of such myths in his treatment of Samson is certainly an inconsequence.

M. Reinach's actual treatment of the Phaethon myth is of interest, as it is a good example of the pressing to undue limits of the desire to find explanations of myths from ritual. It is curious that in face of the flights of fancy found in folklore it is thought necessary to trace every myth to some definite origin: the old school, which

¹ *Cultes, Mythes, et Religions*, iv, 148-66.

² *Ibid.* iv, 45-53.

found in each detail of the myth the natural phenomenon which accounted for it, is no more absurd than the new school which ignores human imagination and believes that for every myth some origin must be found in ritual. In this case the ritual consists in the practice of burning a horse alive as an offering to the sun or plunging the horse into water. From this usage there gradually grew up the idea that the burning of the horse was a punishment, and so the growth of the Phaethon legend. The explanation is quite incredible: it leaves to the mythopoetic function practically the whole of the story, and it is better frankly to admit that that faculty created the story from nothing more abstruse than the fact of the daily path of the sun and the view that the sun travelled in a chariot with horses.

The ritual itself, however, deserves some attention, as the explanation given of it by M. Reinach is not altogether simple or satisfactory. For once he does not find any totemism in the horse sacrifice, though perhaps this is an inadvertence. He denies, however, as a matter of course, the gift theory: the sacrifice is in his view entirely a magic rite in origin intended to strengthen the sun in its performance of its important functions, and is to be paralleled with the numerous fire rituals observed in Europe and in other parts of the earth. Only later, when gods were conceived as anthropomorphic, was the sacrifice understood to be a gift.

This solution presents a series of great difficulties which should not be ignored. The assertion that anthropomorphism is foreign to early religion is not one which can be supported by any evidence whatever. The fact that the earliest representations of the gods take the form of pillars, not of statues, is of course of no value as proof of the view that the gods were not conceived as anthropomorphic: Indian religion shows us clearly anthropomorphic conceptions at a time when statues were

clearly not thought of. The same religion equally shows theriomorphic conceptions of deities: the fact evidently is simply that both ideas naturally occur to peoples which do not distinguish between men and animals in such a way as to render it impossible to combine anthropomorphic and animal ideas of their gods.¹

In the second place, part of the foundation on which M. Reinach has built, the interpretation of the fire rites in Europe as solar spells, has been undermined by the fact that Sir J. Frazer no longer² holds Mannhardt's view³ that the burning of animals at the summer festivals and the rolling of burning wheels are sun spells, but accepts, on the contrary, the view of Westermarck⁴ that the burning is intended to destroy the witches in human or animal form, the same purpose being served by the hurling of lighted disks through the air to destroy the fiends therein. It is quite probable that Westermarck is right in his interpretation of many of the phenomena, especially the burning of animals or human beings. If that view is accepted, the same principle would have to be applied to many cases in which Sir J. Frazer has seen the death of the god annually as a rite for the securing of the strength of the species, and, indeed, it is hard to see how any of the original theory of the *Golden Bough* could logically⁵ be held to survive: moreover, the use of fire against the Rakṣases is one of its most constant uses in Vedic ritual, an idea which is doubtless a more primitive form of the belief in witchcraft. But the throwing of discs and the rolling of wheels are much more likely to be direct sun spells, as is suggested by the round white skin representing the sun for which an

¹ Reinach, *Cultes, Mythes, et Religions*, i, 38, n. 1.

² *Balder the Beautiful*, i, 328-46; ii, 1-44.

³ *Der Baumkultus der Germanen*, pp. 521 seqq.

⁴ *Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture . . . in Morocco*, pp. 93-102.

⁵ Sir J. Frazer, *op. cit.* ii, 292, seems conscious of his inconsistency.

Aryan and a Śūdra strive at the Mahāvratā of the winter solstice.

Now the actual facts of the offerings made to the sun in which horses figure are very scanty though important. Our chief authority is Festus, when, in connexion with the October Horse at Rome,¹ he mentions that the Lacedæmonians used to offer a horse to the Winds on Mount Taygetos, scattering its ashes, after it had been burned, to the winds; that the Illyrian tribe of Sallentini offered to their Jupiter, called Menzana, a horse which they threw alive into the flames; and that the Rhodians each year used to throw into the sea *quadrigas Soli consecratas*, the reason given being *quod is tali vehiculo fertur circumvchi mundum*. From these cases M. Reinach deduces the rule that the horse was primitively burned alive or drowned: he recognizes that the notice of Festus does not refer to actual drowning of horses at Rhodes, though the passage has often been cited for that purpose² and though it is possible that thus to take it improves the sense of the citation. He holds further that, while in course of time the actual drowning of horses was abandoned, the car or cars were still set on fire, and that once the chariot horses—originally but one horse—were burned. But both these assertions are purely conjectural, and, what is more important, there is no proof offered that the gift theory of sacrifice is not really the idea at the bottom of the rites. If, as even M. Reinach admits, it is an early view that the sun has a chariot and horses, and, indeed, is represented as a horse, the offering to be made to the god would naturally be a horse and chariot together or separately: it is perfectly true that to present the god thus with the means of his locomotion, is at the same time a means of making him stronger and better fit to carry out his function of traversing the heaven, but

¹ pp. 179 seqq.

² e.g. O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie*, p. 839.

this fact is in no way inconsistent with the sacrifice being a gift. It is often forgotten that the gift theory of sacrifice allows of two different applications of the gift: in the one case the gift is mainly intended to make the god propitious to the giver; it strengthens the god doubtless, but the chief aspect in the mind of the offerer is the favour of the god, not the strengthening of the god: in the other the offerer seeks in the main to strengthen the god, of course with the idea of securing his favour, but not with that as the more immediate point on which his aim is fixed. In both cases, however, the attitude of the offerer is that of one who presents: in magic rite pure and simple the performer produces effects, and is neither an offerer nor a suppliant. There is no possible way to prove that magic is older than sacrifice or vice versa.

Applying these principles we can see at once that the throwing of the ears in the water may have been simply a magic rite: we are not told that they were offered to the god, though they were consecrated to him: the offering, indeed, would lie in the consecration rather than in the throwing into the sea. But in the case of the offering to the Winds, or, according to Pausanias,¹ to Helios on Taygetos, the ceremony was clearly an offering, as in the case of the offering of the Sallentini to their god. According to Festus the ashes of the horse in the case of the former offering were scattered to the winds to be borne far and wide, and it would be vain to deny that this is intended to secure prosperity, probably for the crops and the cattle. But here again we have no need to see in the rite the operation of magic pure and simple: if the horse is burned as an offering to the sun, and is at the same time conceived as being closely connected with the sun, which is regarded sometimes as a horse, sometimes as borne in a chariot, then it is certain that the animal is at the time of sacrifice distinctly full

¹ iii, 20. 4.

of the divine essence: the fire, too, is closely connected with the sun, and the cinders of the victim must clearly have divine potency in them.

M. Reinach deduces from the ritual that the idea that a horse should be offered to Poseidon is derived from the practice of throwing the horses into the water as a piece of sun magic. But clearly this is contrary to all probability, and runs counter to the fact that as early as Homer¹ we find offerings of animals made to rivers, including horses. The origin of the offering may be found in the fact that the waves of the sea are regularly regarded as horses by primitive imagination, and the choice of animal might be dictated by that fact. The essential principle is that the offering of any animal may be due to many different causes, and that it is impossible to construct *a priori* theories of the development of sacrifice and to insist on adapting the facts to them, without perverting the interpretation of religious phenomena.

M. Reinach is doubtless led into his attitude towards the problem of the origin of religion by the view, upon which he insists, that the beginnings of religious belief are to be traced among primitive savages such as now exist in various parts of the earth. He commends² M. Durkheim for not even dealing with the obvious objection that primitive savages do not really exist at the present day, and that the primitiveness of the alleged savage may consist in the fact that he is the production of ancestors who have wandered from the track of progress into superstitions which have prevented the development of the race. It is idle to regard this theory as absurd, for it is impossible even to make it probable that it is: the world is not young nor is the life of man young, and arguing from the merely empirical point of

¹ *Iliad*, xxi, 132. Stengel (*Opferbräuche der Griechen*, p. 157, takes this as chthonian.

² *Cultes, Mythes, et Religions*, iv, p. vii.

view it is clear that the possibility that different races have developed different forms of religious belief is undeniable. Hence the only real progress which can be made in the field of religious investigation is not to be sought in the sphere of discovering the origin of religion, which is properly a fundamental problem of philosophy, not of science, but in that of arranging religious phenomena under definite categories and tracing when evidence allows the developments of religious beliefs. Where no evidence is available, it is the duty of religion as a science to note the fact and not fill in the blank by wild conjecture.

The extraordinary dangers of the *a priori* practice of reasoning are neatly revealed in Sir J. Frazer's latest theory of totemism.¹ He now suggests that the totem is the place of deposit of the souls of man, or of his souls if he is taken as having more than one²: initiation ceremonies he shows often take the form among savages of a second birth after a simulated death,³ the real object being permanently to transfer the soul to some external object for greater safety, a rite carried out especially at the danger period of puberty. The theory is supported by the evidence that the Battas of Sumatra, who believe that man has seven or three souls, hold that one is always external to the man, but that whenever it dies the man dies also. But, unfortunately for the theory, Sir J. Frazer frankly states that there is no evidence that the external souls of these people are held to be in the totem. This somewhat serious difficulty is removed by laying stress on the secrecy of savages, especially concerning so important a thing as the location of the soul, with which the man's life is bound up. In support of this view

¹ *Balder the Beautiful*, ii, 218-25.

² He might have compared the five constituents of the personality and the five souls of Iranian belief (Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, pp. 256 seqq.).

³ Cf. the Vedic *Dikṣā*.

Sir J. Frazer quotes the evidence of Messrs. Hose and MacDougall¹ that one of them lived for fourteen years with the Ibans before realizing the importance of one of their institutions. The fact is noteworthy and is of course paralleled in the case of Mr. Howitt in Australia, but Sir J. Frazer fails to draw from it the obvious conclusion that to build hypotheses on the practices of savages is infinitely more dangerous than to erect them on the records of classical and Indian antiquity, for the latter were not handed down by students of ethnology under the bias of theory and dealing with peoples to whose life they are essentially strangers by birth, by language, and by mental capacity. If it be objected that it is possible to obtain from these tribes explanations of the real meaning to them of the rites they follow, the reply is that of M. Reinach,² himself a firm believer in the doctrine of the homogeneity of religion, namely, that the accounts given by peoples of their rites are normally subject to grave doubt, since they represent, not primitive views, but reflections on these views; he enforces his doctrine by the case of the theory held by most savages that their totems are ancestors, which is in his view a mistake. Equally on Sir J. Frazer's view modern savages do not understand the origin of their totemistic worship, for they certainly do not ascribe it to the source alleged by Sir J. Frazer.

In one not unimportant respect M. Reinach's views differ for the better from those of Sir J. Frazer in that he prefers the evidence of classical antiquity to the conclusions drawn from the examination by anthropologists with preconceived theories of the rites of savage tribes. Unhappily his attitude towards the Vedic and Indian evidence is prejudiced by the error which he has made of considering that for primitive religion it is useless to

¹ *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, ii, 90 seqq.

² *Cultes, Mythes, et Religions*, i, 37 seqq.

search in the Veda, an idea apparently generated by the belief that the Veda contains nothing but the hymns on which Max Müller founded his mythological theories. The disadvantages of this view are curiously illustrated by his treatment of the possible connexions between Indian and Greek art. The nude statues of the Tirthakaras are held by him to be certainly derived from the archaic type of "Apollo" which flourished in Greece in the middle of the sixth century B.C., and he suggests¹ that either a statue of this type was taken at an early date to India, where it served as a model for the wooden statues which he assumes preceded those in bronze, or that when the Jaina artists began after the Christian era to erect statues in stone they sought for archaic specimens of Greek art to serve as models, and chose those which they calculated to be contemporary with the period of the Jina Mahāvira. In support of this theory he mentions the fact that an ivory figure of a priest and one of a lion found at Ephesos show similarities to Buddhist art. He also argues that the seated figures of the Buddha are really derived, like the seated figures of Gaulish gods, with limbs crossed, from an ancient Ionian prototype of the sixth century B.C. It is perfectly clear that there is no possible ground for supporting these hypotheses: the nudity of the Jaina statues is of definite religious purpose, while that of the Apollo statues has no such simple origin,² and the attitude of the figures of the Buddha is a perfectly natural Oriental, as it is also a Gallic, attitude, while it is difficult to say which of M. Reinach's theories of the connexion between the Greek work of the sixth century B.C. and the Indian is the more improbable.

Another striking instance of the error of ignoring Indian evidence may be adduced. In a very interesting

¹ *Cultes, Mythes, et Religions*, i, 63-8.

² Cf. Farnell, *Culte of the Greek States*, iv, 329 seqq.

study¹ of the legend of the sufferings of Prometheus M. Reinach finds that in origin the eagle was a bird of prognostication which was attached firmly by impaling it or by some other similar means to the front of the temples of Greece—possibly at an earlier date to the front of any house—as is apparently the view of Miss Harrison,² in order to avert evil influences and in special the lightning. This bird, the foreseeing, Prometheus, was the prototype of the god Prometheus, the death of the bird being in complete harmony with the ritual slaying of a god either to eat the body as a sacrament or to use the skin for a masquerade. When, however, influences from the north changed zoomorphism to anthropomorphism, Prometheus was deemed to be a man and the eagle came to be the power which tormented him, just as the boar which slew Adonis is originally the god himself. The connexion of the eagle with the theft of fire is due to the fact that the eagle flies highest of all birds and may justly be deemed to fetch the fire from the sky, while the difficulty of obtaining fire in early times and the frequent resort to theft to secure it explains why the action was regarded as a theft.

This is a very captivating theory, and its chief defect lies in the incorrect view that zoomorphism is a thing in time before and different essentially from anthropomorphism. Hence M. Reinach insists that the eagle is the origin and object of worship for itself, and brings it more or less artificially for logical reasons into connexion with the lightning. But the obvious solution pointed to by the Vedic evidence is that the eagle is the lightning itself, and this fact explains at once the whole situation: if the eagle is considered to be the form of manifestation of the lightning, the use of the eagle on the temple front in order to avert lightning becomes at once in harmony with the general primitive views of man on magic.

¹ *Cultes, Mythes, et Religions*, iv, 68-91. ² See Reinach, iv, 91, n. 1.

Moreover, the fact that the eagle brings down the lightning is at once explained, and it is not necessary to assume that an original eagle worship has been later on confused with a different form of religion. Where, in effect, M. Reinach sees zoolatry, there is no need to see more than theriomorphic conceptions of a divinity not in itself an animal at all, but the lightning. The reason why the lightning was thought of as in eagle form may well be due to the fact of the bird's lofty flight, but the essential point is that we have no reason in this case to see any worship of the bird *per se*: it is perfectly conceivable that it was so worshipped, but it is clearly contrary to sound method to go beyond the facts which adequately explain the myth without any such assumption. A further point of doubt must lie in the view suggested first by Lang¹ that the practice of human stealing of fire is the origin of the myth of the stealing from heaven: it is much simpler to suppose that, if the fire is in the sky, it was thought natural that its being brought down was a theft: the Indian idea is so expressed as to favour this view rather than the view taken by Lang. There remains still intact the view that the mode of punishment of Prometheus was suggested by the treatment of the eagle on Greek temples. The idea is ingenious, but it is not proved to be correct. All that can be gathered from the passage of Pindar (*Ol.* xiii, 20-2) which forms the starting-point of M. Reinach's conclusions is that the figure of an eagle was placed on the temple. For this we have a clear parallel in the solar disk with wings used in Egyptian temples: this usage is asserted by M. Reinach to be the result of syncretism between an eagle and the sun as protectors of the temple, but we are not required to accept this theory unless we hold his theory of the position of the eagle. It is much simpler to regard the symbol as the representation of the sun as an eagle, which

¹ *Modern Mythology*, pp. 194 seqq.

is a parallel concept to the idea of the eagle as lightning. Early religion is theriomorphic in its conceptions as well as anthropomorphic: early religion is also sometimes given to out-and-out zoolatry, but not every divine animal was once actually worshipped *per se*. The exact origin of the fable of the punishment of Prometheus must therefore be left vague. It is clear, however, that the Vedic myth already¹ regards the action of the descent of fire in the form of lightning and the fall of rain therewith as a species of theft, and the development of a myth like that of Prometheus is not very difficult.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

THE INDIAN DAY

In the interest of Vedic interpretation a brief reply to Dr. Fleet's note on the topic of the Indian day² is requisite. In his view the facts of the *Rigveda* are to be brought into harmony with the views of later India, in mine they are best explained by the facts of the Indo-European reckoning of time. That reckoning is held by the standard authorities on the question, with an unanimity which is conclusive of the strength of the evidence, briefly summarized above (p. 144), to have been primarily by nights, a fact due to the view that night preceded day, and therefore if one expression were used night was the natural one. Unless and until Dr. Fleet attempts to deal with the evidence on this subject, I must assume that he is unable to refute it. If, however, this evidence is not refuted, then it follows by the simplest process of reasoning that it is both legitimate and natural to ascribe to this source the reckoning by nights which appears here and there in the *Rigveda* and the occasional occurrence in

¹ Bloomfield, JAOS. xvi, 1 seqq.

² JRAS. 1916, pp. 356-62.

classical or post-Vedic literature of phrases in which night precedes day.

But Dr. Fleet adduces evidence which in his opinion shows that "daytime, the elder sister of the night, made before the night, has stood first in the reckoning of the whole Hindū civil day from the earliest time to which we can trace the matter back without entering into the realm of speculation". For this remarkable theory he adduces a single passage from the *Rigveda* in which it is said that the sister (i.e. night) has given place to her elder sister (dawn, i.e. day). This verse occurs in i, 124. 8: it might perhaps have occurred to Dr. Fleet, had he thought over the passage, that the phrase "given place" (*yónim āraik*) hardly accords with his statement that day is "made before the night", and if he had turned to the immediately preceding hymn, i, 123. 9, he would have discovered that for his assertion there was a complete disproof: in that verse we are told that the dawn is born from the dark (night), *śukrá kṛṣṇād ajanīṣṭa*, and verse 7 presents us with the picture of night preceding day, as it precedes it also in i, 124. 8.¹ It might be sufficient to leave the matter thus, proving conclusively the fallacy of Dr. Fleet's argument, but the exposure of the fallacy may well be followed by the explanation of it: it is due to a simple mistranslation of *jyāyasyai*, which has been taken as referring to age while it refers to importance, its etymological, normal, and regular Rigvedic meaning.

The Rigvedic evidence therefore shows that night precedes day, not day night, even in the passage cited to prove the contrary. The other crucial passage adduced by Dr. Fleet is a story from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*,² according to which Prajāpati created the gods and the day, and the Asuras and night. Doubtless it is on this passage that Dr. Fleet bases his view that the day was made before the night, though he does not say so explicitly. If

¹ So in i, 113. 1 ff.

² xi, 1. 6. 7, 8.

so the following criticisms apply, with fatal effect, to his contention. In the first place, the *Śatapatha* is as compared with the *Rigveda* a very late text, and proves nothing for the Rigvedic period. In the second place, the story has absolutely no trace of being a reflection of popular belief at all: it is one of the numberless versions of the relations of the gods and the Asuras: the gods naturally come before the Asuras in order of dignity and are essentially bright; therefore the Asuras are placed second and connected with night. This would inevitably be the case even if in the popular opinion night came before day at the time of the Brāhmaṇa: here that point, however, need not arise: the facts are as stated by me (p. 144) that night and day appear as separate entities in the Brāhmaṇas, so that either can serve to designate the combination of both, our modern "day". In the third place, Dr. Fleet's argument rests on a misunderstanding of the meaning of the Brāhmaṇa passage, a misunderstanding for which he, and not my predecessor, the distinguished translator of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*,¹ is to blame. The Brāhmaṇa deals with the creation of the gods from the upward breath of the creator, and of the Asuras from the downward: there is no question of temporal sequence in the production in the original.

With these two arguments dismissed as mere errors of interpretation, it is needless to dwell long on the other considerations adduced. It would have gratified Professor Pischel to have his view of the decadent character of Vedic life confirmed by Dr. Fleet's ingenious discovery that the night was the natural time for revelry, and that this is referred to in *Rigveda*, iv, 16. 19. But where is there the slightest evidence of this extraordinary statement in the Vedic literature, which knows no *noctes Neronis*? Night is to the Vedic Indian the normal time

¹ SBE. xliv, 13 (trans. of § 8, "And by the downward breathing"). Not "Then" as in Dr. Fleet's paraphrase.

for sleep : so, for instance, Naciketas's wish for his father's happiness is granted with the words *sukham rātrih śayitā*.¹ In his interpretation of *Rigveda*, viii, 26. 3 Dr. Fleet has overlooked the fact that *āti kṣapāh* does not mean "after the night", but means "through the nights". I do not know how Dr. Fleet construes *kṣapāh*: presumably as an ablative, or possibly genitive, but neither construction has any existence in Vedic Sanskrit,² and that it is accusative is proved, if there were need for proof, by cases like x, 77. 2, *pūrvīr āti kṣapāh*. The passage therefore means, not, as Dr. Fleet, "We make oblations to you two to-day . . . after the night," but "we invoke you two to-day . . . throughout the nights", i.e. continually. The example is very interesting: not only does it make nonsense of Dr. Fleet's explanation of iv, 16. 19, but it shows how persistent the use of the term "night" as equivalent to our "day" was that it could be used alongside of the word "to-day". The next argument of Dr. Fleet is perhaps even worse: the term *daśarātra* as the name of a sacrifice was "probably chosen because the principal part of the ceremonial was done during the night". There is not only no evidence for this assertion, but it is absolutely contrary to fact. The *daśarātra* was part of a twelve day rite of which the first and last days, which are not included in the *daśarātra*, were *Atirātra* ceremonies, involving a midnight carouse, while the other days did not have this form. Accordingly we are to conclude that the term *daśarātra* was chosen to designate nights when there were no nocturnal performances, and the term *Dvādaśāha* was applied to the whole rite, which included at the beginning and the end these nocturnal performances. *Lucus a non lucendo* to a most incredible degree. In view of the fact that night regularly precedes dawn or day, and day is born from night, I need hardly

¹ *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, i, 11.

² Delbrück, *Altind. Synt.* pp. 440, 441. The alleged cases of the genitive adduced in BR. are now universally abandoned.

say that the attempt to argue that the order in *Rigveda*, vi, 9, 1, *āhaś ca kṛṣṇām āhar ārjunam ca*, is metrical is absurd, for the simple reason that the opposite order would need explanation, not the actual order found. And I must again point out that to import the conception of *tithi* into any early Vedic text is a *petitio principii* of the worst kind: the idea is not found even in the early Sūtra literature: it comes into the late Grhyas doubtless from contemporary astronomy, and that the system of astronomy which it represents is not early Vedic should by this time be well known.¹

Why, then, it may be asked, was the term *ahorātra* used for the combination of night and day, seeing that night preceded day in the Rigvedic conception, and not normally *rātryahanī*? There are two obvious considerations which may, united, have led to the practice: in the first place considerations of euphony are obviously in favour of *ahorātra*, and these were reinforced by the natural and obvious preference of Vedic for the declension in *-a*. In the second place the *Rigveda*, as we have seen, classes the dawn or day as the greater, more important, sister of the two, and the more important thing tends to come before the less important in thought and speech alike.² That the use of *ahorātra* resulted in the feeling that day in point of fact preceded night may be conjectured; but Dr. Fleet has not adduced a single statement to that effect from the Vedic literature, and his collection of instances from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, which for some obscure reason he appears to think of as supporting his case, contains a couple of interesting examples from the latest parts of that work showing that in formal statements of

¹ See e.g. Thibaut, *Astronomie*, p. 12.

² See Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, § 268; Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.* ii, 1. 165 seqq. The case falls under either of the Vārttikas, 4 and 5, to Pāṇini, ii, 2. 34, prescribing priority for the more important word and that with fewer more. On an analogous principle the term *bhadrathantara* is always used, though the actual order is the opposite.

the number of days and nights in the year the nights could be placed first as readily as the days (xi, 1. 2. 10, 11 and xii, 3. 2. 3), a most gratifying confirmation of my view. As in the *Śatapatha* so earlier also: sometimes day is placed before night in order of discussion, as when Mitra and the day precede Varuṇa and the night¹; sometimes the nights precede the days, as in *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, ii, 2. 4, a passage of considerable interest as it incidentally shows that the day was even then regarded as night plus day: it runs *tāvanti śatasamivatsarasāh-nām sahasrāṇi bhavanti vyañjanair eva rātrīr āpnuvanti svarair ahāni*: it is undeniable that here the general term *ahnām* is explained by the two elements *rātrīr* and *ahāni*, and that the order is night plus day. When in a later portion (iii, 2. 2) of the same text, unquestionably of later date, we find days and nights mentioned in that order, there is, as always, nothing to show that the order is based on the view that night follows day. But to multiply examples would be tedious, and one more may suffice to show that *ahorātra* has no reference to natural order: the Agnihotra is one of the most important of Vedic sacrifices, and is to be performed every day *ubhayedyur*, in the phraseology of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*²: this means, as is explained at length, that it is to be offered after sunset, and as soon as the sun has risen, showing as plainly as possible that night precedes day, and that each is reckoned as a single unit: if, it is pointed out, the rule of offering before sunrise is followed, as for instance is provided by the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*,³ then the result is that the Agnihotra is offered only *anyedyur*, on alternate days, i.e. after sunset and before sunrise, wholly in the period of the night. Nothing is more characteristic than the words of the *Aitareya*, v, 29. 6: *esa ha vā ahorātrayos tejasi juhōti yo 'stamite sāyam juhōty udite prātar*: the word *ahorātra* evidently

¹ e.g. TS. ii, 1. 7. 2.² v, 28-30.³ iii, 2. 1, 1 seqq.

had no signification of the precedence of day before night. How naturally to the Indian mind the view that nightfall began a new period occurred can be seen in the homely case of the milking of the cow, as in the *Atharvaveda*, iv, 11. 12, where evening (*sāyam*), morning (*prātar*), and midday are given in order, and in the constant use of the form *sāyamprātar*, never the reverse, and the persistence of this view in the popular mind is recorded for us by the epic *nīśānīśam* in the sense of our "daily", and by other evidence to which Professor Hopkins has kindly called my attention.¹

The theory that night followed day in the conception of the Vedic Indian rests therefore upon the mistranslation of Vedic passages, and the failure to recognize in *ahorātra* the formation of a word on considerations of euphony and importance: so far from being supported by a single Vedic passage, it is flatly contradicted by several, and it also flatly contradicts the elementary fact that reckoning by nights is by its connexion with the moon, the great marker of time, one of the most primitive forms of reckoning. Nor in the remarks of Dr. Fleet, which follow, do I find anything which requires a reply.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

THE INDIAN DAY

I would make a few remarks, as (I hope) my last contribution to this discussion, on the only details in Professor Keith's paper which call for notice from among the irrelevant matter with which the point at issue has been overlaid.

¹ See his article in JAOS. xxiv, 14 seqq. It may be noted that the passage of the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* there referred to is i, 5 (not 15). 12. It proves in an interesting way how regular then was the view that a new day began with night: according to it day first existed, and night was created for the sake of Yami: *tataḥ śrīṣṭānam abhavarat*, "then there came into being to-morrow"; in the epic *per contra*, *śvas* normally denotes a day beginning with sunrise.

In the verse RV, 1. 124. 8, the important words are not *yōnim āraik*, "has given place": there is no reference to the first night and day. They are *svasrē jyāyasyai*. It does not seem to matter much whether these are translated by "to the elder sister" or by "to the greater, more important, sister": even the latter rendering appears to mark Dawn, i.e. Day, as the senior sister of Night. But it does seem to me that even in the R̥igvēda the word *jyāyas*, when used, as here, to qualify a noun of relationship, is to be translated fairly by "elder". This common-sense view is the one which Griffith took:—"The sister quitteth, for the elder sister, her place."¹ So also Professor Macdonell has cited this verse as describing Dawn as the "elder" sister of Night.² And Geldner tells us that *jyāyas* does mean *älter*, "elder", here, and gives as another instance RV, 7. 86. 6, where the word is in contrast with *kanīyas*, "younger".³ Thus it is not the case that I have mistranslated the R̥igvēda in order to make it harmonize with later Indian views: I have followed scholars whose authority is undeniable, and have taken its statement just as it stands.

By way of giving "a complete disproof" of my understanding of that verse, and of exposing a "fallacy" which has been set up by himself, not by me, Professor Keith has referred to verse 9 of the immediately preceding hymn, No. 123, which is also a hymn to Dawn. I had not overlooked that hymn (nor some others) when I wrote. But I found and still find nothing anywhere opposed to what is said in hymn 124, verse 8. And, as an incidental matter, I venture to dispute Professor Keith's accuracy in rendering *śukrā kṛishnād ajanishṭa* (hymn 123, verse 9) as telling us that "the dawn is born from the dark (night)." The word is *kṛishnāt*, which is found again

¹ *Hymns of the R̥igveda*, vol. 1, p. 223.

² *Vedic Mythology*, p. 48.

³ *Der R̥igveda in Auszähl*, vol. 1, Glossary, s.v. *jyāyas*.

in a similar idea in verse 1 of the same hymn. What masculine or neuter word for "night" is there, which we could supply in apposition to it? Night is always a feminine in Sanskrit. And according to the St. Petersburg Dictionary *krishṇāt* is here the ablative of *krishṇam*, *schwärze*, *dunkelheit*, "blackness, darkness"; so that the words say "the resplendent dawn has been born from the darkness." But I find nothing here of any force against the statement in hymn 124, verse 8, about Dawn, i.e. Day, being the elder sister of Night: every dawn of course emerges, or in poetical terms is born, from the darkness (or even, if we like, from the night) which has gone before it.

As regards the words *ati kshapah* in RV, 8. 26. 3, I was guided, not only by Griffith's translation,—“When night hath passed,”¹ but also by Max Müller's remark in SBE, 32. 119, where he said that the accent marks *kshapáh* here as a genitive. And “We invoke you two to-day after the night” seems quite sensible; whereas “We invoke you two to-day throughout the nights” reads like nonsense, in addition to not suiting the proper time, between dawn and sunrise, for worshipping the *Aśvins*. If the government of a genitive by *ati* is to be given up, then, *pūrvāḥ* being taken with *kshapah* as the accusative, the meaning will be:—“We invoke you two to-day beyond (i.e. after) many nights”; apparently with the idea:—“We invoke you morning after morning.” However, this is only an incidental detail, not bearing in any way on the real issue: the verse was introduced by Professor Keith, not by me.

The order of the statements in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, 11. 1. 6. 7, 8, places *Prajāpati*'s creation of the gods and the birth of light before his creation of the *Asuras* and the birth of darkness. So I really cannot see anything wrong in my saying that he created the gods and “then”

¹ *Hymns of the Rigveda*, vol. iii, p. 213.

the Asuras; the "temporal sequence" is clearly marked. As to another point of accuracy, the Brāhmaṇa certainly says that Prajāpati created the Asuras by what is rendered in the translation by "downward breathing" (*avāṇ-prāṇah*). But I do not find any basis in it, either in Professor Eggeling's translation or in the text itself, for Professor Keith's statement that he created the gods from his "upward breath". The text only says that Prajāpati created the gods *āsyēn-aiva*, which the translator has rendered "by (the breath of) his mouth".

I cited those two paragraphs of the Śatapatha as being introductory to para. 11. This last by the order of its statements gives the same "temporal sequence", and places the creation of the gods with the birth of light and the making of the day before the creation of the Asuras with the birth of darkness and the making of the night; and I do not see how it can be doubted that it was on this basis that I spoke of the daytime as having been made before the night. As to the merits of the passage, no one who reads it without prejudice can doubt that the writer looked on the creation of the Asuras as following that of the gods, and so went on to place the birth of darkness and the making of night after the birth of light and the making of day; and he could not have done that if "popular belief" had reversed the order and placed the night before the day.

Professor Keith says, in reiteration, with a slight variation, of something in his first paper, that "night and day appear as separate entities in the Brāhmaṇas, so that either can serve to designate the combination of both, our modern 'day'." I have shown in my previous paper that this is distinctly wrong so far as the Śatapatha is concerned; as anyone may see who will read either my remarks (p. 359 f.) or, better still, the bases on which they stand, viz. the translation and the text itself. I am not able to test so vague a statement, with no specific

references, for the other Brāhmaṇas; but I do not doubt that they would be found not to differ from the Śatapatha on this point. I gave my instances from the Śatapatha, not because I thought "for some obscure reason" that they support my case, —(which, however, they do in a general way),— but because I had to give them in order to show how Professor Keith, in order to support his views, has misrepresented the Brāhmaṇas, so far, at least, as the Śatapatha is concerned. He says that two of my instances, 11. 1. 2. 10, 11, and 12. 3. 2. 3, give "a most gratifying confirmation" of his view, viz. that the night stood before the daytime in the early reckoning of the Indian day. They do nothing of the kind: with the other instances, they only show that he wrongly cited the Brāhmaṇas as telling us that the year consisted of 360 nights "or" [instead of "and"] 360 days. Of the same nature is plainly the passage which he has quoted, without giving its context, from the Aitarēya-Āraṇyaka, 2. 2. 4.

It seems inconsistent, to say the least, on the part of Professor Keith, to deny any value to the Śatapatha in respect of its statements quoted by me about the order of creation, while he claims the work (and by stating wrongly what it really does say) as a quite good authority in other respects for his own case. As to two other incidental details:—(1) Professor Keith has tried to ridicule the idea that in the use of the root *mad*, "to rejoice, be glad, exult, delight or revel in, be drunk", in RV. 4. 16. 19, there is a reference to revelry at night, which, he intimates, was quite foreign to the ancient Hindūs. How is it, then, that he himself has spoken of the *atirātra* ceremonies as "involving a midnight carouse"? (2) I have certainly not said anything to justify the suggestion that I suppose that the conception of the *tithi* or lunar day is to be found in any early Vedic text. And it is not I who introduced the lunar day into

the discussion at all: this was done by Professor Keith himself, by his irrelevant reference to the *amāvāsyā*.

I have not denied and do not wish to deny, though the evidence adduced so far is scanty, that, just as was certainly done by some of the later Indian writers, the Vedic poets may have sometimes denoted the lapse of time by nights rather than days. That, however, amounts to no more than what has been done by some of our own poets, in speaking of summers or winters in the sense of years. But any such practice is not the point at issue, which is, whether they placed the daytime before the night, or vice versa, in the normal reckoning of time.

In the reckoning of the Indian day, the daytime, running from sunrise to sunset, has certainly stood before the night ever since the time when the Hindūs first had anything in the shape of a practical astronomy. As to the earlier period, my position is that the indications given by the *Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, 11. 1. 6. 11, in saying that the day was made before the night, and before that by the *Rigvēda*, 1. 124. 8, in mentioning Dawn, i.e. Day, as the elder sister of Night, are, that the case was the same from the earliest time to which we can trace the matter back without entering the realm of speculation.

I do not find in either of Professor Keith's discourses anything tending to weaken that position. With what may have been the Indo-European practice in the still more remote period, I am not concerned; and it is absurd to suggest, as he has done at the beginning of his second paper, that I should apply myself to refuting the evidence as to what that practice was: I am dealing with India; and we need only the evidence that is given by the Indian books. His last paragraph contains a complete misstatement of the case. And while, without assenting to his dictum that the moon is "the greater marker of time", I have not the slightest wish to dispute that a reckoning by nights may have been "one of the most primitive

forms of reckoning", still the question here is, not what we might like to infer from that, but what we actually find to have been the case in India.

J. F. FLEET.

PRATI-SRAVANA-PURVANI NAKSHATRANI

In the description of the great and terrible ascetic Viśvāmitra given in the Mahābhārata, i, § 71, 2914 ff. (Calcutta text), we read in verse 2928 :—

Chakār-ānyaṁ cha lōkaṁ vai kruddhō nakshatra-saṁpadā |
prati-Śravaṇa-pūrvāṇi nakṣatrāṇi chakāra yaḥ |
guru-śāpa-hatasy-āpi Triśaṅkōḥ śaraṇaṁ dadau ||

"And who, indeed, in wrath created another world with a wealth of stars; who made and gave protection to Triśaṅku when he was struck by a preceptor's curse."

In the second line, which I leave untranslated for the present, the St. Petersburg Dictionary found the expression *pratiśravaṇa-pūrvāṇi*, and explained it by *zugesagt, versprochen*, "promised", with the effect of some such rendering as:—"Who made nakshatras according to promise."

Protap Chandra Roy's translation (p. 214) goes nearer to the mark, in saying: ". . . who . . . created . . . numerous stars beginning with Sravana," but fails to hit it exactly.

The meaning is explained partly by the story of Viśvāmitra and Satyavrata, otherwise known as Triśaṅku, as given in the Rāmāyaṇa, i, §§ 57-60 (Bombay text, 1888):¹—

Triśaṅku, king of Ayōdhyā, wished to celebrate a sacrifice the effect of which should translate him to heaven in bodily form, and summoned the sage Vasishṭha for

¹ Compare Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. i, p. 401 ff., from almost the same text.

guidance in the matter. Vasishṭha said that it could not be done. The king then went south, to where the hundred sons of Vasishṭha were engaged in performing austerities, and asked for their help. They, too, refused; and further, quarrelling with the king over his parting words, they cursed him so that he became a Chaṇḍāla. Seeing him in that guise, his counsellors and attendants deserted him. In this plight he went to Viśvāmitra, who took pity on him, and began the required sacrifice, which, however, he could not finish because the gods would not come to receive their shares. Thereupon Viśvāmitra raised Triśaṅku to heaven in bodily form by his own power. Indra, however, and the other gods, declined to admit him, and hurled him, head downwards,¹ back towards the earth. As he was falling, he called on Viśvāmitra to save him. Viśvāmitra bade him stand fast where he was; and then, we are told (§ 60, vv. 20, 21):—

ṛishi-madhyē sa tējasvī Prajāpatiḥ iv-āparāḥ ||
 Sṛījan dakṣhiṇa-mārga-sthān Saptarshīn aparān punaḥ |
 nakshatra-vaṁśam aparaṁ asṛījat krōdha-mūrchechhitāḥ ||

"In the midst of the sages that glorious man, like another Prajāpati, being beside himself with wrath, created other Saptarshis situated on the way to the South, and further created another set of nakshatras."

After that, Viśvāmitra threatened to make another Indra, or a world without an Indra, and actually began to create new gods. And he behaved altogether in such a way that the gods were glad enough to consent that all the new stars should remain in the sky, "outside the path of the sun,"² and that Triśaṅku, head downwards,³ should stand, like a god, shining in their lustre and followed by

¹ *Avākīrīt*; here and farther on.

² That is, somewhere to the south of the limit to which the sun goes at the winter solstice.

³ That is, in the attitude in which he was and remained when his fall back towards the earth was arrested by Viśvāmitra: see above, and compare the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, 9. 7. 6.

them as by a retinue, just as if he had actually realized his ambition and attained heaven in person.

We thus learn that Viśvāmitra created, somewhere in the direction of the south pole, a new group of Saptarshis (the seven stars of the Great Bear)¹ and a new set of *nakshatras*.

The explanation is completed by another passage in the Mahābhārata, 14 (Āśvamēdhika-p.), § 44, 1213, where we read :—

Ahaḥ pūrvam tatō rātrir māsāḥ śukl-ādayaḥ smritāḥ ।
Śravaṇ-ādini ṛikshāṇi ṛitavaḥ Śiśir-ādayaḥ ॥

"The day comes first, then the night; the months are declared to begin with the bright fortnight: the *nakshatras* begin with Śravaṇa; the seasons with Śiśira."

This gives us an arrangement of the *nakshatras* in which the list was headed by Śravaṇa.

It is now clear that in the expression which we have under consideration *śravaṇa* denotes the *nakshatra* of that name, and *prati* is to be taken in the sense of 'likeness, duplication', which it has, e.g., in *prati-sūrya*, *prati-chandra*, "a 'mock' sun, a 'mock' moon," with reference to the phenomenon in which a second sun or moon seems to be standing beside the real one.² I therefore translate the line thus :—"Who made *nakshatras* headed by a second Śravaṇa;" or in other words :—

"Who made a duplicate set of the *nakshatras* headed by Śravaṇa."

¹ I take these to be the four bright stars of the Southern Cross, with its "pointers" α and β Centauri, and perhaps with α Trianguli Australis as the seventh star at the end of the tail of the Bear, or of the pole of the Wain according to the Hindū figuring: see Proctor's *New Star Atlas*, plate 12. As regards Triṣaṅku himself, the commentary under verse 21 seems to imply that his place was that of a southern pole-star, with the new Saptarshis and other stars circling round him.

² The commentary on Rāmāyaṇa, § 60, v. 24, supplies another similar term, *prati-svarga*, "a second heaven," which does not seem to have found its way into dictionaries.

It remains to add that these two passages of the Mahābhārata, giving a Śravaṇādi list of the *nakshatras*, are noteworthy as coming from a time when it was recognized (though without knowing the reason) that the winter solstice had travelled westwards from the first point of Śravishṭhā (Dhanishṭhā), where it was placed by the astronomy which was preserved in the Jyōtisha-Vēdāṅga, and was in the preceding *nakshatra* Śravaṇa. I hope to revert to this matter in a paper in which I shall show that the Kṛittikādi list has no basis in the fact that the sun once came to the vernal equinox in Kṛittikā, but belongs entirely to ritual and astrology.

J. F. FLEET.

AYASA = ASYA

To the philologist it would be an interesting result if it could be established that in Taxila about the beginning of the Christian era *ayasa* was used for "of this"; used, moreover, in a formal document and in the most commonplace part of it, in the statement of the date, leading one to suppose that it was the ordinary obvious way of expressing "of this" at that time and at that place (*vide* J. F. Fleet, JRAS. 1915, p. 317). The form recalls the Vedic indeclinable *ayā*, "in this way."

The evidence for *ayasa* = *asya*, however, is not of the strongest.

1. This meaning was by no means obvious to the most experienced epigraphists, and was adopted in order to avoid the conclusion that *ayasa* on this silver scroll had the same meaning as *ayasa* on the numerous coins lying in the same stratum.

2. The form *ayanīsi* = *asmin*, quoted from Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, § 429, is only given by him for Ardha-Māgadhi from the Uttarajjhayaṇasutta. Pischel gives the form with a dot over the *y*, i.e. it is the *laghuprayatnatarayakāra*, the very weak *y* to bridge an hiatus,

which only Jain MSS. represent in script. It is not the same as the Old Indian *y* or the *y* in Māgadhi, which corresponds to Sauraseni *j* (Skt. *ārya*, S. *ajja*, Mg. *ayya*). Presumably it is not the same as the Taxilan *y* on the coins in *Ayasa*, which corresponds to a foreign sound represented by the Greek zeta. Hemacandra's *aammi* appears to belong to a much later time, not far distant from the days of Apabhramśa *aaho* = *asya*.

3. In the Veda *ayā* is indeclinable.

Before this form is accepted it may be asked :

1. Is the *laghuprayatnatarayakāra* ever found written in inscriptions of that district and period ?

2. Is any such form as *ayasa* or *ajasa* or the corresponding locative found in other inscriptions ?

A. C. WOOLNER.

LAHORE.

December 16, 1915.

SANSKRIT GRAMMATICAL NOTE

According to the grammarians (*vide* Pāṇini, vi, 4, 117) there are three alternative forms of the 2nd person singular of the imperative of the verb *हृ* (*hā*), "to quit," viz. *jahīhi*, *jahihi*, and *jahāhi*. Whitney observes in paragraph 665 of his Sanskrit Grammar that only the first of these three forms appears to be quotable. According to Macdonell (Vedic Grammar, paragraph 460) no instance of any of these three forms is quotable in Vedic Sanskrit, though the form ending with *-tāt*, i.e. *jahītāt*, is found in the Atharva Veda. In the Rig Veda the form *jahātu* is found for the 3rd person singular, and the Atharva Veda also furnishes instances of the 2nd person dual and the 2nd person plural in the forms of *jahītam* and *jahīta* respectively. I have been unable to trace any instance of the form *jahāhi* in classical Sanskrit, but the other two forms are both to be found used in the *Kirātārjunīya* of Bhāravi. In the

eighth stanza of the eighth canto, which is in the Vamśastha metre (— — — | — — — | — — — | — — — | repeated four times), we find जहीहि कोपं दयितो ऽ नुगम्यताम् ("Abandon anger," etc.). In the fifty-first stanza of the tenth canto, which is in the Puspitāgra metre (— — — | — — — | — — — | — — — | — — — | — — — | — — — | — — — | repeated twice), the stanza begins with the words जहीहि कठिनताम् ("Give up harshness"). It is clear from the metres employed that metrical necessities compelled the poet, or at any rate made it convenient for him, to use the two varying forms on these separate occasions.

R. P. DEWHURST, I.C.S.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL WORK IN HYDERABAD, DECCAN

It is indeed gratifying to find that systematic attention is now being paid to archæological research in H. H. the Nizam's territory, where there are known to be many remains, both architectural and inscriptional, which have long awaited proper treatment, and there must be many more to be discovered if a closer search is made.¹ An Archæological Department was established by the Nizam's Government in 1914. The Hyderabad Archæological Society was founded in July, 1915, by a meeting presided over by the Resident, Colonel Sir Alexander Pinhey,

¹ A well known place is Ittagi, in the south-west corner of the Hyderabad State, where there is a large Saiva temple, dating from just before A.D. 1112, which is one of the finest extant specimens of the Chalukya style. A full description of it, with illustrations, from which its merits can be properly appreciated, will be found in Mr. Cousens' forthcoming volume on "The Chalukyan Architecture in the Kanarese Districts": and the inscription which records the foundation of it by the *Dandanāyaka* Mahādēva, a high minister of Vikramāditya VI, is being edited by Dr. Barnett in vol. 13 of the *Epigraphia Indica*. Various inscriptional remains in the State are known (not very perfectly) from Sir Walter Elliot's MS. Collection of South-Indian Inscriptions: and seven of them, at Yewūr, of the period A.D. 1040 to 1179, have been edited by Dr. Barnett in *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 12, p. 268 ff.

K.C.S.I., C.I.E., who became the first President of the Society and whose recent death will be a great loss to it. And the first-fruits of the work of the two foundations have reached us lately, in the shape of No. 1 of the Series which is the organ of publication of the Department, and Part 1, for the first half of the year 1916, of the Society's Journal.

This initial number of the Journal, which consists of 123 pages with 34 well chosen and executed plates, gives us some very good reading. The articles are:—(1) The Scope of Archæology in the Hyderabad State, by Mr. G. Yazdani, Honorary Secretary of the Society and Superintendent of Archæology; (2) the Antiquities of Kulpak, by Mr. T. Strinivas; (3) the Antiquities of Warangal, by Mr. Yazdani; (4) Old Hyderabad China, by Mr. E. H. Hunt; and (5) Kopal Town and Fort, by Sir Alexander Pinhey.

No. 1 of the Series which is the organ of the Archæological Department consists of a paper by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, Officiating Epigraphist to the Government of India, on a newly found record of Aśoka at Maski in the Raichūr District. This record is a very interesting find, but a disappointing one. It is so interesting because it is the first known record of Aśoka which mentions him by that name, instead of only by the appellations *Dēvānāmpriya* and *Priyadarśin*. But it is disappointing because, whereas it is plainly another recension of the well-known record which we have at *Sahasrām*, *Rūpnāth*, and four other places, the extant remnants of it do not include the passage mentioning the 256 nights which has been the subject of so much discussion. We have always been hoping that some version of the record, putting that passage in plainer terms, might be found: and it is vexatious that this new discovery has failed to give us what we want.

This is not an occasion for going into the details of the

papers in the two publications: we only seek to welcome the two new foundations, and to introduce them as sure to be very useful to us in our Indian researches. But there are two points in Mr. Krishna Sastri's paper, on which I would make some short remarks.

In the first place, as regards the find-spot of this new record of Aśoka, he tells us that:—"The village Maski is situated in the Lingsugur Taluk of the Raichur District of H. H. the Nizam's Dominions, some seventy miles due south-west from Raichur *via* Hutti, at Longitude $76^{\circ} 45'$ and Latitude $15^{\circ} 57'$." There seems to be something wrong here. The stated bearing and distance take us into the northern part of the Bellary District, Madras. But, if the latitude and longitude are stated correctly, the place seems to be one in the Nizam's territory which is shown as "Mooski" in the Indian Atlas sheet 58 (1827), exactly in lat. $15^{\circ} 57'$, long. $76^{\circ} 45'$, about forty-six miles west-south-west from Raichur, and as "Muski" in the Hyderabad Map of 1883 ($1'' = 16$ miles) and in Constable's Hand Atlas of India, plate 34. The spelling "Mooski" points to Muski, rather than Maski, as the real name. Mr. Krishna Sastri, however, tells us that the ancient name is found as Piriya-Māsaṅgi in local records of the Chālukya period. But is it possible that the ancient name should be read as Piriya-Musaṅgi, with *u* instead of *ā* in the first syllable? A *mu* in Kanarese records of the eleventh or twelfth century might easily be misread as *mā*. And the name Muṣaṅgi (whether of the same place or not) is well known as that of a place at which the Chālukya king Jayasimha II was defeated by the Chōla Rājendra-Chōladēva I. It is desirable that these two details—the exact position of the place where this new record of Aśoka is, and the true form of its name—should be made clear.

Secondly, the Mysore versions of this record of Aśoka were issued from a place called Suvarṇagiri. Mr. Krishna

Sastri has revived Bühler's idea—an idea only, with no basis stated for it—that Suvarṇagiri should be looked for somewhere in the direction of the Western Ghats. If there was really an ancient administrative centre named Suvarṇagiri anywhere in those parts, it is most improbable that it should have disappeared altogether. But no such name as Suvarṇagiri in any form is found anywhere there; or indeed anywhere in Southern India, except in the cases of (1) Sōngīr, a town, of no known ancient importance, in the Dhulia tāluka of the Khāndēsh District, Bombay, and (2) Sōnāgīr, a hill, with many quite late Jain temples, in the Dātīā State, Central India. On the other hand, we have a hill Sōnagiri, Suvarṇagiri, among the hills surrounding the ancient city Girivraja, just below Rājagriha, Rājgīr, in almost the very heart of Aśoka's dominions, and in a locality full of Buddhist associations. In view of all this, it is superfluous to look anywhere else for the Suvarṇagiri of the Mysore versions of his record.¹

J. F. FLEET.

¹ See my remarks in JRAS, 1909, p. 998. Mr. Krishna Sastri has assigned this identification of Suvarṇagiri to Dr. Geiger, who, however, expressly attributed it to me, and did not commit himself about it. The name Suvarṇagiri means "gold-hill". And Mr. Krishna Sastri seems to have been led by the fact that the country round "Maski" shows clear traces of having been in former times a very important gold-working centre; of which, indeed, we might perhaps find a reminiscence in the name of the "Kanakgerri, Kanakgiri, Kanakgeri", of maps, a town in the Hyderabad State about thirty miles towards south-south-west from "Mooski". But we do not really need anything like that to account for such names as Suvarṇagiri and Kanakagiri.

THE CAMPBELL MEMORIAL GOLD MEDAL

At a meeting of the Society on March 14, 1916, with Sir Charles Lyall in the chair, the Campbell Memorial Gold Medal, awarded to Professor A. A. Macdonell, M.A., Ph.D., by the Bombay Branch of the Society, was presented by Lord Sandhurst.

THE CHAIRMAN said he was there to represent Lord Reay, who was unfortunately prevented from coming from Scotland to make the presentation, and he had asked Lord Sandhurst, who equally with himself had the distinction of being a former Governor of Bombay, to present the Campbell Medal to their friend Professor Macdonell.

LORD SANDHURST said he had had the great privilege of being Governor of Bombay and working for five years with Sir James Campbell, who was a very distinguished Indian Civilian, distinguished amongst many. He was a man of great abilities, as everybody knew, of singularly sympathetic disposition and character, most thorough in all work that he undertook, and at the same time of most generous disposition. But he was one of those men who preferred to exercise his charities without advertising them at all, so much so that it was said very often in Bombay that he never let his left hand know what his right hand was doing. Outlining his official career (see *Journal*, July, 1903) he spoke of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, which Sir James compiled, as a work of stupendous value. It gave for each district of the Presidency a complete descriptive, historical, and statistical account of the whole area, its subdivisions and chief places of interest. It also contained most valuable ethnographical records of the castes and tribes of the district. The contributions to the early history of India contained in this splendid series were of great value, notably the special articles in the last volume published (vol. ix, pt. i) dealing with the

foreign element of the Hindu population of Gujarat. The theory therein developed had been carried further by other scholars, and had greatly affected the previously prevailing views on the origin of many well-known Hindu castes. The compilation of the Gazetteer was a stupendous labour, and the result was an invaluable book of reference for which successive generations of Indian Civilians and other students and workers would be indebted to Sir James Campbell for generations to come. He was for a long period Collector of Bombay, becoming known to almost every citizen, and he played a great part in framing the tariff duties of 1893-5. Speaking of Sir James Campbell's work as Chairman of the Plague Committee while he (the speaker) was Governor, he said that if they got on pretty well in dealing with that calamity—as he was vain enough to think, considering the circumstances, that they did—the whole credit was to be laid at the door of Sir James Campbell, because without his admirable tact, patience, and temper he did not think they would have been able to get on at all. He also contributed most valuable help in formulating the scheme which took legislative shape on the City of Bombay Improvement Act, taking a leading part in the work of a confidential preliminary committee. He questioned whether any more fitting memorial could have been suggested by his friends than the Medal he was about to present, and which was awarded triennially for the best original work on Indian folklore, history, or ethnology.

MR. R. E. ENTHOVEN, C.I.E., of the Bombay Civil Service, as representing the Bombay Branch, requested Lord Sandhurst to make the presentation. He said the Branch had its origin in the Literary Society of Bombay, which was founded in 1804 by Sir James Mackintosh, at that time Recorder of the city, with the object of encouraging the study of Oriental subjects. It was approached in the year 1827 by the Royal Asiatic Society

with a view to affiliation, and in 1829 it took that step, one which might be imitated with advantage by other small societies in India. The Bombay Branch had done much useful work. It brought out periodically an interesting journal; it had a valuable library of 8,000 volumes, contributed to some extent by generous donors, including the great Mountstuart Elphinstone; it had good collections of archaeological specimens and coins; and although it was at present somewhat inadequately housed in the Bombay Town Hall it was intended that when the War was over and the Prince of Wales's Museum was free from present use as a hospital for soldiers wounded in the War, the Society should be housed there. He went on to speak of the characteristics of Sir James Campbell, on the basis of his observations from the time he became his Assistant in Bombay in 1894. He was then the centre of intellectual life in Bombay, and brought together at his hospitable table at the Byculla Club men of all occupations and professions, and entertained them with a flow of anecdote and witty conversation. He was the centre also of a small band of scholars who contributed to the *Gazetteer*. He never allowed his purely official functions to monopolize too much of his attention, and when Collector of Customs he would keep one of his Assistants writing the history of the Byculla Club, while another was given the task of identifying the foreign elements in Hindu society. These extra duties prevented young officers becoming too centralized in their work, and it might be said of him, to use an old saying, that to have been his Assistant was in itself a liberal education. His special characteristics were his extreme modesty and his keen sense of humour. One of his hobbies was the study of spirit-scaring. He spent many years of leisure hours in collecting notes on the subject, and at one time had the intention of working out the theory that most old customs with which we are acquainted had their origin in the

effort to scare away evil spirits. Some of his materials in this connexion had been published in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary*. He recollected specially a paper on the virtues of drinking alcohol, and another on the advantages of kissing as a means of spirit-scaring, though many might suppose that these practices had survived for other reasons. Anyhow he devoted much attention to that line of research, and it remained for some scholars of the Society to bring together his notes in a comprehensive study of the folklore of the Western Presidency. When Sir James died in 1903 his friends subscribed to a fund with the object of founding a memorial medal, and it was decided that it should be presented triennially for original work in connexion with Indian history, archæology, and folklore. The medal was presented for the first time in 1909 by the then Governor, now Lord Sydenham, to that famous Central Asian scholar and traveller, Sir Aurel Stein. Three years later the second presentation was made to a very rising Indian scholar, Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar, son of Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, and there was some special fitness in that, because the work for which the Medal was bestowed had in a sense carried somewhat further Campbell's theories as to the foreign elements in Hindu society. Mr. Bhandarkar had found most interesting extraneous elements in what were looked upon as the most orthodox Rajput tribes. The time had now come for the third presentation, and as a trustee of the Medal Fund, and as an old pupil of Professor Macdonell, he had very great pleasure, on behalf of the Bombay Branch, in asking Lord Sandhurst to make the presentation.

LORD SANDHURST then said that Lord Reay, who was himself a learned man, had sent him his notes of what he intended to say in respect to Professor Macdonell, and with their permission he would read them. They were as follows :—

The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society has

done me the honour of inviting me to present this Medal to Professor Macdonell. No worthier recipient could have been selected, and it gives me the greatest pleasure on this occasion to be the representative of a very important branch of our Society in the great and prosperous centre of Indian trade, which is also a centre of intellectual activity.

Professor Macdonell studied at Göttingen, and the thorough knowledge of the German language acquired there stood him in good stead in his later studies and researches.

He afterwards came to Oxford and gained the Taylorian Scholarship in German in 1876, the Davis Chinese Scholarship in 1877, and the Boden Sanskrit Scholarship in the following year. He held the position of Taylorian Teacher of German in the University from 1880 to 1899, and was elected a Fellow of Balliol College in 1899. He took his degree at Leipzig in 1884 with a dissertation in German on the Anukramaṇī of the Rig Veda as chief subject, with Comparative Grammar and Old German as secondary subjects. Possessing thus a wide knowledge of languages, he devoted himself specially to Sanskrit, so that he was appointed Deputy Professor of Sanskrit from 1888 to 1899, during the last years of Professor Sir M. Monier-Williams' life, when the latter was unable to discharge the duties of the Professorship himself, and on the latter's death succeeded to the Professorship in 1899.

While thoroughly acquainted with Sanskrit literature generally he has made the Veda and the Vedic literature his special duty, and is acknowledged to be one of the foremost authorities in that department of Sanskrit learning. With a perfect knowledge of German he has studied all that has been written by German scholars as well as what has been written in English and French. He has summed up and published the results of Vedic research in his works *Vedic Mythology*, *Vedic Grammar*, and (in collaboration with Professor Keith) the *Vedic*

Index of Names and Subjects. These works are replete with learning and ripe judgment. He is a scholar thorough in method, accurate in research, calm in judgment, and eminently sound in the expression of opinion. These characteristics distinguish his *History of Sanskrit Literature*, which, while adapted for general information, satisfies also the requirements of scholars.

To his erudition regarding ancient India through Sanskrit literature he has added the great advantage of personal acquaintance with India in its ancient remains and modern condition by a tour of study and research throughout that land in 1907-8, from which he brought home a large collection of valuable MSS.

Sanskrit study has declined somewhat from the attractive position it occupied some forty years ago, and other branches of Oriental learning and research, especially Semitic and Egyptian, have risen into prominence through the discoveries made by excavation. Yet Professor Macdonell has upheld the standard of Sanskrit learning in Oxford by training students who have become distinguished Sanskritists, and by steadily developing the advantages afforded by the Indian Institute that his predecessor founded.

To the list of his works already enumerated should be added his Sanskrit Dictionary and Sanskrit Grammar, editions of the *Sarvānukramanī* and of the *Bṛhad-devatā*, besides many articles on Sanskrit matters in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, the *Indian Antiquary*, Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Hastings' *Dictionary of Religions*, and elsewhere. This very week will probably see the publication of another work, his *Vedic Grammar for Students*, promised for last autumn, but delayed owing to the shortage of hands at the Clarendon Press, due to the War. Our congratulations to him, therefore, on the success of this his latest work will not long have to be delayed.

The University of Oxford may also be congratulated on the éclat given to the Chair of Sanskrit by our distinguished friend. For our understanding of India the study of Sanskrit is essential. For our friendly relations with India the intercourse of Indian and of British Sanskritists is invaluable. The example set by Professor Macdonell of a personal visit to India will, I hope, be followed by scholars and encouraged by Government.

The illustrious traditions of British Oriental scholars impose on their successors of this and future generations a great responsibility. In the annals of this War we shall have to record the valour of our Indian comrades, the loyalty of all classes in our Indian Empire. In the peaceful days which are in store for us, and which we shall owe to those who have fought for us, Indian and British scholars will join in various fields of literary and scientific research. British and Indian Universities will have to exchange Professors and students, in order that the efficiency of both may be increased.

Your ancestors—like mine—Professor Macdonell, followed the military profession, and we must offer you the expression of our deepest sympathy in the loss of a brave son who emulated the heroic deeds of many of his race.

PROFESSOR MACDONELL, after thanking Lord Sandhurst for presenting the Medal to him, related how he had come to take up the study of Sanskrit, and went on to tell of the duties of a Sanskrit Professor in England. He said : I have devoted many years to research, especially in the older and historically more important period of Indian literature, that of the Vedas, or sacred scriptures. Having by this time published books and articles on Vedic language, religion, mythology, literature, and subject-matter, I have resolved to devote the rest of my life to the very laborious task of translating into English the oldest and most important sacred book of India, the

Rig Veda, a task somewhat analogous to translating the Old Testament if that were entirely composed of Psalms. There is no scientific translation of that book as a whole in English, and the two German translations are forty years old.

But I consider that the literary activity of a Sanskrit Professor should not be restricted to works of research. He ought also to produce educational books to meet the practical needs of the learner. There are at the present day no adequate works of this character dealing with the Vedic language or old Sanskrit.

The writing of books of either kind is, however, not enough. It is also necessary to throw a good deal of energy into teaching of a stimulating character. Otherwise a new generation of young scholars cannot easily grow up nor students be encouraged to continue their studies after leaving the University. Without this, for instance, the valuable impetus imparted to Sanskrit studies in various directions by the late Professors Kielhorn and Bühler (both pupils of Benfey) could never have been given. Following the example of my old teachers, I have always endeavoured to attract young scholars to the study of Sanskrit and then to train them.

In this country there is also required another kind of teaching for the numerous students who are preparing for a practical life in India, chiefly Indian Civilians and Missionaries. As the civilization of India has remained essentially unchanged for at least 2,500 years, the teaching of Sanskrit for such students should be of a concrete type, in which the realities of the India of to-day are made to illustrate Sanskrit literature. Civilians and Missionaries may thus obtain a sympathetic insight into the institutions and religion with which they will be confronted when they go out and which they will otherwise not fully understand. I had long felt that a well-prepared visit to India would be a great advantage to me as a teacher of Sanskrit in this country. In 1907 I accordingly obtained

leave of absence from the University for a tour of study and research in India extending over seven months. In the course of this tour I visited every part of India, covering 10,500 miles, as much as possible in native states, associating with Pandits, seeing all the important archaeological remains, chiefly in the company of the officers of the Archaeological Department, and taking a large number of photographs. I also visited all the botanical gardens in India and Ceylon, so as to familiarize myself with the many trees and flowers mentioned in Sanskrit literature. From this tour I derived very great benefit both as a learner and a teacher.

There are, moreover, many ways in which a Professor of Sanskrit may promote the general interests of his subject both in this country and in India. One way is to seize opportunities of raising special funds for one's subject. I have had one or two such opportunities. One was after the death of Professor Max Müller in 1900, when I succeeded in raising a memorial fund amounting to £2,500. This fund has been very useful in providing grants to young Sanskrit scholars to enable them to study at foreign universities, and in making subventions to books which could not otherwise have been published. It has also paid £200 for reproducing by photographic processes about seventy very old and valuable Sanskrit MSS. which the Mahārāja Prime Minister of Nepal very liberally agreed to send to the Clarendon Press for the purpose, and which would otherwise never have been accessible to scholars in Europe. The reproductions are now at Oxford. Another sum which, with the help of Dr. Thomas of the India Office, I managed to raise in India to the amount of about £1,500, is the Mahābhārata Fund for paying the cost of producing a critical edition of the great Sanskrit epic of India. This fund, with the grants voted by the India Office and by the associated academies of Europe, now amounts to nearly £6,000.

A Professor of Sanskrit may further promote the studies which he directs by adding to the stock of Sanskrit MSS. in his University. Thus, when I was in India I bought for the Max Müller Memorial Fund about 100 selected Sanskrit MSS., which are now deposited in the Bodleian Library. When I was at Benares in 1908 I had the good fortune to come across a very fine private library belonging to a Brahmin who expressed his readiness to sell the collection *en bloc* for 10,000 rupees. On my return to Oxford I informed our Chancellor of this opportunity. He on his part communicated with the Prime Minister of Nepal, who not long before had expressed a wish to confer some benefaction on the University, and who now with great munificence at once bought the collection and sent it as a gift to the Bodleian Library. On their arrival I arranged these MSS. with the help of one of the assistants in the Library, a former pupil, and a considerable portion of them has already been bound. My old friend Sir Aurel Stein has, moreover, deposited his fine collection of nearly 400 Sanskrit MSS., acquired in Kashmir, in the Library of the Indian Institute, to which he intends to bequeath them. Thus we have now in Oxford between 9,000 and 10,000 Sanskrit MSS., far more than any other Western University, perhaps even more than all other European and American libraries put together.

But I may now give one example of how a Professor of Sanskrit in this country may even help studies which, though cognate, are outside his own sphere. For several years past there has been felt a pressing need for the publication of a comprehensive Tamil Dictionary. I had many talks on this subject with the late Dr. Pope, the eminent Tamil scholar. When a committee had been formed in India and the Government of Madras had voted a large sum in subvention of the proposed dictionary, I had a strong feeling that it would never do if an

enterprise of this kind under the auspices of the Government were not carried out in a thoroughly scholarly way ; and there was a risk of this occurring owing to the dearth of scientifically trained scholars who could collaborate in the work. I accordingly entered into correspondence with the Chairman of the Committee, who came over to England last year and had interviews with various scholars in London, Cambridge, and Oxford. The upshot was a joint letter which I drew up after consultation with all these scholars (about a dozen), and which stated the principles we considered ought to be followed in the compilation of the dictionary. The letter went out to Madras last autumn, and it is to be hoped that it will contribute towards making the dictionary a really scholarly work.

You will thus see that the duties that a Professor of Sanskrit may be expected to fulfil are a good deal more numerous and varied than is perhaps generally supposed. It must be remembered that there are very few professors in this country to cover the wide field of knowledge represented by Sanskrit studies. For there are only five Chairs of Sanskrit in Great Britain and Ireland, as compared, e.g., with about twenty-five in Germany ; and yet Sanskrit is far more important to this country than to any other, because it is the sacred and classical language of 250 millions of the peoples of the Indian Empire. These five therefore ought to be very strenuous, if the work they accomplish is to be worthy of this country's position in the world.

Now I come to my last point, the future of Sanskrit studies in England and India. It is now, I think, fifteen years since the Government of India definitely adopted the policy of no longer appointing Europeans to professorships of Sanskrit in India. This step promised to have an injurious effect on Sanskrit studies, because on the one hand there would be no one left in India to guide Indians

in European methods of study and research in this subject, and on the other would cut off European Sanskrit scholars from the advantages of an Indian experience. Accordingly, about ten years ago Professors Browne, Margoliouth, and myself drew up a memorial to the India Office, recommending the establishment of a few Oriental fellowships in Indian Universities, to enable young Sanskrit scholars to continue their studies there for a few years under Indian conditions. But this proposal was rejected on the ground that the cost of the scheme ought not to be defrayed out of the revenues of India. After some time, however, the Government of India started the reversed scheme of sending selected Indian scholars to England to be trained in European methods of research, under the guidance of professors in this country, for two or three years. This plan has been very successful in the case of two out of the three or four such students who have come under my direction. These have chiefly been taught how to edit Sanskrit texts critically. Whether the new plan will also result in the production of research work of a more general character and in the organization of Sanskrit studies in India, without the aid of European scholars, remains to be seen.

The Government of India seems now to have further adopted the policy of gradually reducing the European element in the archaeological department, in which there has still been an opening for European Sanskritists. I am assured by a scholar who has had long archaeological experience in India that this policy is bound to result in stagnation in this department. It will also close the last opening for European Sanskritists in India. I do not know how the scheme for an Oriental research College at Delhi is progressing; but it will, if it comes to anything, be of value, I imagine, for the training of young Indians only. What, on the other hand, is to become of the British Sanskrit scholars who ought to have some

opportunity of study and research in India itself? The absence of any provision for them is sure to react detrimentally on India itself in the long run. The only remedy seems to be the establishment of a school of research for Europeans at some centre of Sanskrit learning, preferably Benares, like the school of Classical Archæology at Athens or the French School at Hanoi in Indo-China. It will be a reproach to this country if we cannot establish something of this kind in India, with all our obligations to advance education and learning in connexion with the ancient civilization and literature of the vast Indian Empire. I think this plan should be well considered by the Royal Asiatic Society in particular. It ought not to be difficult after the War is over to collect funds in England sufficient for the purpose, with so many people among us whose lives and fortunes have been, or still are, intimately connected with India. If such a scheme were established in India, young men could be sent out with fellowships or grants from the old universities. Sir John Marshall, who as Director of the Archæological Survey of India already has his hands very full, would nevertheless, I feel sure, be ready to give invaluable help based on his many years' experience of Indian traditions.

Professor Macdonell concluded by thanking those who had chosen him as the recipient of the Campbell Memorial Medal, which he should always prize.

THE CHAIRMAN expressed to Lord Sandhurst the thanks of the Society for discharging the function of the afternoon. It was most fortunate that Lord Reay was able to invoke his assistance, since he was Governor of Bombay at a time when Sir James Campbell's work there reached its most important administrative stage. He had himself the privilege of being a contemporary of Lord Sandhurst, as he was the head of an adjoining province when they were both visited by the calamities of plague and famine.

LORD SANDHURST said it was always a great pleasure to him to take part in any business which was intended to do honour to India, and particularly Bombay, with which he had close hereditary ties. He was glad to pay respectful testimony to his affection, esteem, and respect for Sir James Campbell, and indeed for the Indian Civil Service generally, and to present the Medal by which he was commemorated.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY ORIENTAL STUDIES. Vol. X: THE HISTORY OF TYRE. By WALLACE B. FLEMING, Ph.D. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ inches. pp. xiv + 165 and a plan. New York; London, Oxford University Press; 1915.

Though but a small volume, Dr. Fleming's *History of Tyre* may be regarded as one of the most comprehensive possible, for its fourteen chapters not only trace its history, in convenient periods, down to the present day, but he deals, in the last three chapters, with the Phœnician colonies, commerce, industries, religion, and, finally, the city's coins.

There is no doubt as to the interest and importance of the history of Tyre. One of a number of federated but practically independent Phœnician centres, it had an exceedingly eventful history, owing largely to the unique position of all the states of which it formed a part, occupying, as they did, a mere strip of coastland about 200 miles long, but measuring merely from 2 to 15 miles wide (p. xi). The Phœnicians were not warriors in the true sense of the word, but traders—a condition of life imposed upon them by the physical conditions of the rugged coast which formed their domain. Nevertheless, they attained a considerable amount of power and political influence, due not only to the wealth which commerce brings, but also to the colonies which they were able to found.

There is probably no more interesting story than that of the migration of the Phœnicians to the narrow strip of Palestinian sea-coast where they are known to have dwelt. According to tradition, they came from the neighbourhood of the Persian Gulf—in other words, they

were originally Babylonians, though they spoke a different dialect from that of the Babylonians properly so called. "The date of their migration must, for the present at least, be placed at about 2800 B.C., on the testimony of the priest of Melkart recorded by Herodotus." This was therefore an earlier stream of immigration from the east than that of the Hebrews in the persons of Terah, Abraham, and their families, and it will probably be admitted that it must have been on a much larger scale. The close kinship between the Phœnicians and the Hebrews is also confirmed by the similarity between the two dialects which they spoke.

As for Tyre itself, it was evidently an exceedingly ancient city—indeed, the priests of Melkart told Herodotus that it was founded 2,300 years before the date of his visit—about 2750 B.C. As it is often mentioned in the Tel-al-Amarna Letters, there is no doubt that it existed 1400 years B.C., and to reach its then important position a long period of development is to be presupposed. Of this source of information the author of the book makes full use, with excellent results, though he generally quotes Bezold's translations. This is unfortunate, as these renderings, published in 1892, are capable of much improvement (compare those of Knudtzon, *Die el-Amarna Tafeln*, 1907-15).

The author deals interestingly with Tyre in the age of Hiram, the glory of which he depicts. This king evidently did a great deal to enhance the power and influence of the state which he ruled. The importance of the connection with Israel at the time of David is dwelt on, and also the friendly relations between the two powers. The influence of Tyre over Israel and Judah is told in the chapter dealing with her history until the Assyrian encroachments. The "encroachments" themselves are the subject of one of the most interesting chapters of the book, as it contains a good summary of the

city's history from the records of that distant Eastern power. In the account of the subjugation of Kundi and Sizû, the capture of Sandûarri and Abdi-milkutti (not Abi-milkut) of Sidon is described, together with the fate which ultimately overtook them both, namely, they were beheaded, their heads hung round the necks of their great men, and were thus carried through the streets of Nineveh with singers and musical instruments.

The information contained in the *Records of the Past*, 2nd series, vol. iv (London, 1890), pp. 99-100, though of but little importance in itself, is a direct testimony to the overlordship of Babylon over the city in the time of Nebuchadrezzar. It would seem at that period to have been connected with Kidiš—probably Kadesh—the governor of which place was Milki-idiri, probably a Tyrian. This document, a contract, is dated at Tyre (Šurru) in the 40th year of Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon.

On the whole, the book will be found an exceedingly useful and thought-rousing conspectus of what the ancient records, both Greek and Semitic, have to tell us about one of the most important cities of the Palestinian coast. The work is dedicated to the author's teacher, Professor R. J. H. Gottheil, who writes an editorial note.

T. G. PINCHES.

YALE ORIENTAL SERIES. Babylonian Texts. Vol. I: MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS OF THE YALE BABYLONIAN COLLECTION. By ALBERT T. CLAY. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$ inches. New Haven, Yale University Press; London, Humphrey Milford; 1915.

In this work Yale University has given to the world a rich supply of her Babylonian treasures. The letterpress runs to 99 quarto pages, and there are 8 pages of indices, 49 autographed plates, in addition to 8 lithographic

facsimiles repeating some of the former. The printing is excellent, and Professor Clay has done his work exceedingly well.

In the first inscription (S)ur-nir-kin dedicates to the deity Nin-dim-gur a limestone bowl. The second text reads *Dumu-zi-kalama he-šul Lugal-d. Ab i-ne gu-sag mu-ru*, rendered "Dumuzi-kalama verily is lord, Lugal-Ab his canal gu-sag has constructed", but the correctness of this may be doubted, and if an alternative be allowable I should suggest as probable the following:—

"May Dumu-zi-kalama open (it) (*hedun*)—Lugal-Ab has dedicated (to him) his canal Gu-sag" ("pleasant bank" or "waterway").

The third text is interesting, as it records the dedication of a mace by Mer-ab-adu to Gišbil-gameš, the deified hero-king of Erech, better known as Gilgameš.

These are followed by two inscriptions of Entemena of Lagaš (about 4000 B.C.), a fragmentary text inscribed "to the goddess Nin-lilla, Bara-su, wife of Lugal-kur-zi (has dedicated this)", and another with the words "the seer Ašlultum, wife of Šarru-kin, has dedicated (this to . . . for) the li(fe of . . .)".

Yet another inscription is still more uncommon. It reads as follows:—

"Lu-sagga has dedicated (this) to Bau, his lady, for his life, and the life of his son's wife."

In No. 10, a long gate-socket inscription of Narâm-Sin, this king calls himself the conqueror of nine armies in one year, taking captive their three kings. Narâm-Sin mentions also his son, Libet-ilu, ruler of Marad.

Another important text is that of a Gutian (Median) king named Šamaš-bani, probably a translation of his real name. It refers to the restoration of the temple of Nin-gurru, "the mother of Umma."

This city is the modern Jokha, which is apparently a late form of the old Babylonian *Giš-uh*. The reading

Umma comes from a syllabary in the British Museum, where, however, the characters are not certain. As "mother of Umma" is written *ama Giš-uh-ra*, a value ending in *r* may possibly be required, and it is just possible that Sirra, for Sirma (see the *Babylonian Tablets of the Berens Collection*, p. viii) supplies the wanting pronunciation.

Passing over (among others) the fragments of the *Hammurabi-Code*, we come to the *Larsa* dynastic list, consisting of sixteen kings who were partly contemporary with *Hammurabi's* dynasty. *Sin-idinnam* appears as the ninth in order, *Warad-Sin* or *Eri-Aku* as the thirteenth, and *Rim-Sin*, his brother, whom Professor Clay identifies with *Arioch*, was the fourteenth, whilst *Hammurabi*, who conquered *Larsa*, appears as the fifteenth ruler at this time. The re-identification of *Arioch* with *Rim-Sin* is due to the fact that he reigned sixty-one years, and *Eri-Aku* could not, therefore, have been the contemporary of *Hammurabi*, if he be really *Amraphel*.

After this we have two inscriptions of a "faithful shepherd" of *Erech* whose name is provisionally read *An-am*. This is a dedication to *Ininna* (*Ištar*), whose temple he restored (it had been built by (*S*)ur-Engur and his son *Dungi*, but was afterwards destroyed by fire). No. 38 records the restoration of this same foundation by *Sargon of Assyria* about 710 B.C.

In No. 39 we have "a dream portending favour for *Nabonidus* and *Belshazzar*", in which *Šum-ukin*, a seer, dreams of certain stars and planets, and the sun and moon, which he regarded as a favourable thing for these two rulers. Passing, again, two inscriptions of *Esarhaddon*, the reader is attracted by a mortuary-inscription recording how the Assyrian king *Aššur-êtil-ilāni* had the coffin of the *Dakurite* king *Šamaš-ibni* conveyed to its proper resting-place. Apparently the *Dakurites* had been the supporters of Assyrian rule in *Babylonia*,

The forty-fourth text is a cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar from Wanna-Sedoum (probably the ancient Marad, one of the centres of the worship of Lugal-Marad or Nergal). It records that the great Babylonian king found here the foundation-records of Narâm-Sin, his remote ancestor (*ābam laberi*) who reigned about 2800 B.C.

Professor Clay's forty-fifth inscription is a cylinder of Nabonidus (555-539 B.C.), in which he dedicates his daughter Bêl-šalti-Nannar to the moon-god Nannar as a votary (*ēntu*). The author has an interesting account of the references to these votaries in the inscriptions.

Nos. 46 to 51 are tabulated records, from Erech, of the sheep provided for the offerings in the time of Cambyses. These documents are in four columns headed *ārū* | *paqri* | *rē'u dīku* | *paqri*, which the author translates "stable | claim | head-butcher | claim", and the numbers beneath apparently indicate how many animals were in the temple sheep-folds and the butcher's hands for every day of the month (Nisan). *Paqri* possibly indicates those offered to the temple by the faithful. Interesting in these texts is the word *hitpi* attached to every 7th day or the day preceding (6th for 7th, 13th for 14th, etc.). This word the author translates by "offering", apparently made in connexion with the weekly *dies nefastus* (*ū-hullu* or *āmu limnu*) of the hemerologies.

No. 52 is of the Seleucid era, 244 B.C. It commemorates the building, by a Babylonian, Anu-uballit, who bore also the Greek name of Nikiqarqušu, of certain portions of the great temple of Erech generally called, in these late texts, *Bit rēs*, "the house of the head"—chief temple, temple tower, or the like. This inscription is of some interest from an architectural point of view.

The great philological prize of the collection is the fifty-third and last in the book. This is a syllabary in four columns, similar to many others which are preserved in the British Museum and elsewhere. It contains 321

entries, the principal character being 𒌦 and its compounds. From line 65 it would seem that I was right in assigning to 𒌦 the pronunciation of *akar* (better *agar*), but this is only when it has the meaning of "field". When, however, it stands for the god of Umma, it should be read *Šara*.¹ He is regarded as having been the god of agriculture, hence of the enclosed green field.

Another interesting character is that explained in line 288, namely 𒌦, which is said to have been pronounced *urta* when it formed part of the divine name 𒌦 𒌦 𒌦. The Aramaic dockets found on contract-tablets at Niffer, however, indicate the consonants as 𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤔. Many suggestions have been made as to the true reading and vocalization of this name (see the JRAS. for 1905, p. 206), and I now suggest that, as the character has the name of *urašû*, we have to vocalize the Aramaic form as *Ēnurashti*, "lord of cultivation," or the like. The form *Ēn-urta* (with the Sumerian ending *a*) is probably a contraction, through *Ēn-urarti*, to *Ēn-ur̄ti* and (Sumerian) *Ēn-urta*, just as they shortened *Urar̄tu* (Ararat) to *Ur̄tū*.

Whether the *urta* of the Yale syllabary have anything to do with the god *Urtu*^m in the name *Warad-Urtu*^m (*Babylonian Tablets of the Berens Collection*, No. 104) remains to be seen, but is not unlikely.

Fragments in the British Museum indicate the following completions:—

Values of 𒌦: line 14, *za-a*; 15, *zag-ga*; 16, *za-a*; 17, *lim-mu*. Values of 𒌦: line 29, *e-lag*; 30, *ri-in*; 31, *ri-in*; 32, *la-gab*; 33, *ki-li*. Values of 𒌦 𒌦: line 34, *ki-li*; 35, . . . -*nar* (or . . . -*lul*). Value of 𒌦 𒌦: line 61, *e-si-ir*. Correction for line 73: read 𒌦 𒌦 and add variant *uda* for *udu*—*pēndu* is a variant of *pēntu*, "ember." Line 85, read *siḫpu* for *ambu*.

¹ Correct, therefore, *Akara* into *Šara* in all the names given in the *Babylonian Tablets of the Berens Collection*, p. 155, and the other pages there quoted.

The thanks of all specialists and students of Oriental civilization are due to Professor A. T. Clay, and to the Yale University, for this important addition to our material in the domain of Assyriology.

T. G. PINCHES.

MALIKI LAW, BEING A SUMMARY FROM FRENCH TRANSLATIONS OF THE *MUKHTAŞAR* OF SIDI KHALİL. By F. H. RUXTON, Political Department, Nigeria. London: Luzac & Co. 1916.

This volume provides a summary of the Maliki form of Moslem law which prevails in Nigeria, and is the work of an official in its Political Department. It comprises selections translated from the French versions by Perron and Seignette of the standard textbook of that law, the *Mukhtasar* of Sidi Khalil, and is intended less for those actually engaged in that law's administration, which is the task of native courts, than as an aid to the supervision of those courts by the Political Department. It has the further object of giving European officials fresh to the country an insight into that law, and also into the customs and habits which that law reflects, and which, at the outset, must be often entirely strange to them. To this end the volume includes particulars on some branches of law, such as pilgrimage, which are not actually needed for administrative purposes. The work is most carefully compiled, and it has ample explanatory notes appended to the text.

The earliest French version of the *Mukhtasar* was by Perron in 1847, and his introduction is included in this volume. This version has found critics, and Mr. Ruxton has preferred to rely on the later version by Seignette, so far as it covers his ground. Both the French translators emphasize the difficulty occasioned by the extraordinary and even fantastic concision of the *Mukhtasar*,

but its authority in Maliki law seems supreme. Seignette, in his introduction (not included in the volume), speaks of it thus (p. xiii): "Le Code de Khalil étant l'exposé complet de l'interprétation Malékite du Coran, tous les ouvrages de la même école qui l'ont précédé ont disparu, et les nombreux ouvrages qui l'ont suivi n'ont d'autre autorité que celle qu'ils en recoivent parce qu'ils n'en sont que des abrégés ou des commentaires." We have now access to printed editions both of the *Muwattā* of Mālik and of the *Mudawwanāt*; and the *Risāla* too of Ibn abi Zaid, some centuries nearer Mālik than the *Mukhtaṣar*, can never have been without authority. Its exposition of the law seems to be far more intelligible than that of the *Mukhtaṣar* in Seignette's version, which Mr. Ruxton describes in places as obscure. And this is certainly true, for instance, of his definition of a *salam* sale: this appears on p. 171 as follows: "*Salam* is a unilateral agreement involving consideration which creates a personal obligation to give a certain palpable thing of a different kind to the thing received and which is not money." The last words are from the commentary, and the actual obligation stated in the text¹ seems to be to give something that is *not* a particular object, nor a service, in exchange for something different. But in neither form does the definition suggest the fact that a *salam* sale was an exception to the rule against selling that which the vendor did not yet possess, and was allowed on the authority of the Prophet's sanction to such a sale of dates at Medina, probably to meet the case of growing crops. The *Risāla* of Ibn abi Zaid (trans. Fagnan, 1914, p. 147) contains a definition of *salam* similar to that given by Lane, 1414*b*, viz. something paid or given in advance as the price of a commodity to be delivered in the

¹ السلم عقد معاوضة توجب عمارة ذممة بغير عين ولا منفعة غير

future—a definition which discloses its salient feature, and accords too with the Hanafite definition given in the *Mabsūt* of Sarakhsi.¹ The supremacy of the *Mukhtaṣar*, therefore, as the authority for Maliki law is perhaps not wholly justified, but the fact of that supremacy being admitted by those subject to its sway is conclusive as to the value of Mr. Ruxton's volume.

H. F. A.

THE CALIPHS' LAST HERITAGE. By Lieut.-Colonel Sir MARK SYKES, Bart., M.P. London: Macmillan and Co. 1915.

Sir Mark Sykes's work on the history of the Turks in Asia Minor and other parts of their Asiatic dominions and on his own travels through these regions has appeared opportunely at a time when British forces are contending for the mastery of Mesopotamia and Russian armies are advancing into Armenia, while the Turks under German guidance offer a stubborn resistance in both regions. The former history and the present condition of these lands must interest even those who regard them solely in their relation to modern events and future possibilities, and to students of the races and historical development of the Near East the interest is proportionately increased. The first section of this work contains a much-needed sketch of the gradual occupation of Asia Minor by the Ottoman Turks and the formation of their empire. This is, however, preceded by an account of the rise and

¹ اعلم ان السلم اخذ عاجل بآجل وهو تعجيل احد البدلين وتأخير الآخر كالصرف وقيل السلم والسلف بمعنى واحد

(*Mabsūt*, x, 124, l. 4). The statement here that *salam* is identical with *salaf* is not true of Maliki law, for it appears clearly from the *Mudawwanāt*, ed. 1323, ix, 131-5, that there *salaf* bore the meaning of *ḥarḡ* (loan), a meaning given to it also alternatively by Lane, 1408c.

spread of Muhammedanism and of the empire of the Ommeyyad and 'Abbāsid *Khalifas*; and the necessity for this part of the work is not so apparent, for there has been no lack of works on this subject. Sir W. Muir's *Life of Muhammad* and *History of the Caliphate* are standard authorities, and only recently Sir Percy Sykes in his *History of Persia* has gone through the whole story. Had chapters i to xx been compressed into a quarter of the space and chapters xxi to xxvii correspondingly expanded, the historical portion of this work would have been of much greater value to the average intelligent reader, for in these chapters the conditions which prepared the way for the coming of the Ottoman Turks are set forth with great ability, and certainly they fill a gap in the available sources of public information. Sir Mark Sykes ends his history with the conquests of Selim and Sulaimān in the early part of the sixteenth century, but we should have welcomed a continuation to modern times instead of the early history of Islām, which has no special reference to one race or region. The last event mentioned is the taking of Baghdād from Persia by Sultān Sulaimān in 1534, and, although it was retaken for a time by Shāh 'Abbās in 1623, it may be considered to have belonged to the Turkish Empire since that date. The progressive desolation of Mesopotamia has gone on ever since that period, and Sir W. Wilcocks has shown how impossible any revival of the irrigation system on which its former prosperity depended is under the present régime. For a clear understanding of the causes which make such a revival impossible we have only to consult the second part of Sir Mark Sykes's book, in which he gives a vivid and illuminating account of several journeys in Mesopotamia, Anatolia, and Kurdistan between 1908 and 1913. These are distinguished by a true understanding of the people and sympathy with them in spite of the fact that

the author's likes and dislikes are strong and forcibly expressed. He likes the Turks, but Turkish methods of government are unsparingly exposed from the words of the people themselves. He dislikes the Armenians, and considers that they are to some extent the authors of their own misfortunes, but holds that their oppression has been "villainous, callous, and brutal". Of the Kurds he has a higher opinion than most travellers have expressed, and gives a most valuable list of their tribes in an appendix; (this has already been published in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* for 1908). For the Circassians and Yezidis also Sir M. Sykes has no liking. He calls the Circassians "a hard, obstinate, commercial race of brave but ruthlessly cruel rogues". The unfavourable opinion formed of the Yezidis seems chiefly due to their secretive and repellant manners, but it is not unreasonable to attribute these to the suspicious nature arising from their outcast and precarious position, proscribed as they are by men of all other creeds. It is evident that they are Kurds by race, and in favourable circumstances their manners become more kindly. Miss Lowthian Bell's impressions of them were not disagreeable. The abominable treatment they have received is sufficiently set forth in Mr. W. B. Heard's article in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* for 1911. Sir Mark Sykes has also strong aversions to certain towns, especially Mosul and Erzerûm. The first seems well deserved, but Erzerûm may perhaps owe it partly to the unpleasant weather during Sir Mark's visit.

These strong expressions of feeling do not in any way detract from the interest of Sir Mark's narratives of travel, but rather add to it, and help us to realize the conditions under which these journeys were made and the extraordinarily varied character of both country and people. The account of the tour of 1913 made only the

year before the outbreak of the great War is of extreme interest. There is much of archaeological importance also to be noted, especially the account of the monastery on the Maras Dagh (p. 536) and of the Roman bridge at Solâli (p. 363), which Sir Mark has discovered and photographed. There are also some good maps and plans of the routes followed.

M. LONGWORTH DAMES.

RUMANIAN BIRD AND BEAST STORIES. By M. GASTER, Ph.D. London: Folklore Society, Sedgwick and Jackson, 1915.

In this volume Dr. Gaster presents us with excellent translations of a collection of Rumanian stories of animals, some of which he tells us he heard himself in his childhood, while the majority have been taken from a number of Rumanian collections not easily accessible in this country. As to the value of the collection to the student of folklore there can be no doubt. The stories are of a primitive and unsophisticated type, and give a vivid picture of ideas which lie at the back of the mind of a simple peasantry of Eastern Europe, and it may be added they are very attractive in style and must fascinate readers who seek for entertainment, as well as those who regard them as a subject for serious study.

Dr. Gaster's introduction extends to fifty-nine pages, and in this he uses the Rumanian tales as the text for a closely reasoned and eloquent dissertation in which he develops his well-known theories as to the origin and transmission of folk-tales. This is a subject on which much controversy has taken place, and Dr. Gaster's arguments will no doubt receive due attention from the opponents of his theories; to deal with them adequately in a small space is evidently impossible. Briefly, however, Dr. Gaster here differentiates between different classes of tales—the fairy-tale pure and simple, the popular fable,

and the creation-legend. As to the first, he maintains the position that oral transmission is incontestible. For the fables in which animals figure, and especially for those involving a cosmogony, he considers that, although greatly modified by local conditions, they also must have spread from some Asiatic centre. Conceptions and ideas existing, for instance, among the multifarious populations which have spread over the Balkan peninsula cannot, when they show a great similarity one to the other, be held to have survived from the original inhabitants of that region, but must be derived from some common centre so as to affect all these races after their settlement. This is an argument which has much weight even if we hold that Dr. Gaster has not allowed sufficiently for the vitality of aboriginal races when overlaid and apparently effaced by colonists of other races and languages. The centre from which such diffusion took place he holds to be Byzantium and Syria, and he considers the dualistic creeds of the Manichæans and Bogomils to be one of the principal means of dissemination. Here he opens up a large and fascinating subject. That the dualistic ideas of Ancient Persia travelled into the territories of the Eastern Empire, that they were adopted by the Bulgarian Bogomils, that the Arian Goths carried them into Western Europe, where they found a fruitful soil for germination among the Albigenses, and that the tales in which God and the Devil play such a large part in Rumanian lore, are naturally connected with such religious ideas, all this must be admitted. Dr. Gaster sets forth the story in his attractive and persuasive manner, and the subject is evidently one which must receive most careful attention. He seems to have proved his case in this matter, that is as regards the diffusion of tales of a certain class in Europe. And yet when all is admitted we are confronted with a tough residuum of stories from all parts of the world which are affected by none of these arguments.

When Mr. Harris put into the mouth of Uncle Remus the story, which he had heard in his childhood from an old negro, of the manner in which Brer Rabbit detected the trick which Brer Fox was trying to play by pretending to be dead, he could have had no notion that the same story, *mutatis mutandis*, is told among the primitive tribes of Bilāspur in the Central Provinces of India.¹ Although the manner in which the Jackal got the better of Mahādēo is not absolutely identical with Brer Rabbit's stratagem it is evident that the latter has been refined to meet the criticism of a fastidious audience, and the two stories are really identical. Yet we can imagine no possible communication by any route between Bilāspur and the coast of Guinea (whence no doubt Uncle Remus's story was derived). This is typical of many other instances, which are no doubt familiar to Dr. Gaster. Perhaps the moral is that no theory will explain everything, and that when we have arrived at the lowest depth there is still a lower depth into which we cannot penetrate.

In connexion with the transmission of tales Dr. Gaster makes use of the picturesque simile of the fly in amber. He imagines an insect caught in the gum while it was still liquid, ultimately embedded in a piece of amber, cast up on the Baltic shore, carried by one of the ancient trade-routes across Europe and found as a bead in the tombs of the Pharaohs. So, he would say, may legends have been carried and left stranded; but sometimes the identification of the insect or the medium in which it is embedded may be impossible. In this case we might be tempted to observe with Pope:

"Pretty in amber to observe the forms
Of hairs, or straws, or dirt, or grubs, or worms;
The things, we know, are neither rich nor rare,
But wonder how the devil they got there!"

¹ See Gordon's *Indian Folktales* (Elliot Stock, 1908). The tale alluded to is "Mahādēo and the Jackal".

We are often left wondering, but every investigation and every well-argued theory helps us to narrow the bounds of the irreducible minimum, and Dr. Gaster is one of those who have done most in the arduous task, for which all students of early and primitive beliefs owe him hearty thanks. The collection of tales is in itself so admirable that it would be most acceptable even without the Introduction, but with it its value is doubled.

M. LONGWORTH DAMES.

THE CRAWFURD PAPERS. A Collection of Official Records relating to the Mission of Dr. John Crawford sent to Siam by the Government of India in the year 1821. Printed by order of the Vajirañāṇa National Library. Bangkok, 1915.

THE BURNEY PAPERS. Vol. IV, Part 2, and Vol. V, Part 1. Printed by order of the Vajirañāṇa National Library. Bangkok, 1913, 1914.

These publications continue the useful series of official documents issued by the National Library of Siam to illustrate the history of the relations of that country with Great Britain in the early years of the nineteenth century. The originals are in the Record Department of the India Office, which has given the necessary facilities for taking copies with a view to publication, and the results of this international co-operation are on the whole eminently satisfactory. These records contain a great deal of valuable information bearing on the history of Siamese intercourse with neighbouring countries, particularly the Malay Peninsula and Burma, and they can be cordially commended to the notice of persons interested in those regions.

Crawford's mission in 1821 was rather barren of positive results. The fact is perhaps not to be wondered at when one considers the circumstances, in particular the

national temperament of the Siamese on the one hand and Crawford's own peculiar character on the other. It was hardly to be expected that a man of his autocratic and obstinate disposition, imbued with an absolute contempt for Oriental peoples in general (as his writings sufficiently prove), should be a successful ambassador at a court which was convinced of its own pre-eminence, punctilious in the extreme, and highly suspicious of all foreigners. I find it very difficult to concur in the view of the Governor-General (Lord Hastings) in Council that Dr. Crawford, of the Bengal Medical Establishment, was "a person eminently qualified for the successful conduct" of such a "delicate and important duty" as the initiation of relations with an independent Oriental power must inevitably be. His service at the court of pliant Javanese princes, who had been broken in by generations of Dutch tutelage, was by no means the best kind of preparation for his new task, for all that the Government of India appears to have thought to the contrary.

But there were other reasons for the comparative want of success of the mission, reasons of a temporary nature and of no permanent interest, which need not therefore be discussed here. And unfortunately the mission was marred by the misconduct of the captain of the ship on which Crawford had travelled to Bangkok. This person was detected in carrying on a course of illegal trading (amounting to smuggling), and for some time Crawford was apparently unable to stop it. He seems to have displayed much weakness in dealing with the situation, and for a couple of months or more he allowed his authority to be flouted by a subordinate, whom he could have immediately suspended, rather than run the risk of letting the Siamese see that there was "discord" (a pretty expression for flat mutiny) among the members of the mission. In the end things got so bad that he did in fact

suspend the captain. But a stronger man would have done it at once. I have seldom read a more pitiful confession of inability to cope with a situation than the letter in which Crawford gives his account of this affair to the Secretary to Government at Calcutta.

The last few letters in the volume are mainly concerned with an unfortunate incident unconnected with the mission. Two British merchants were very badly treated by the Siamese authorities. They had been guilty of some indiscretions, but the punishments inflicted were outrageous and quite indefensible. It can hardly be said that such episodes are of sufficient interest to warrant their republication in a permanent record, except in so far as they may have been more or less typical of a time which has, fortunately, long since passed away. They illustrate, however, some of the difficulties which British intercourse with Siam had to contend with in those days.

I have already had occasion to say a good deal about the Burney Papers in noticing previous instalments of that long series. The present sections carry the story of our relations with Siam in the Malay Peninsula down to the year 1846. Vol. v, pt. 1, consists of a very long but decidedly interesting paper by Major James Low on the history of British policy in the Straits from the establishment of Penang (1786) down to 1839. Low took the Siamese side in the acrimonious discussions which were chronic at Penang in the early years of the nineteenth century. Herein he was in a minority, for the general trend of local European opinion, both official and non-official, supported the contention that all the Malay States were perfectly independent of Siam. Up to a point Low was certainly in the right, but he went much too far, and he attempted to support his views with data derived from native chronicles which were absolutely legendary and not to be relied on at all. For that he is hardly to blame, inasmuch as those chronicles had not been critically

studied in his day. But it is well that the fact should be remembered in connexion with the publication of his decidedly *ex parte* "Retrospect". The details of local events given in the paper are, however, often of interest, and when allowance has been made for the somewhat biassed attitude of the writer they can be read with profit.

The National Library is to be congratulated on the publication of all these records. But more should have been done to secure accuracy in the spelling of the proper names and titles that occur in them. These, and particularly the Malay ones, abound in errors of all kinds, due no doubt to the original copyist in the India House who entered the dispatches in the books of that establishment. It is most regrettable that these errors have not been noticed and rectified by giving the proper spelling in brackets, for in some cases the names are almost unrecognizable unless one happens to be already acquainted with them from other sources, and it cannot be expected of every reader that he should have that previous knowledge. But even the most obvious mistakes have been passed in the Bangkok printing office. This seems a great pity. The papers should have been more carefully edited. There are also a good many redundancies; but that is not, perhaps, a serious matter, for it is better to have repetitions than omissions in a collection of this kind.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

A SYNTAX OF COLLOQUIAL PASHTU. By Major D. L. R. LORIMER. pp. xx+377. Clarendon Press. 15s. net.

Major Lorimer is greatly to be congratulated on both the conception and the execution of this work. There was great need for a book on colloquial Pashtu. There are grammars of literary Pashtu in English by Bellew,

Raverty, Roos-Keppel and Cox, and in French by Darmsteter, to say nothing of German works, but hitherto there has been nothing on the colloquial. The study of the colloquial is at once more difficult and more useful than the study of the literary language. The latter can be studied by a scholar sitting in his library surrounded by his books, but to obtain a knowledge of the former one needs to go in among the people, listen carefully to every sound, note and examine every word and idiom, and finally to work out for oneself the solution of apparent contradictions. This labour the author has undertaken for us, and he deserves our gratitude.

The work before us is not only very valuable but very interesting. There is a delightful preface, in which the author disarms our criticisms by frankly pointing out the difficulties of his task and by warning us of the existence of various dialects of Pashtu. The very full table of contents is followed by a discussion of the pronunciation of the sounds. The syntax proper is adequately treated, and many details of accidence are given. There are chapters on the formation of words, Persian and Indian elements in Pashtu and on the characteristics of style. At the end of the volume is a really excellent vocabulary, which we are told is to be regarded merely as a list of words accompanying the text and not as a full vocabulary. It is, however, extremely well chosen, most ordinary words being given in it, while the references to the pages, where the words will be seen in actual sentences, are very useful. The dialect professedly treated of is that of Peshawar, but the book will be of great value to students resident in any place where the language is spoken.

In reviewing a work so excellent it seems almost ungracious to make suggestions for improvement, but as it is to be hoped that Major Lorimer will write again on colloquial Pashtu a few remarks may be permitted.

Little need be said about misprints. There are a few chiefly cases of the omission of diacritical marks, but anyone who has had to do with similar printing will know how impossible it seems to have every word correct. A careful student will note them for himself. The list of Urdu words to be found in Pashtu contains a number which are not Urdu but Panjabi, and in some cases the words are not printed correctly.

The page on interjections and the chapter on characteristics of style seem to have got displaced. The former would come in better immediately after Conjunctions and the latter as an introduction to the syntax. The author is probably right in questioning his own statement that the repetition of adjectives gives the idea of increased emphasis. I very much doubt whether the statement would hold of any North Indian language, and the Persian phrase quoted is not a parallel.

If one were to single out a chapter as being not quite on the high level of the rest of the book it would be the chapter on pronunciation. A writer on language is always tempted to think that it is hardly worth while to go into detail about sounds, as many people will in any case fail to reproduce them correctly, but in such matters it is better to write up to the level of the few who will appreciate the pains taken and be sincerely grateful. It seems a pity to suggest that the monophthongic *e* and *o* of Pashtu even approximate to the diphthongs in "mate" and "mote" or that the Pashtu trilled *r* has anything in common with the English fricative in "rabbit". It cannot be said that cerebral *d* and *t* are more forcible than English *t* and *d*, it is easy to utter them very gently and the English letters much more forcibly. The real method of producing *t*, *d*, *r*, and *u* should be pointed out. They are easy letters to pronounce, the real difficulty is not in pronouncing them but in recognizing them when others pronounce them. The difference between *e*, *u* and

final *a* is not clearly stated. It would be interesting to have a fuller account of the pronunciation of *ksh* and *g*. Regarding the former we are told on p. 12 that in North-East Pashtu it is the same as *kh*, but on p. 9 that it is the same *but stronger*. It may be questioned whether in any language there are two sounds which differ from each other *solely* in being weaker or stronger. So far as I have heard the sounds I should say that *kh* is the same as in Urdu, made near the uvula, and *ksh* a similar sound made much further forward, further forward even than the *ch* in Scotch "clachan" or German "buch", while *ghain* and *ghe* are the corresponding sonants.

The transliteration is very satisfactory on the whole. Perhaps the choice of medial *e* is not happy, as the sound is very different from the other *e*'s: *ɛ* would be better. For *ksh* it is hard to suggest a letter. The retention of *sh* suits those southerners who pronounce the letter as *sh*. At the same time *ksh* is undoubtedly clumsy. Would it not be possible to use *x* for it? The idea of distinguishing the feminine ending by the use of *ê* is good.

The volume is got up in a style worthy of the publishers. One regrets only that it is not possible to have a cheaper edition. A student who has to purchase first a grammar and then this syntax and thirdly the other volume which Major Lorimer promises us on the relation of Pashtu to cognate languages, to say nothing of a dictionary, will feel that his devotion to the tongue of the Afghans has called for some sacrifice.

We admire and share the enthusiasm of the writer for his subject, and we enjoy, even when we cannot agree with him, his conviction of the superiority of Pashtu to Panjabi and Urdu. At this point it is perhaps not out of place to mention that the view which he appears to hold, of the artificial and hybrid nature of Urdu, was exploded by Sir Charles Lyall over thirty years ago. Urdu is no more a hybrid than English or even Persian. There is

still a great desideratum which I trust the author may be persuaded to supply. We much need a manual of Colloquial Pashtu. It should contain, if I may venture to give the details, a careful account of the pronunciation letter by letter, a succinct but sufficient treatment of the accidence, a full account of the syntax as in the work lying before us, and lastly a good vocabulary. The present vocabulary would be almost enough, but it might be filled up by the addition of some common words. There would be no need for the inclusion of chapters xiv, xv, xvi, and part of xvii, and no Arabic type at all would be required. If the author would write such a volume and have it printed in India (where printing is much cheaper than in Europe), with somewhat less luxurious letterpress and less lavish spacing, the whole could easily be confined within the limits of 400 pages and could be sold for five or six shillings. I have no doubt that it would be the most practically useful book obtainable on the Pashtu language.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

THE NYĀYA SŪTRAS OF GAUTAMA, WITH VĀTSYĀYANA'S BHĀŚYA AND UDDYOTAKARA'S VĀRTTIKA, translated into English. By GAṄGĀNĀTHA JHĀ. Vol. I. Allahabad, 1915.

It is the fatal misfortune of the schools of Indian philosophy that by some grave defect in the mind of early India their fundamental tenets should have been cast into the form of aphorisms, and not into real literary works. It follows that the tenets cannot possibly be understood without the commentaries written upon them, and in every case it is quite certain that the commentaries were composed at a time when the tenets had become matters of doubt and dispute, so that we have no assurance that the commentaries represent anything like the real meaning of the tenets: this is true, of course, in the highest degree of the Vedānta,

which has fallen into the greatest discrepency of interpretation, but it is true, though in less degree, of every other system. The result is that it is impossible to attempt to understand the Sūtras of any system save by the aid of the commentaries and by comparison of their divergencies. In the present case for the Nyāya Dr. Jhā presents us with the full rendering of Vātsyāyana and of the Uddyotakara, adding notes from the *Tātparyatīkā* of Vācaspatimiśra and the *Viśuddhi* of Udayana, thus affording ample choice, but throughout in the most unattractive of forms. Moreover, not only is the form of the philosophy most unsatisfactory, but it is obvious that the task of interpreting an old text in this way was bound to lead to the waste of energy in the natural effort to read into the text what was considered necessary by later speculation. The definition of perception in the Sūtra (i, 1. 4) has *indriyārtha-saṁnikarṣa*, and this has been the source of the greatest trouble to the commentators: it is clear that every perception requires the activity of mind, and some can only be thus perceived, and why mind should seemingly be omitted must be explained: the view which has found favour is that mind is really an *indriya*, which of course raised the question why in the list of *indriyas* given later on (i, 1. 12) there is no mention of mind. The view of the *Bhāṣya* is that mind, though an organ of sense, is omitted in this enumeration, because, unlike the other organs, it is immaterial; it is effective on all objects, and not like the senses on a definite sphere; and it operates without having any quality, whereas, *e.g.*, the eye must have the quality of colour to enable it to perform its function of seeing. On the other hand, the *Vārttika* accepts only the second of these reasons, and expressly refutes the idea that the mind is immaterial as compared with the material sense organs, by pointing out that to be material or immaterial applies only to products, and the mind, which is not a product, cannot therefore be

described in either of these ways. The same futile discussions are evolved by the mysterious *avyapadeśya* used in the definition: the *Bhāṣya* seems to give an account of it which agrees well enough with the *kalpanā-podha* used in the Buddhist definition, but the *Vārttika* considers it necessary to waste much space in proving the Buddhist definition wrong. Or again, in the very next Sūtra but one (i, 1. 6), the nature of Upamāna as a means of cognition is described quite differently by the *Bhāṣya* and the *Vārttika*: the former agrees with the latter in holding that the essence of the cognition resulting from this Pramāṇa is of the type "this object is what is named *gavaya*", based on similarity between the cow known to the framer of the conclusion and the *gavaya* which he newly sees. But the *Bhāṣya* holds that the means of reaching this conclusion is remembrance of the statement "the *gavaya* is like the cow", while the *Vārttika* holds that the essential feature is the similarity actually *seen* in the *gavaya* to the cow, aided by the remembrance of the statement heard earlier. In both this case and in that of the definition of perception it is impossible to criticize the commentators for disagreeing, as the text is totally inadequate to show the meaning intended. The same difficulty is seen in the definition of inference and its division into three kinds, *pūrvavat*, *śeṣavat*, and *sāmānya-torṣṭa*: it is incredible that this set of terms should not have had a perfectly definite sense, but the *Bhāṣya* already did not know what the authoritative explanation was. And the same remark applies continually.

The question naturally presents itself as to the value of the work and of its commentaries. It must be admitted that its importance is purely historical: the discussions in many cases are quite interesting, and touch on points of cardinal importance for the meaning of knowledge and existence, but the method of treatment does not show sufficient originality or depth to give the authors a really

Nyāya insists on the fact that the aim to be achieved is essentially freedom from pain and not in any sense bliss, the commentators urging reason after reason to refute those foolish persons among Vedāntins who argued that the *summum bonum* must be happiness in some form.

It is unnecessary to say that the author's translation is of high merit, but it must be regretted that the bad system of transliteration adopted disfigures the appearance of his work, and that misprints are so many. Deplorable binding appears to be inseparable from Indian books, but we must be grateful for the bold and good type.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

THE VEDA OF THE BLACK YAJUS SCHOOL ENTITLED
TAITTIRIYA SANHITA. Translated by ARTHUR
BERRIEDALE KEITH, D.C.L., D.Litt. Cambridge,
Mass., 1914.

The Black Yajurveda has waited long for translation. The three other Vedas have all been rendered into English or German many years ago, the *Sāmaveda* by Benfey (1848) and Griffith (1893); the *Artharvaveda* by Griffith (1897), Bloomfield (1897), and Whitney (1905); and the *Rigveda* by Wilson (1850-88), Grassmann (1876-7), Ludwig (1876-88), and Griffith (1889-92). The White Yajurveda, which contains only the sacrificial formulas, has been turned into English by Griffith (1899), and, in so far as the text is incorporated in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, by Professor Eggeling in the Sacred Books of the East. But of the three complete recensions of the Black Yajurveda, in which the sacrificial formulas and their explanations are intermingled, Professor Keith in the present work supplies the first translation. Though the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, at least, in Weber's excellent edition, has been in the hands of scholars for nearly forty-five years, no one till now has faced the very

laborious task of translating this important work. The time has, however, long been ripe. A great mass of auxiliary material has been accumulated in the works of Haug, Aufrecht, Weber, Hillebrandt, Oldenberg, Schwab, Caland, and Keith himself. The last-named has shown by his edition and translation of the *Aitareya* and *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyakas* that no scholar in this country is so well qualified as he for the present task. It is fortunate that Professor Lanman invited him to contribute his translation to the Harvard Oriental Series, in which a book of this kind can be produced with more advantage to the student than anywhere else. The publication here of these two volumes is moreover especially appropriate because they appear beside Whitney's valuable translation of the *Atharvaveda* as edited by Professor Lanman.

The first volume begins with a critical and exhaustive introduction, which deals not only with the ritual subject-matter of this Veda, but also with its relation to the ancillary literature of the Yajurveda as well as to the rest of Vedic literature as regards both language and chronology. It is full of sound and acute discussions on all these matters. Here I can only touch upon some of the more important and interesting points dealt with. In regard to the Pada text, the author shows that in some cases at least it seems deliberately to correct irregularities in the Saṃhitā; thus it represents *trapu ca* as *trapu ca*; *samṣ kurute* as *saṃ kurute*; and *sam askurvata* as *saṃ akurvata*. He further shows that the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya* knew the Pada and Saṃhitā texts in their existing form. He also notes that the Sandhi followed in the MSS. of the *Saṃhitā* does not agree in various points with that laid down in the *Prātiśākhya*, which, for instance, prescribes that *Jihvāmūliya* and *Upadhmāniya* should be used instead of *Visarjaniya* before gutturals and labials respectively, and that *Visarjaniya* should be assimilated to a following sibilant. This state of things

is much the same as in the MSS. of the *Rigveda*. There can be no doubt that the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya*, which is one of the best of this class of works, is older than Pāṇini. Professor Keith's arguments appear to me to establish the view that the *Prātiśākhya*s generally are older than Pāṇini, in opposition to Goldstücker and Haug, as well as to Wackernagel, who holds that Pāṇini seems to have known only an earlier form of the *Prātiśākhya*s. In my *Sanskrit Literature* (p. 266) I inclined to favour the latter modified view, which I now withdraw. Thus the extant *Prātiśākhya*s, which seem to have been known to Yāska, can hardly be later than 500 B.C.

In discussing the relation of the *Sūtras* of the *Taittirīya* recension to the *Samhitā*, Professor Keith shows that the *Baudhāyana* and the *Āpastamba Sūtras* certainly had before them the text of the *Samhitā* in its extant form, and reaches the reasonable conclusion that the *Baudhāyana*, which is the oldest of these *Sūtras*, dates from the fifth century B.C. and the *Samhitā* itself from the sixth century, or approximately 600 B.C. In order to illustrate the inter-relation of the various recensions of the *Yajurveda* he introduces a very useful table (pp. xlvii-lxvi) giving a conspectus of the contents of the *Taittirīya Samhitā* (both *Mantra* and *Brāhmaṇa*) as compared with the parallel portions of all the four other *Samhitās* of the *Yajurveda*, the *Kāthaka*, *Kapisthala*, *Maitrāyaṇī*, and the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā* (including the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*). This is a valuable practical aid towards establishing the basis of the *Samhitā* of the original *Yajurveda*. Then follows a description and critical discussion of the different parts of the *Samhitā*. An interesting collection of linguistic material here (p. lxxiii) shows that in the *Brāhmaṇa* portions of the *Samhitā* no general distinction in the date of composition can be made, as is plainly the case in regard to the *Yājñavalkya* and *Śaṇḍilya* books of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.

The author points out that the inter-relation of the Mantras and the Brāhmaṇa portions of the *Samhitā* is very close; and at the same time adduces arguments to invalidate the ordinary view that "the distinction of *Samhitā* and Brāhmaṇa is one of time pure and simple". Thus he states, not very cogently, that "the evidence of language does not suggest any very serious difference in position between the Brāhmaṇa portions of the *Samhitā* or the *Brāhmaṇa* or the *Āraṇyaka*". He further remarks that though the Sūtras recognize the whole content both of the *Brāhmaṇa* and of the *Āraṇyaka*, they apply the term Brāhmaṇa to cover the Brāhmaṇa portions of the *Samhitā*, of the *Brāhmaṇa*, and of the *Āraṇyaka* indifferently, the distinction to them being solely that between Mantra and Brāhmaṇa. It seems to me that such a general distinction of type might be made, even though citations referred to three distinct texts. Professor Keith thinks that when the text of the *Samhitā* was fixed the *Brāhmaṇa* and *Āraṇyaka* were excluded. This was done not because the *Brāhmaṇa* represents later additions (only certain parts of the *Brāhmaṇa* and *Āraṇyaka* being such); for a portion of the *Samhitā* requires to be supplemented by Mantras of the *Brāhmaṇa*, and in one case the *Samhitā* is even a supplement to the *Brāhmaṇa*. He ingeniously suggests that the origin of the distinction here made was imitation of the *Rigveda*. I confess I am not convinced and still think the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* and *Āraṇyaka* were supplementary works of a somewhat later date.

It is undoubted that the Mantras contained in each of the recensions of the Yajurveda are derived from a common stock, but it is clear that the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā* was reduced to its present form later than the texts of the Black Yajurveda and, having been revised under the increasing influence of the *Rigveda*, is less original than they are. It is also clear that among the Taittirīya texts

there are two branches, the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* on the one hand and the archetype of the *Kāthaka*, *Kapisthala*, and *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitās* on the other. But there seems to be no decisive criterion of the comparative age of these two branches. The treatment of the Rigveda Mantras that they contain does not supply such a criterion, because the variants are of about equal value and significance. The evidence derived from geographical data as to relative age is not sufficient, because, though the Taittirīya school in later times was located in the Deccan, there is no reasonable doubt that the Middle Land of Northern India was the original home of that as well as of the other Yajurveda schools. Nor does language supply any evidence of priority, because the general texture of all the Black Yajurveda Saṃhitās is absolutely identical. Professor Keith seems to me to be right in his conclusion that Professor L. v. Schroeder's arguments from language in favour of the priority of the *Kāthaka* and *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitās* are not decisive.

Professor Keith's discussions on the relation of the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* to the Brāhmaṇas of the other Vedas yield some interesting results. They show that the first five books of the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa* are older than the Brāhmaṇa portions of the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, and that the *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, the early character of which is proved by linguistic evidence, is at any rate prior to the seventh book of the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, which is dependent on it. On the other hand, various points of contact show that the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* is later than the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* and that the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, the latest of the Brāhmaṇas, is so dependent on the latter as occasionally even to borrow from it verbatim.

As regards the details of the ritual, the author points out that they are not given in the Brāhmaṇa portions of the text, which assume that they are known. He adds that it will probably never be possible to determine with

certainly the actual rites which the Mantras were intended to accompany when the *Samhitā* was composed, though the *Sūtras* when they agree may be taken to represent what was an early form of the ritual.

What follows is of more general interest, especially to students of the history of religion. For here Professor Keith discusses the various forms of sacrifice critically with reference to their origin. In agreement with Schwab and Oldenberg he regards the Vedic sacrifice in general as essentially a gift offering, and this in my opinion is certainly its aspect in the *Rigveda*. According to the theory of Ludwig, Eggeling, and others, it is a redemption of self. This aspect, indeed, occasionally appears in the *Taittiriya Samhitā* and later texts, but it is only secondary as a result of priestly speculation. It is here noted that the blood of the victim is not in Vedic cult (as in Greek ritual) used in the worship of the high gods, but is assigned to demons. As to the flesh of the victim, it was in part presented as a burnt offering to the gods, in part eaten by the priests. There is nothing in the Vedic ritual to show that the victim was regarded as divine, though later the cow came to be treated as a deity, but even then not on the ground of sacrificial use. There is further no evidence that though the priests ate a part of the offering this implied a common feast with the god, much less a feast on what was permeated by the divine essence. There is no proof in the Vedic texts of the actual existence of a communion, nor any trace of the gift offering having been derived from the sacramental meal. It is thus likely, as Professor Keith remarks, that the sacramental meal was not an *Āryan* observance, but was specifically Mediterranean and was borrowed by the Greeks from a foreign faith in the Homeric age.

As to the *Vājapeya* sacrifice, the purpose of which was to confer paramount sovereignty, Professor Keith seems to me to show conclusively that Weber was wrong in

interpreting the word as "protection (from *pā*, protect) of strength", and that it really means "draught (from *pā*, drink) of strength", since the drinking of Soma (as it is a Soma rite) was a part of this ceremonial, and in the view of the priests the most essential part. The evidence of the texts proves that this sacrifice was an ancient one, which, though it has been sacerdotalized, retains several popular features of a magical character.

The *Rajasūya*, or "inauguration of kings", is still more permeated with magical rites. The king is here sharply distinguished from the priests. "This distinction shows that for Vedic India at least the connexion of royalty with priestly rank, if it ever had been a motive of the growth of the kingship, had long disappeared before the time of the *Śaṁhitās*."

In dealing with the *Dikṣā*, or consecration for the Soma sacrifice, Professor Keith points out that Hillebrandt's view of this rite having its origin in religious suicide finds no support in Vedic literature. That scholar's etymology of the word, obviously connected with his theory, as derived from *dah*, "burn," seems to me to be peculiarly baseless considering the fact that the desiderative of that root in actual use is *dhikṣa*.¹ Of the possible etymologies, that of Oldenberg from *dās*, "worship," seems to me the most likely.

The essential character of the Soma sacrifice, which is here fully discussed, appears to be that it is the gift, to Indra and the other gods, of the strong intoxicant, for the purpose of imparting to them mighty strength and of causing them to bestow liberal rewards on their worshippers. It is a somewhat peculiar feature of this ritual that Soma is not only the juice used as an offering, but at the same time a mighty god who is anthropomorphized. Its position is parallel to that of Agni, who

¹ See Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar for Students*, p. 199, n. 3.

is both the element employed as a means of sacrifice and a great deity who is the object of worship.

Passing over minor rites like the Sautrâmaṇi and Pravargya, we come to the Agnicayana, the elaborate ceremonial of piling the fire-altars. It is of considerable importance to the student, because here, as the author says, "lies the most philosophic content of the Saṁhitā, for in it finds expression the chief doctrine of the sacrificial ritual, the sacrifice as a cosmic power of the highest potency." In connexion with the speculations of the *Taittirīya* on this subject, he suggests the probability that their insistence on the identity of the future life with that on earth ultimately led to the conception of transmigration. At the same time he points out that of this conception there is no hint in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* any more than in the *Rigveda*. I quite agree with his conclusion that there is no justification for seeing that idea in the half-dozen passages of the *Rigveda* where it has been seen by some Vedic scholars. It is not till the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the latest portions of the *Taittirīya* and *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas* that the germ of the doctrine of transmigration, the fear of repeated death, is found.

It is noteworthy that the *Aśvamedha*, or horse sacrifice, an elaborate rite to be performed by great princes, though known to the *Rigveda* (i, 161, 162), is ignored in the *Brāhmaṇas* of that Veda, and that, as indicated by its position in the text, it was slow in obtaining full admission into the canon of the Black Yajurveda. It seems to have been a sacrifice intended to ensure the fulfilment of a king's desires after a great success. In origin it was not improbably a sacrifice offered to the sun, of which many examples occur in Greek literature, and which was also known to the ritual of ancient Persia.

The *Puruṣamedha*, or human sacrifice, is not alluded to as a ritual form in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, though the *Brāhmaṇa* and *Saṁhitā* of the White Yajurveda enumerate

symbolical human victims. There can be no doubt that the ritual was a mere priestly invention to fill up an apparent gap in the sacrificial system, and that a real human sacrifice in the Brāhmaṇa period was regarded with horror. On the other hand, there is evidence from the literature of the later Vedic period of the widespread practice of slaying a human being to act as the guardian of the foundations of a building.

The author now proceeds to an exhaustive discussion of the language and style of the *Taittiriya Saṃhitā* (pp. cxi-clix). This shows a gradual elimination of the old forms of the *Rigveda*, and such innovations as the use of *ātman* as a reflexive pronoun. On the other hand, the language of the Brāhmaṇa portions varies in grammatical form only slightly from classical Sanskrit as fixed by Pāṇini. But the subjunctive, though in very restricted use, and the infinitive in *toṣ* beside that in *tum* survive. The locative without the suffix *i* remains in *an* stems, while there is added the new use of *(y)ai* as the feminine ending in the genitive and ablative. The verbal prefixes, too, are separable. In style the language is still entirely free from long compounds, and the distinction in the use of the indicative tenses and of the moods is carefully drawn.

The relative chronology of the Vedic Saṃhitās is next gone into. The results emerging from this discussion are pretty clear, and are briefly the following. The Mantras of the Yajurveda Saṃhitās are later than those of the *Sāmaveda* as well as of the *Rigveda*, but are earlier than those of the *Atharvaveda*. The Mantras of the Black Yajurveda Saṃhitās are on the same chronological level, but, as we have seen, are earlier than those of the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*. The Mantra portion of the Taittiriya text are about as much older than the Brāhmaṇa portions as the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* is older than the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. In this connexion Professor Keith

re-examines the evidence for the age of the *Rigveda* in the light of the inscriptions at Boghaz Kuei, which date from about 1400 B.C., and in which the names of some of the gods of the *Rigveda* occur. He arrives at the conclusion, practically identical with that stated by me four years ago,¹ that they give no cogent ground for fixing any date for the *Rigveda* earlier than about 1200 B.C. As to the age of the *Taittiriya Saṃhitā* in its totality, there can be no doubt that it is earlier than Pāṇini. Reviewing the evidence for the date of the latter, he shows that the grammarian could not by any chance have lived later than 300 B.C. and may have flourished as early as 350 B.C. Yāska also knew the Brāhmaṇa portions of the *Taittiriya Saṃhitā*, for his *Nirukta* contains citations from it as well as from the *Kauṣītaki* and *Aitareya Brāhmaṇas*. The name Yāska is mentioned by Pāṇini, and the priority of the *Nirukta* is rendered highly probable by its much more primitive treatment of grammar in general and of the prepositions in particular. The Sūtras of the Taittiriya branch appear also to be anterior to Pāṇini, for they contain irregular forms throughout the whole text which could hardly be found in works composed after Pāṇini's grammar had reached its accepted position.

We have seen that the doctrine of metempsychosis is not alluded to in the *Taittiriya Saṃhitā*. Since it was adopted as a tenet of faith by Buddha (who died about 483 B.C.), its development must have taken place in the sixth century B.C. Thus 600 B.C. is an approximate date for the Brāhmaṇa portions of the *Saṃhitā*, and the Mantras, as we have seen, are earlier.

This date does not depend on the age of the Buddhist texts of the Pāli canon, the date of which Professor Keith regards as having been placed much too high, and about which I myself have long had serious doubts, though

¹ Macdonell and Keith's *Vedic Index*, preface, p. viii.

without having gone into the question carefully. Dr. Waddell seems to think that if it can be shown that the oldest Pāli text was composed not earlier than 200 B.C.,¹ the date of the Vedic period must *ipso facto* be lowered by several centuries. This is by no means the case. The only postulate required, as far as Buddhism is concerned, for the lower limit of Vedic literature is that Buddha's system is based on the doctrine of metempsychosis, the germs and full development of which are found in the later phases of that literature. It must therefore be proved that Buddha did not hold the doctrine of transmigration and that therefore the later Vedic literature in which that doctrine was developed need not be anterior to 500 B.C. And that is not all. The date of Pāṇini, who by the general consensus of Sanskrit scholars cannot have lived later than 300 B.C.,² must also be demolished. It is not necessary here to go into the evidence for that date, because it has been adequately re-examined by Professor Keith (pp. clxvi-ix). If that evidence is not refuted, it is difficult to conceive how a reduction of several centuries is possible in the age of the extensive literature of the Vedas, in which many chronological strata can be distinguished, and which shows a long development of language, mythology, religion, and philosophy. I myself have always been inclined to be apologetic in placing the upper limit of the *Rigveda* as late as 1200 B.C. In support of his view of the lateness of Vedic literature Dr. Waddell adduces a linguistic argument. He says³ "there is absolutely no evidence whatever to show that the Sanskrit language even in its 'Vedic' form was in existence before 200 B.C. at the very earliest. Not a single Sanskrit inscription has been found before A.D. 150, either on monuments or

¹ See JRAS. for 1914, p. 662.

² S. K. Belvalkar, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* (Poona, 1915), p. 18, would place him in the seventh century B.C.

³ *Asiatic Review*, April, 1916, p. 342.

coins or anywhere else". With reference to the Besnagar Pillar inscription (175-135 B.C.) here alluded to he continues: "in this inscription . . . the language is still only semi-Sanskrit, and has not yet reached even the stage of the 'Vedic' type"; he further remarks¹ that the appearance of the vowel *ṛi* in this inscription "contributes to fixing the lowest date for the evolution of Sanskrit, one conspicuous difference of which language from the older Prakrit, from which it was evolved, being the tendency to insert this characteristic vowel". This appears to mean that Sanskrit is derived from Prākṛit. With regard to such a view, I can only point out that Prākṛit is held by trained philologists to be descended from an early form of Sanskrit, its development from which must have required many centuries. With reference to the remark that "even Greek is entitled to priority over Sanskrit",² I will only quote from a leading authority on comparative philology at the present day, K. Brugmann,³ the following sentence: "The oldest constituent parts of the *Rigveda* most probably reach back beyond the middle of the second millennium B.C., and in the *Rigveda* we certainly have the earliest monument of the whole Indo-European family (*des ganzen Indogermanentums*)."

After Professor Keith's introduction, which extends to about 150 pages, the rest of the first volume is occupied by the translation of the first three books of the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*; the second contains the remaining four books, and concludes with a general and a Sanskrit Index. The arrangement of the matter, as well as the typographical features, is excellent, as is indeed to be expected in a book published in a series of which Professor Lanman is the general editor. A clearly presented table of the contents of the Introduction (pp. vii-viii) is followed by another

¹ JRAS. 1914, p. 1031.

² *Asiatic Review*, p. 343.

³ *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik*, 1902, p. 5.

of the Translation (pp. ix-xxvi). The Introduction is divided up into paragraphs and sections supplied with titles. The convenience of the reader is further consulted by the contents of each page being indicated as far as possible by headlines. In the Translation the distinction between Mantra and Brāhmaṇa is made immediately recognizable by the former appearing as separate units, while the Brāhmaṇa portions are printed as continuous prose filling the whole page. The footnotes are very copious, giving full explanations of the ritual application of the formulas, parallel passages from other texts, and critical, mythological, liturgical, grammatical, and etymological elucidations. It would not be easy to detect any point on which adequate information is not supplied. In the translation of a sacrificial text like the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* full annotation as here supplied is very valuable even to the Vedic specialist. Without it the translation would to the general reader, who is unfamiliar with the atmosphere of such literature, be useless and even seem sheer nonsense. An insufficiently explained translation may also lend itself to serious misinterpretation. Thus I remember a learned lady once made use of my *Vedic Mythology* in support of some astronomical theory and understood a Vedic passage there translated in a sense totally different from that which I intended it to convey. She was very indignant when I explained that the signification which she attached to the passage was not the one that I had meant, and that the original could not bear the interpretation she put on it.

The translation is very close and accurate. I have only noted a few slips while comparing the rendering with the original. Thus, in i. 1, 2, 2, *pūṣā te granthīm grathnātu, sá te má sthāt* cannot be rendered, at least according to Weber's text, "Let Pūṣan tie a knot for thee, that knot shall mount me," but must be literally, "Let it not remain for thee" (that is, "Let it not impede

thee permanently"), because *mā* is accented and *te* should be taken into account. The accent and the ending indicate that *indrāgnī vy āsyatām* (i. 1, 13, 1) should more exactly be rendered "may Indra and Agni scatter"; similarly (ibid.), *ā pyāyantām āpah*, "may the waters swell." It is not Klemm who endeavours to show that *pāthas* means "food", but Sieg¹ (p. 16, n. 2). *Brhāntah . . . devāh* would more exactly be translated "ye are mighty gods" (p. 16), and *agnēr vām sādasi sādāyāmi* should be, "I set you two (not 'thee') in the seat of Agni." I have noticed a few trifling misprints, mostly due to loss of diacritical marks, as *Aranyaka* in several places and *Prūtiśākhyā* for *Prā-* (p. xxxi); *bhrātrvasya* for *-vyasya* (p. cliii). Cases of *lapsus calami* seem to be "head" for "body" (p. cxxxix, l. 5), and "in" for "are" (p. cliii, l. 18).

In thus supplying for the first time a translation with so exhaustive and valuable an introduction and such abundant and instructive notes, Professor Keith has produced a model work which will greatly lighten the labours of all students of the ancient sacrificial literature of India. This work, together with his previous publications, shows that he has made this subject his own. His ability, industry, and thoroughness render him peculiarly well fitted for a task of this kind. It is to be hoped, therefore, that he will take in hand other important works of the ritual literature which await translation, and which, though containing much that is distasteful and trivial, are nevertheless of great value in investigations concerned with the history of religious thought and cult.

A. A. MACDONELL

¹ See my review of the *Garupājakaumudī* in the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1894, p. 47 f.

PEKIN ET SES PALAIS. Par STANISLAS MILLOT. Paris :
E. Leroux, 1916.

This is a pamphlet of 45 pages with 16 illustrations, extracted from the Bulletin de l'Association Amicale Franco-Chinoise. It contains a narrative in diary form of a trip made by a French Naval officer to Peking in April of 1901. The Boxer madness had delivered the city into the hands of the allied troops, and not the least of the punishments the Chinese had to bear was to see their palaces overrun and plundered by the hated foreigners. Not a corner escaped. Information was then gathered that has provided material for many publications, and with characteristic thoroughness the Japanese seized the opportunity to make an architectural survey complete to the minutest detail. Again, too, since the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty, the Winter Palace and much of the Forbidden City have frequently been opened to the public. In short, the inner abode of the Chinese Court, that baffled so long the curiosity of Europeans, is now no more of a mystery than the royal apartments at Windsor or Versailles.

Over this well-trodden ground Lieutenant Millot's account wanders in desultory fashion, and any novelty it might have offered had it been published in 1901 it no longer has in 1916. Many of the photographs are excellent.

W. P. Y.

OBITUARY NOTICE

AUGUSTE BARTH

THERE are scholars whose claim to fame rests on the size and number of their published books. There are others who gather students around and train them to be good and useful workers, stamped with the clear impress of their masters' minds. Barth cannot be classed in either of these groups. A professor's career which would certainly have been both brilliant and fruitful of good was closed to him by a deafness which afflicted him from early manhood; and as for his writings, if one set has finally assumed book form, or if another by its amplitude and importance is a work in itself, all first appeared in print as integrant parts of "Selections" or of Reviews. And yet few Orientalists have had so profound an influence on their own branch of learning as Barth, for many years to Indianism a spiritual director whose advice and judgment were rarely received with anything but respect and gratitude. Whence arose this authority, so influential that, from the seclusion of his study, he came to be regarded by his colleagues as their High Priest?

Let it be said at once that his influence was in no wise due to material wealth or to political position. He possessed modest but comfortable means which enabled him to live according to his tastes and to devote himself to science, to his friendships, and to those physical pastimes in which he excelled. The story of this studious and secluded life can be told in a few words.

Marie Etienne Auguste Barth was born in Strassburg on March 22, 1834, of a Catholic father and a Protestant mother. His school days and his student days were spent at the Lycée and at the Académie of his native

town. He graduated successfully as Licencié ès lettres in 1856, and in the following year was appointed teacher of logic and rhetoric at the College of Bouxviller, a little town not far from Savern. It was there he began the study of Sanskrit. In 1861 he obtained rather more than a year's leave of absence, and went to Paris to prepare there the thesis necessary for the degree of Doctorate on which his ambition was set. The following year he was elected member of the Société asiatique de Paris. Soon after his return to Alsace he published in the *Revue Germanique* his first work, a study on the Bhagavad-Gita (1864).

In the Franco-Prussian War he fulfilled his duty—aye, and more than his duty—to his country, and fought gallantly at the head of a small number of “francs-tireurs”. When the conclusion of peace brought with it the annexation to Germany of Alsace, he refused to live there longer, but, with his father and brother—his mother had died in 1869—he settled in Geneva. There he remained six years, during which he sent numerous contributions to the *Revue critique d'Histoire et de Littérature*. These articles firmly established his authoritative position, and he began to be well known in the world of scholars. But soon he felt the need of a centre which offered him a life of greater scope. And so, in 1877, he made his home in Paris, never again to leave it except for short journeys, or to spend the last months of summer at the seaside. Thus, at last, he divided his days between the capital and his favourite spot, the little Breton town of Audierne. Meanwhile the highest distinctions were conferred upon him as the reward of his constant labour. He was successively elected honorary member of the Genootschap voor Kunst- en Wetenschap of Batavia (1886); member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres (February, 1893); honorary member of the Royal Asiatic Society (May, 1893); foreign member

of the Koninklijk Instituut voor den Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederland-Indie (1896); associated member of the Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen of Amsterdam (1896); honorary member of the American Oriental Society (1898); membre correspondant de l'Académie des Sciences de Pétersbourg (1902). On March 10, 1894, he was appointed Grand-officier de l'ordre royal du Cambodge; on December 31, 1895, Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur; soon afterwards Commandeur du Dragon d'Annam. Finally, in 1909, Louvain University granted him the title of doctor, *honoris causa*.

Unfortunately, there came, side by side with all these honours, an illness which forced Barth to restrict to a considerable degree his scientific activities, and his last years were darkened by a cruel infirmity requiring incessant care. After the year 1911 he published no further work, and on April 15, 1916, death came to free him from his long suffering. He was 82 years of age.

I think I do not exaggerate when I say that in the domain of Indology Barth had no teacher other than his own personality. Owing to his penetrating mind, his sharp sense of criticism, his deep and intuitive knowledge of history, the independent foundation of his learning brought no drawbacks, but, on the contrary, brought great advantages. His first impressions of India were derived directly from a close study of actual texts, and his views were shielded from those distortions which knowledge necessarily undergoes in a process of reflection from one mind to another.

Both the importance and the originality of the work on which Barth's reputation is founded are due to his innate vision of the subject before him. We know the sequence of events which led to his writing this work. M. Lichtenberger had asked him to write the article on India for the *Encyclopédie des Sciences religieuses*. He

agreed, and for the first time an attempt was made to trace the immense development of beliefs and rites from Vedic origins to the most recent reformatory efforts. Barth accomplished this difficult task with the skill of a master mind. His exposition was temperate, closely reasoned and lucid; it was based on profound study, and, while throughout conveying broad, general views, was rich in ideas. So that, although written for a wide public, it proved of the greatest service even to Indianists themselves. The author, then, was not satisfied to give his readers the results obtained by a succession of scholars, or by patient and detailed research. Having deeply meditated upon India, as it were from within, he had learned to understand that which can never be discovered by critical analysis, but is revealed only to sympathetic care—the very life of the subject. And this life, complex and changeable though it be, was made known by Barth. The article in the *Encyclopédie Lichtenberger*, enriched with numerous notes, soon appeared in book form (Paris, Fischbacher, 1879). It was translated into English by the Rev. J. Wood (London, Trübner, 1882), and into Russian under the supervision of Prince S. Troubetskoï (Moscow, 1896).

His critical works are even more important. Barth sent to the *Revue Critique*, to *Méusine*, and to the *Journal des Savants* innumerable notices, many of which have the completeness and importance of original works. He excelled, indeed, in extracting the essence from new publications and showing in what respect they modified our views on Indian subjects. And often one touch of his incisive criticism was sufficient to destroy the bubble of some plausible though ill-founded theory. Even when concerned with the examination of books of small worth, his articles would teach a useful lesson on method. Yet he served the cause of Indianism more by the ten admirable Bulletins which he published between 1880

and 1902 in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* than by his isolated studies. In these Bulletins he traces and reviews, with an incomparable fund of information, the entire production of the science of Indology, almost from beginning to end. Texts religious and philosophic, archæology and ancient inscriptions, law and social institutions, literature and science were discussed in these Bulletins. Thus, in the same way as in his critical articles, the civilization of India was considered in all its aspects. The appearance of these pamphlets was always awaited with impatience; so well was the author's scrupulous exactness recognized, so well the soundness of his judgment understood. An eminent Orientalist wrote me only a few days ago that, whenever he was working out some problem of Sanskrit philology, he used to ask himself: "Will my opinion meet with M. Barth's approval?"

Even while engaged upon his critical studies, Barth set to work to increase the documentary resources available to Indianists. M. Aymonier had sent to France reproductions of a large number of epigraphic documents, and sometimes the documents themselves, written in the Sanskrit, Khmère, and Tchame languages, and collected in the course of his scientific missions to Indo-China. MM. Barth, Bergaigne, and Senart undertook to decipher the Sanskrit inscriptions, and to edit, translate, and annotate them. In the first distribution of the work of translating these difficult texts the most ancient fell to the lot of M. Barth. He published his own share of the work in 1885 under the title of *Inscriptions sanscrites du Cambodge* (Notices et extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, tome xxvii, 1ère partie; un volume in -4 de 177 pages, avec un atlas de 17 planches heliogravées). When, on August 6, 1888, Bergaigne met his death in an abyss on the mountains of La Grave, that part of the work which had devolved upon him was still

unfinished. Barth completed it and supervised the publication (*Inscriptions sanscrites de Campā et du Cambodge*, un volume in -4 de 448 pages et un atlas de 28 planches). After that he edited and published other epigraphic texts from Indo-China and from India in the *Journal Asiatique*, in the *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, and the *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*. His wide knowledge of mathematics and astronomy was usefully employed when, in dealing with a large number of these documents, he had to calculate dates expressed only in terms of the longitudinal position of the seven planets.

Then there is one side of Barth's life which, least of all others, the writer of this notice could ever forget. The great scholar was the most attentive, the most unselfish of guides to those who followed him in the same career. To how many young people has he given words of wise counsel and encouragement! When he had pointed out to some worker the direction in which there was research to be made, he would continue to help him, sparing neither time nor effort. For example, there is Fournereau, to whom he afforded valuable help by publishing the Siamese inscriptions in the first volume of his *Siam Ancien*, and whose work he completed when a premature death caused the pen to fall from the hand of the explorer. Another example is the École Française d'Extrême-Orient, which partly owes to him its very existence. Though so far away, he took the keenest interest in its proceedings from the beginning.

Barth's character was equally noble as man and as scholar. All who met him realized the true kindness of his nature and his devotion to others. He commanded respect by the dignity of his life, by his uprightness, and by the loftiness of his sentiments. He was too high-minded to allow his personality to be overruled by fashion

or prejudice. He was truly a man of another age, with the faithfulness and charming courtesy of a knight. He remained faithful to his friends, faithful to his Alsatian homeland, faithful to the Royalist ideals traditional in his family. And the resentment he felt towards the victors of 1870 remained ever collective, never individual. Barth gave a kindly welcome to the German scholars who came to visit him at his home, or who sought the benefit of his guidance. One of his last acts as a member of the Institut was to vote against the proposal to strike off from the roll the names of some foreign scholars who were honorary members of the Academy.

The French edition of the *Religions de l'Inde* was soon out of print, and it was found difficult, too, to make use of his other writings, buried as they were in about one hundred and fifty volumes of a dozen different periodicals. Was it possible that the fruits of such important works should be lost? Barth's friends in Paris said no. In honour of the eightieth anniversary of his birthday they decided to collect together the savant's scattered writings. MM. Senart, Foucher, and Finot have given to this enterprise their devotion and their experience. They have already put two volumes into the hands of the workers, and have arranged the publication of the three others which will complete the collection. Owing to their diligent care, future generations of Orientalists will not forget the debt owed by Indianism to the good master whom we have just lost. No more worthy monument could be raised to the memory of Auguste Barth.

PAUL OLTRAMARE.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(April-June, 1916)

I. GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

April 11, 1916.—Mr. M. Longworth Dames, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. Sih Gunj Cheng.

The Hon. Chowdhury Mahomed Ismail Khan.

Mr. A. Masters Macdonell.

Mr. Paresh Nath Mitter.

Mr. Oliver Wardrop.

Thirteen nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Mr. Pargiter read a paper on the Purāṇas.

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Vincent Smith, Dr. Thomas, Sir George Grierson, and Mr. Frazer took part.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

The Anniversary Meeting was held on May 9, 1916, Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Dr. Anilanganath Banerji.

The Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Chalmers, G.C.B.

Babu Gajendra Lall Chowdhury.

Dr. Carlos Everett Conant.

Babu Nibaranchandra Das-Gupta.

Babu Dharanidbar Datta.

Mr. J. M. Farquhar.

Mr. J. N. Mahant.

Babu Sateendranarayan Roy.

Mr. Mufti Muhammad Sadiq.

Babu Jitendranath Sanyal.

Babu Madan Mohan Seth.

Professor R. Srinivasan.

Three nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

The Secretary then read the Report of the Council for 1915-16 as follows:—

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1915-16

1. The Council regret to report the loss by death of eleven members:—

Captain Binsteed.	The Rt. Hon. Sir Claude M.
Babu Haribhusan De.	Macdonald.
Mr. F. V. Dickins.	Rev. J. E. Marks.
Mr. C. T. Gardner.	Major Morton.
Mr. Edgar de Montfort	Mr. R. V. Russell.
Humphries.	Major Horace Hayman Wilson.
His Highness Kerala Varma.	

Captain Binsteed and Major Morton were killed in action, and Mr. Russell and Major Wilson lost their lives in the sinking of the "Persia": their loss is much to be deplored. In Mr. Victor Dickins, Mr. Christopher Gardner, H.H. Kerala Varma, and Dr. Marks, the Society loses old and valued members. Sir Claude Macdonald was a diplomatist who had held the distinguished offices of British Minister at Peking and Ambassador to the Court of Japan, and who played a leading part in the defence of the Legations during the Boxer troubles in China.

2. The losses by resignation include four Resident and ten Non-Resident members:—

Dr. W. M. Aders.	Mr. J. H. Master.
Mr. Ghulam Ahmad.	Mr. W. H. R. Rivers.
Mr. H. M. Anthony.	Sir J. G. Scott.
Mr. F. Conybeare.	Mr. M. C. Seton.
Rev. J. S. Haig.	Mr. M. Stevenson.
Mrs. Hervey.	Mrs. S. A. Strong.
Dr. J. W. Lowber.	Mr. C. H. Tawney.

3. Under Rule 25 (d) the following nineteen persons cease to be members of the Society:—

Khan Bahadur Ahmad Din	Mr. S. M. Ameen.
Khan.	Mr. A. W. Battersby.

Babu G. Ch. Chakravarti.	Mr. Girdhari Lal Maheshwary.
Pandit Uday Chand.	Babu Kisbore M. Maitra.
Mr. S. Ch. Gupta.	Mr. R. N. Nandi.
Mr. B. Houghton.	Mr. S. N. Roy.
Mr. R. P. Karkaria.	Mr. Muhammad K. Saggu.
Mr. Mohammed Yamin Khan.	Mr. Gur Prasad Sinha.
Mr. N. Kishore.	Mr. M. N. Venketaswami.
Mr. Tien Cheng Kong.	Maung Kyaw Zaw.

4. Two persons who were elected as members, Sheikh Abdur Rahim B. Ellahi and Shafaul Mulk H. A. R. Khan, have not taken up election.

5. Forty-seven new ordinary members have been elected, as follows :—

Maulavi Bashir-ud-din Ahmad.	Pandit Ram S. Kanshala.
Mr. V. Natesa Aiyar.	Mr. K. J. R. Kaviratna.
Pandit Rati Lal Antani.	Mr. Khan Mohamad H. Khan.
Mr. Shreemat N. Ch. Banerji.	Moulvi Mohammad Zaka Ullah Khan.
Mr. H. R. Batheja.	Mr. G. S. R. Krishnaiya.
Mr. B. Ch. Bhattacharya.	Miss Antonia Lamb.
Pandit V. Bhatta.	Mr. Moti Lal Manucha.
Babu Amalananda Bose.	Mr. Sarat Ch. Mitra.
Mr. Hari Chand.	Mr. W. H. Moreland.
Mr. M. Atul Ch. Chatterjee.	Mr. Puran Chand Nahar.
Pandit Shiv K. Chaturvedi.	Lieut. W. R. Patterson.
Pandit J. P. Chaturvedy.	Prof. Jogindranath Samaddar.
Babu Hemanga Chaudhuri.	Mr. Lakshmana Sarupa.
Babu Hirankumar Chaudhury.	Pandit Maya Shankar.
Dr. A. E. Cowley.	Thakur Rajendra Singh.
Mr. J. Ghest Cumming.	Mr. Atul Ch. Som.
Mr. Amolak Raj Davar.	Sir Harry Lushington Stephen.
Raja S. Tribhuban Deb.	Professor C. A. Storey.
Mr. K. Lall Dey.	Mrs. Zahid Suhrawardy.
Pandit Mannan Dvivedi.	Babu Kshitindra Nath Tagore.
Mr. Banarsi Lal Garr.	Mr. Jnananjan Ch. Vidya- binode.
Mr. Mohendra K. Ghosh.	Mr. L. F. Rushbrook Williams.
Mr. Kumud B. D. Gupta.	
Mr. H. Hargreaves.	
Lady Holmwood.	

6. That the Society would suffer heavy losses in income during the year 1915 was expected and in a great measure provided for. Members' subscriptions were less than in the preceding year by £50, subscriptions to the Journal by £76, and rents from tenant Societies by £30; total, £156. The most serious loss, because unexpected, has been the sudden withdrawal in October last of half the grant of £210 received annually from the India Office for over fifty years. The total loss in ordinary income has thus amounted to £261.

7. An increase of £50 over the previous year in the sales of back numbers of the Journal saved the Society from a rather serious deficit. It may be noted that the sale of Journals, which includes all Journals sold except those of the current year, is naturally uncertain; it has been as low as £20, but normally it varies from £40 to £50. The receipt of just £100 this year is both unprecedented and in the circumstances remarkable.

8. Losses in receipts can only be met by retrenchment, and unfortunately there is only one item, the Journal, on which any substantial saving can be made, rent and household charges being fixed and minor expenses being always rigidly kept down. As they feel that it is of Imperial importance that Oriental studies should not be neglected in this country, it was with the utmost regret that the Council decided to economize by reducing the size of the Journal. The saving on the publication of the Journal during 1915 was £140.

9. The net deficit of expenses for the year over income was only £5. The Council fear, however, that this may be greatly exceeded next year, owing to various causes.

10. The Catalogue of the pictures, busts, and other art possessions of the Society has been prepared by Dr. Codrington, and a typewritten copy is available for use at the Society's rooms. All the pictures have been cleaned, and some of them reframed, and they have been

rehung and numbered to correspond with the catalogue. The loose paintings, engravings, and photographs have also been stamped, numbered, and arranged in portfolios. The printing of the catalogue is necessarily postponed until the financial strain is over.

11. The separate publications of the Society, being self-supporting and not dependent on subscriptions, have not suffered in the same way as the ordinary work of the Society. Consequently two works have been undertaken for publication in the Asiatic Society Monographs, viz. (1) a Monograph on Himalayan Dialects by the Rev. T. Grahame Bailey, a companion volume to his *Languages of the Northern Himalayas* published in 1908; (2) a translation of four of Professor Brandstetter's Monographs on Indonesian Linguistics by Mr. Otto Blagden. The latter work will be ready very shortly. Members are allowed a discount on the published price of all the Society's book publications.

12. In June, 1915, the Council wrote inviting the Director General of Archaeology in India to utilize the balance of the India Exploration Fund, amounting to £218 10s. 0d., for some Archaeological work not included in the regular programme of the Department, and suggested that the work selected should be the Nālanda site. The Council are glad to report that the offer was communicated to the Government of Bihar and Orissa and accepted by them, and it is understood that the work is now proceeding. The Fund, therefore, is now closed.

13. The Triennial Gold Medal of the Society was awarded in 1915 to Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson jointly for their combined work in Syriac and Arabic. The medal was presented by Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Secretary of State for India, on June 15 at the India Office.

14. The Public School Gold Medal was won in 1915 by H. A. Mettam, of Merchant Taylors' School. The presentation was made by Sir Hugh Barnes on June 8;

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
SUBSCRIPTIONS				841	15	6
Resident Members—						
65 at £3 3s.	204	15	0			
Advance Subscription—1 at £3 3s.	3	3	0			
Arrears received—1 at £3 3s.	3	3	0			
Part Subscription	3	0	0			
Non-Resident Members—						
4 at £1 1s.	4	4	0			
367 at £1 10s.	550	10	0			
Advance Subscriptions	24	12	0			
Arrears received	20	0	0			
1 Library subscription	1	10	0			
Non-Resident Compounder	23	12	6			
Ditto—Part Subscription	3	6	0			
	841	15	6			
RENTS RECEIVED					230	19 6
GRANT FROM INDIA OFFICE					105	0 6
JOURNAL ACCOUNT					316	15 7
Subscriptions	203	0	6			
Additional copies sold	97	3	6			
Sale of Pamphlets	4	11	9			
Advertisements	10	16	4			
Sale of Index	1	3	6			
	316	15	7			
DIVIDENDS					94	10 1
New South Wales 4 per cent Stock	32	2	0			
Midland Railway 2½ per cent Debenture Stock	4	15	10			
South Australian Government 3½ per cent Inscribed Stock, 1939	24	0	7			
New Zealand 4 per cent Consolidated Stock, 1927	11	17	10			
New Zealand 4 per cent Stock, 1943-63	8	1	2			
Local Loans Stock	13	12	8			
	94	10	1			
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS					20	14 3
Lloyds Bank, Limited	13	11	6			
Post Office Savings Bank	7	2	9			
	20	14	3			
SUNDRY RECEIPTS					5	9 10
Balance as at January 1, 1915					768	2 10
					£2,383	7 7

FUNDS.

£802 13s. 10d. New South Wales 4 per cent Stock.
 £212 8s. Midland Railway 2½ per cent Debenture Stock.
 £564 16s. 2d. South Australian Government 3½ per cent Inscribed Stock, 1939.
 £454 16s. 9d. 3 per cent Local Loans Stock.
 £297 7s. New Zealand Government 4 per cent Consolidated Stock, 1927.
 £201 9s. 3d. New Zealand 4 per cent Stock, 1943-63.

Purchased during year—

£224 0s. 7d. South Australian 3½ per cent Stock, 1939.

PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1915

PAYMENTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
HOUSE ACCOUNT				594	2	8
Rent	465	0	0			
Insurance (including Insurance against War risks)	41	0	9			
Repairs	1	7	6			
Lighting, Heating, and Water	52	18	10			
Telephone	8	17	4			
Other expenditure	24	18	3			
	594	2	8			
SALARIES AND WAGES				426	8	1
PRINTING AND STATIONERY				24	10	3
LIBRARY				41	13	1
New Books	12	16	0			
Binding	28	17	1			
	41	13	1			
JOURNAL ACCOUNT				408	3	5
Printing	357	17	6			
Illustrations	14	18	2			
Postage	35	7	9			
	408	3	5			
POSTAGE				27	5	6
AUDITOR'S FEE				5	5	0
RESTORING PICTURES				46	11	0
SUNDRY PAYMENTS				9	1	0
PURCHASE OF £224 0s. 7d. SOUTH AUSTRALIAN 3½ PER CENT STOCK, 1939				200	0	0
BALANCE as at December 31, 1915, being cash at				600	7	7
Bankers and in hand						
Lloyds Bank, Limited	299	12	11			
Post Office Savings Bank	299	8	8			
Petty Cash	0	10	6			
Postage	0	15	6			
	600	7	7			

£2,383 7 7

We have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society, and have verified the Investments therein described, and we hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

WILSON CREWDSON,
for the Council.
ALFRED E. HIPPISELY,
for the Society
N.E. WATERHOUSE, F.C.A.,
Professional Auditor.

J. KENNEDY, Hon. Treasurer.

February 11, 1916.

SPECIAL FUNDS

RECEIPTS.			PAYMENTS.		
1915.			1915.		
Jan. 1.	Balance ...	£ s. d.	Dec. 31.	Balance ...	£ s. d.
	Sales ...	77 7 9		Binding, Vol. XII ...	1 14 5
	Interest ...	7 6 0			
		84 13 9			
		<u>£342 15 4</u>		Balance carried to Summary ...	341 0 11
					<u>£342 15 4</u>
INDIA EXPLORATION FUND.					
Jan. 1.	Balance ...	215 4 0	Dec. 31.	By cheque to India for Excavation of Nalanda Site...	218 10 0
	Subscriptions ...	2 2 0			
	Interest ...	1 4 0			
		<u>3 6 0</u>		This Fund is now closed.	<u>£218 10 0</u>
		<u>£218 10 0</u>			
PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND.					
Jan. 1.	Balance ...	104 3 1	Dec. 31.	Balance carried to Summary ...	134 8 1
	Sales ...	9 15 0			
	Dividends ...	18 0 0			
	Interest ...	2 10 0			
		<u>30 5 0</u>			<u>£134 8 1</u>
		<u>£134 8 1</u>			
MONOGRAPH FUND.					
Jan. 1.	Balance ...	77 11 2	Dec. 31.	Printing Vol. XVI ...	63 3 0
	Sales ...	12 10 0		Frontispiece Vol. XVI ...	1 13 8
	Interest ...	1 14 4		Balance carried to Summary ...	64 16 8
		<u>14 4 4</u>			<u>26 18 10</u>
		<u>£91 15 6</u>			<u>£91 15 6</u>

SPECIAL FUNDS (continued)

RECEIPTS.

PAYMENTS.

MEDAL FUND.

1915.	£	s.	d.	1915.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.	62	17	4	Dec. 31.	22	0	0
Balance	Cost of Medal
Dividends ...	9	15	0	Printing, etc.	...	1	17
Interest ...	0	16	6	Balance carried to Summary	...	23	17
	10	11	6		...	39	11
	£63	8	10		£63	8	10

PUBLIC SCHOOL MEDAL FUND.

Jan. 1.	£	s.	d.	Dec. 31.	£	s.	d.
Balance ...	25	5	7	Cost of Medal	...	5	0
Dividends ...	19	7	4	Printing, etc.	...	8	5
Interest ...	0	8	9	Book Prizes and Binding	...	7	16
	19	16	1	Balance carried to Summary	...	21	1
	£45	1	8		...	24	0
	£45	1	8		£45	1	8

SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUND BALANCES

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND	...	Cash at Bankers—On Deposit Account	...	536	12	6
INDIA EXPLORATION FUND	341	0	11	On Current Account	...	29
PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND	134	8	1		...	6
MONOGRAPH FUND	26	18	10		...	10
MEDAL FUND	39	11	1			
PUBLIC SCHOOL MEDAL FUND	21	0	5			
	£565	19	4			
	£565	19	4			

FUNDS.

£500 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable B Stock
(Prize Publication Fund).
£325 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable A Stock
(Medal Fund).
£646 11s. 2d. Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable
B Stock (Public School Medal Fund).

We have examined the above Statement with the books and vouchers, and hereby certify the same to be correct. We have also had produced to us certificates for Stock investments and Bank balances.

February 17, 1916.

J. KENNEDY, Hon. Treasurer.

WILSON CREWDSON, for the Council.
ALFRED E. HIPPISEY, for the Society.
N. E. WATERHOUSE, F.C.A.,
Professional Auditor.

FORLONG BEQUEST

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1915

RECEIPTS.		PAYMENTS.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
1915.		Balance as at December 31, 1915, being cash at Bankers	275 11 9
Jan. 1, Balance	95 1 0		
Dividends	180 10 9		
	<u>£275 11 9</u>		<u>£275 11 9</u>

FUNDS.

£1,010 Bengal Nagpur Railway 4 per cent Debenture Stock.
 £1,015 16s. 3d. South Australian Government 4 per cent Inscribed Stock, 1940-60.
 £45 East Indian Railway Company Annuity, Class "B".
 £1,005 14s. 7d. New South Wales 4 per cent Stock, 1942-62.
 £1,143 6s. 3d. India 3½ per cent Stock.

We have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers, and
 { WILSON CREWDSON, for the Council.
 ALFRED E. HIPPISELY, for the Society.
 N. E. WATERHOUSE, F.C.A.,
 Professional Auditor.

February 11, 1916.

J. KENNEDY, *Hon. Treasurer.*

and an account of the meeting appeared in the Journal for July last (p. 601).

15. (a) Under Rule 30 Dr. Gaster and Dr. A. F. Hoernle retire from the office of Vice-President.

The Council recommend the election of Sir George Grierson and Mr. Pargiter.

(b) Under Rule 31 Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Fleet, and Dr. Codrington retire from their respective offices of Hon. Treasurer, Hon. Secretary, and Hon. Librarian.

The Council recommend their re-election.

(c) Under Rule 32 the following ordinary members retire :—

Mr. Amedroz.
Sir G. Grierson.
Mr. Hopkins.
Mr. Legge.
Mr. Pargiter.
Colonel Plunkett.

The Council has lost by death Sir Claude Macdonald, and Sir Percy Sykes resigned on taking up an appointment in India.

There are thus eight vacancies this year and only two in 1917. The Council therefore propose to fill five vacancies only now, thus leaving five places to be filled next year.

The recommendations of the Council are—

Dr. Gaster.
Professor Leonard W. King.
Professor Macdonell.
Sir John Marshall.
Dr. Perceval Yetts.

(d) Under Rule 81

Mr. Crewdson,
Mr. Hopkins,
Mr. Waterhouse,

are nominated auditors for the ensuing year.

MR. PARGITER, in moving the adoption of the Report, said that their losses from the War had been four—not perhaps so many as they might have feared. He supposed most of their members were hardly within the fighting age, otherwise so many would not have escaped. There were some names in the list of resignations he was sorry to notice. Mr. Tawney was a very old member of the Society, and it was to be regretted that he had found it necessary to sever his connexion, though no doubt he had good reasons for doing so. With respect to the persons whose membership ceased from non-payment of subscriptions, they took the utmost care they could when electing members to find out whether they were likely to be permanent, steady, useful members of the Society, but it sometimes happened that their best precautions failed. Two whom they had elected had not taken up their membership. On the other hand, they had gained the large number of forty-seven new members, and it was a remarkable feature in the list that many of them were Indians living in their own country, and not merely those who came here for their studies or who were permanently resident here. As far as he could make out, the Journal was attracting more and more attention in India, partly because the Archæological Department with its many discoveries was stimulating the interest of many educated Indians in Oriental research. That interest was reflected in the very welcome feature of an increasing number of subscribers in India. The increased membership would to a certain extent help the difficult future they had before them in the coming year. The Journal had been reduced as much as the Council thought necessary. He hoped it would not be necessary to cut it down still more in the future. Amongst the publications the Society had undertaken were the two works of very considerable interest mentioned in the Report. The Himalayan dialects were not much known, but the field was rich, as there

was an immense amount of variety of speech in those broken-up regions. He was glad they had been able to contribute to the commencement of archæological work on the Nalanda site, for there was no work better calculated to yield instructive results than further excavation in India. Scholars had rummaged most of the libraries for MSS., and had got practically all that they could give. They had also gone far in their investigations of Indian epigraphy, but there must be a vast quantity of material of immense interest in this and other departments to be yielded by further excavations. It was generally held that writing was introduced into India seven or eight centuries before Christ, and it must have come into use near that time. There may be in India writings of the time of Buddha and even earlier, and if excavators could come across them it would certainly be one of the most extraordinary contributions to Indian knowledge they could obtain.

THE REV. F. PENNY, in seconding, referred to the work done in cleaning, identifying, and cataloguing the pictures, busts, and other art possessions of the Society. He wished to ask the Council whether in the coming year they could not turn their attention in a practical manner in connexion with the rooms. It must have been noticed by all that when that room was full of people it got very stuffy indeed, in the absence of good ventilation. He wished to associate himself with all that had been said by the proposer of the motion.

MR. VINCENT SMITH, after referring appreciatively to the services of the Secretary and the acting Assistant Secretary, Miss Frazer, said it was satisfactory to notice the formation from time to time of what were practically branch Asiatic Societies in the provinces of India. One of these was the Punjab Historical Society, which had started with a good Journal, and which had heard an excellent lecture from Sir John Marshall on the excavations at

Taxila. The newest province had followed suit by the formation of the Behar and Orissa Research Society, and he had had the privilege of being made an honorary member of both Societies. Two of the publications of the latter, which appeared in September and December last, had reached him, and there were some papers in both of quite high merit. He could not agree with Mr. Pargiter that we had pretty well explored the MSS. resources of the libraries of India. It so happened that one of the papers in the Behar Society's Journal was specially devoted to giving a summary of statistics of lakhs of unexamined MSS. existing in North-East India alone. There were enormous accumulations at Puri and elsewhere. Mr. Smith went on to point out that within the last few years there had been three striking MSS. discoveries which had attracted very great attention—those of eight or nine plays attributed to Bhāsa, one of the predecessors of the great dramatist Kalidasa, found in Travancore; the writings upon statecraft, under the title of *Artha-śāstra*, of Chanakya, the great minister of Chandragupta; and the MSS. of the diary of Father Monserrate, who accompanied Akbar to Kabul as tutor to Prince Murād. Personally he saw no reason why other discoveries of equal interest and value should not continue to be made in India. It was notorious, for example, that the enormous collections of MSS. in Jain libraries were most imperfectly known and catalogued.

PROFESSOR HAGOPIAN said that in his judgment the work of the Society was becoming more and more important, since one of its functions was to impress upon the people of the East themselves the importance of the study of their past, and of investigating their ancient literature by European methods and with the help of experienced European scholars. The end in view was to lead them if possible to a greater and nobler future worthy of the great past. In this way the Society had

done a very important and very noble work, and he hoped that the people of this country would recognize the service they had rendered and the State would give it a permanent home in a central place where audiences could listen with enjoyment to learned lecturers.

THE PRESIDENT: It is always my pleasing task on these occasions to move a vote of thanks to Miss Hughes. I do so now with even greater pleasure than usual, knowing how this year the duties always so admirably performed have been rendered more difficult in consequence of the financial position. All I can say is that I hope that for many years to come the Society may be under the good pilotage of Miss Hughes.

I need only make a few observations on the Report, for the remark "Happy is the country that has no history" is also applicable to a Society like ours. At the last annual meeting you were warned that the favourable condition of the finances in 1914, when only the latter half was clouded by the War, could not be expected in the year 1915, the year now under discussion. This unfortunately has proved only too true. Instead of being able to put away £150 for future calls we had a deficit of £5. Without being unduly pessimistic, we must not however expect the next annual report to show so small a loss. There have been during 1915 some unexpected additions to income that cannot be relied on to continue, and these have helped to counterbalance the other heavy losses—the decrease of membership and Journal subscriptions, and the diminution by one-half of the grant from the India Office. It will be interesting to see what happens in other belligerent countries, especially in France, where so much interest is taken in Oriental research. If they do not retrench by large curtailments of grants we shall have a strong argument for urging that what we can only really call a dole should be continued.

Much as we feel our financial losses, we regret much

more the loss of our members, and this year many familiar names disappear. Four of them are directly attributable to the War. Major Horace Hayman Wilson was on his way to take up an appointment in Egypt, and Mr. R. V. Russell was returning to his post in India after completing his work on *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, when the *Persia* was torpedoed and sunk with terrible loss of life. Major Morton was killed in action on July 14 last, and Captain Binsteed, as reported last year, was killed early in the War. Sir Claude Macdonald had lately joined the Council, and in him the country lost a distinguished diplomatist who was intimately acquainted with the Far East. Another member connected with the Far East whom we have lost is Mr. Dickins, the Japanese scholar, who was for many years attached to the London University as Registrar. He contributed to the Journal and had been a member since 1882. Mr. Christopher Gardner was a Chinese scholar, and his membership extended over thirty years. Another veteran member was the Rev. Dr. Marks, well known for his missionary work in Burma, dating from half a century ago. H.H. Kerala Varma, who became a member in 1890, was a very learned and cultivated man. We recently have had news of the death of one of our Honorary Members, the very distinguished French Orientalist, Professor Barth. Mr. C. H. Tawney, to whose resignation reference has already been made, has been connected with the Society for over thirty years. Amongst his other literary works is a volume in our Translation Fund, *The Kathā Kōśa*. We regret too the resignation of a past member of Council, Sir George Scott, well known as "Shway Yoe", and of Mr. J. H. Master, an old Indian Civil Servant. And here I would like to say how much we regret that owing to illness it is very difficult for Dr. Fleet to attend so frequently as he used to do. We feel his absence, because he is one of our most loyal and valued members.

A long-felt want has been that of a catalogue of the pictures and other art possessions of the Society. During the passage of nearly one hundred years it is only natural that such a Society as ours should have collected many interesting relics, by presentation and purchase, of its work and interests in the East. The great amount of work involved has included much searching through the old minute-books and archives of the Society to identify the gift or donor. For this patient and diligent search we are much indebted to our Hon. Librarian, Dr. Codrington. The Society once possessed a museum of no inconsiderable value, which was transferred to the India Office when the Society moved into its present premises in 1869, and twice have many of its possessions been lost by fire. The first time was in 1866 at the Great National Exhibition at the Crystal Palace; the second time was in 1885, when the building of the Indian Museum at South Kensington was burnt, and some of the cases lent to the nation by the Society were destroyed. Diminished though our collection is, it yet contains much of interest, and the catalogue makes the information regarding it available to members.

The Council hope that the publication of the two new volumes in the Monograph Fund will be of value and interest to the study of linguistics. The Himalayan dialects dealt with by Mr. Grahame Bailey are dying out, and in the near future would not be available for study unless collected now. The valuable essays on Indonesian Linguistics by the distinguished Swiss scholar, Professor Brandstetter, have been translated into English by Mr. Otto Blagden, and it is hoped that this will make them more generally known. In your name I offer our best thanks to these gentlemen.

Some years ago, in 1902, the Society started a fund for archæological exploration in India. The interesting discoveries made on the estate of Mr. Peppé at Birdpur, where the Piprahwa stupa was opened, encouraged

Mr. Peppé and the Council to think that another spot in close proximity might yield some further Buddhist remains. So fresh work was undertaken, this time, however, without success, and Mr. Peppé kindly returned the Society practically all the money advanced for the work. The balance of the Fund is being used to start the preliminary excavations at the historic Nalanda site, under the able guidance of Dr. Spooner, and we shall await the result with great interest.

This year's School Medal has been won by J. R. Hassell, of Denstone College, for a really brilliant essay on the Emperor Baber. Two years ago Denstone College competed for the first time, and then carried off the medal. We congratulate Mr. Hibbert, the head master, on the second success of his school. It shows how well advised the Council were when they enlarged the circle of competitors.

The suggestion of the Council to fill only five vacancies will, I feel sure, meet with the approval of the meeting. When the new rules as to elections to the Council were passed a few years ago one of the chief ideas was to have as far as possible an equal number of new members of the Council each year. Various causes have made the retirements higher this year than the average, while next year they will be much below it. If the present proposal is accepted the difference will be duly adjusted. We are fortunate that, though the War affects us financially, it does not make very great difference in the scope of our operations and our working arrangements. We are so situated that we do not depend, as do most educational institutions of the country, on the younger men. We can mobilize our "Old Guard", and can appeal to them in these days of stress to make more strenuous efforts than usual. I believe the effect of the War will be to increase materially the influence and importance of Societies like ours. There is no doubt that one result of the War will

be that the relations between India and ourselves will be of a much more intimate nature. The War has shown the extraordinary loyalty of India. Not that I ever doubted it. But certainly the way in which all classes in India have shown that they consider that the common cause in which we are engaged and which they might have considered, in other circumstances, as more our own, proves that they have understood that to them also it is a matter of life and death to maintain their independence as part of our great Empire. Consequently we shall have to show that we are fully aware of the fact that they are now in every way an integral part of the Empire, as much as Canada, Australia, or South Africa. Whenever our international relations are fixed the interests of India should be as prominently kept in view as those of any other part of our Empire. To show you how this works out, I may mention that a volume has been published quite lately that is not only one of the most remarkable literary productions of recent times, but is of great significance. That is the *Homage to Shakespeare*. In that "Homage", in which almost all civilized countries participate, we have a very remarkable testimony by the poet Rabindranath Tagore, of which our members should take cognizance. I believe there is also a Burmese testimony to Shakespeare. That again shows that literary men in India wish to be considered as sharing in the heritage of our own literary great men.

I was pleased to hear Mr. Vincent Smith express optimistic views on the MSS. treasures still to be found in India. This leads me to say that we have been pleased to welcome back Sir Aurel Stein, who is again in this country, after accumulating many treasures in further exploration in Turkestan. We shall be very much interested to hear from him what he has discovered.

The Report was adopted, and the recommendations of the Council as to the election of officers were approved.

THE PRESIDENT announced his gift to the Society of the first bound volume of a publication regularly issued by the Maharani of Bhavnagar for the purpose of explaining the course of the War to the masses in Kathiawad; and he read the letter of Her Highness sending him the volume.

PRESENTATION OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS GOLD MEDAL

At a meeting of the Society on June 6, 1916, with Lord Reay in the chair, Mr. Charles Roberts, M.P. (Comptroller of the Household and late Under-Secretary for India), presented the Public Schools Gold Medal to J. R. Hassell, of Denstone College, and prizes to other competitors.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. Mohammad Narul Huq Chaudhury.

Mr. Jagmunderlal Jaini.

Lieutenant E. S. Sowerby, R.A.M.C.

Two nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

THE PRESIDENT, after paying high tribute to the great work and foresight of Earl Kitchener, news of whose death in the loss of H.M.S. *Hampshire* had just been received, welcomed Mr. Roberts, who had most readily responded to his invitation to make the presentation.

MR. CHARLES ROBERTS, M.P., after associating himself with the remarks of the President respecting the loss the Empire had sustained by the death of Lord Kitchener, thanked the Society for the high honour done him in inviting him to present the Medal. He was not quite certain he would have responded with the promptitude of which Lord Reay had spoken if he had known how distinguished had been the speakers on previous occasions—administrators who had spent their whole lives in India or who had occupied the most exalted positions

there. He had only breathed for a comparatively short period the ampler ether and diviner air of the India Office, and they must make allowances for any shortcomings on his part. But he could at least claim to take a deep and permanent interest in Indian life, while long ago he did teach history, though the amount of Indian history he taught would not probably qualify him to speak according to the high standard of that learned Society.

He must respectfully compliment the Society on the success of the Medal scheme, which seemed to him well devised for its purpose. There were some thirty Public Schools now included in the scheme, but having regard to the difficulties the schools were suffering at the present time owing to the shortage of staffs, to the claims of the cadet corps, and other distractions of the War, they could not expect to have the same number of competing essays as under the peaceful conditions of earlier occasions. On the other hand, the Society had every reason to be satisfied with the high standard of the essays which had been sent in. He would also like to congratulate them on the choice of a subject for the competition. It was appropriate for times when we had much in mind the gallant part played by India in the War. He would like to have the pleasure of quoting again a saying of the American observer (Captain Mahan)—"The testimony to the uprightness and efficiency of Great Britain's Imperial rule given by the strong adherence and support of India and the Dominions was a glory exceeding that of pitched battle and overwhelming victory." It was fitting that at such a time the attention of the competitors should be drawn to a great man not of our own race who played a signal part in Indian history. He noticed that on one previous occasion the Head Master of the successful school explained that he had very little difficulty in drawing and keeping the attention of his boys to the

achievements of men of our own race, such as Clive and Warren Hastings. But when it came to the tangled paths of Hindu and Mahomedan dynasties, and to unfamiliar names difficult to pronounce, and to dates which could not always be very precisely stated, it was not to be wondered at if schoolboys failed to be deeply interested. But it was only half the battle to know about Clive and Hastings; they must know about the people among whom they had worked. It was no doubt one of the aims of the Society to break down race prejudices bred of ignorance and to diffuse that knowledge which was necessary before sympathy and just appreciation could spring up. For that purpose it seemed to him that one very good way of clearing the path through the tangle of unfamiliar names and events was to study a great man and his personality, and to get it vividly and in detail before our eyes.

From this point of view a better choice could not have been made than that of a study of the Emperor Baber. There was a very readable introduction thereto in Lane Poole's handbook, and in the translation of the *Memoirs* by Leyden and Erskine they had a storehouse of the personal details and incidents on which the life of history so much depended. Everyone who had looked into the *Memoirs* felt how vivid was the portraiture of events, and the secret of this was to be found in the advice which Baber addressed to his son to "write unaffectedly with clearness, using plain words, avoiding the desire to show off his attainments". The fact was that Baber had an eye for reality, a desire to see things as they really were. He would like to suggest to the competitors that now they had made the acquaintance of Baber as a man they should look at the series of paintings of the time of Akbar in a manuscript at the British Museum referred to in Lane Poole's introduction. That series of beautiful and most agreeable pictures brought him most vividly before

the eyes. By studying them the competitors might perhaps learn the lesson, which historians were coming more and more to recognize, that a large part of history—sometimes the most valuable part—was to be found, not in the pages of printed books, but in pictures, in documents, in topography, and generally in what was called illustrative material. In those pictures they would see what Baber looked like; there was evidently a fixed tradition of his personal appearance, and he was represented with attractive features and vivacious and very wideawake eyes. They saw him fighting in the cap of mail referred to in the *Memoirs*, the horses with war harness, the standards made of the tails of mountain sheep, the warriors carrying queer long matchlocks; they saw curly trumpets and the Feringhi ordnance, which was fired as much as sixteen times in one day and carried 1,600 yards. They saw Baber hunting the rhinoceros with bows and arrows—an unconvincing form of sport, but it seems to have occurred—they saw the planting of his gardens with beautiful flowering shrubs; and they saw one of the famous wine parties, the painter having taken pains to remove the grossness which in one or two cases was frankly acknowledged in the translation of the *Memoirs*. They got pictures to illustrate the birds, plants, trees, and animals of which Baber spoke in his account of Hindustan; for instance, they had a portrait from life of the great *bat* which Baber describes as one of the birds of Hindustan. In all these pictures, in spite of the gap of 400 years, the great Turki or Tartar prince of the early sixteenth century was brought as clearly before our eyes as Henry VIII or Queen Elizabeth.

Baber was not only a very vivid personality, but was very human. Whatever might be the truth as to his giving up his life for his son, that story could not have got into currency except in reference to a man who had very warm affection for his family. The story of his

wine-drinking had also its human interest. They saw that he had a real struggle to get away from the straight path of his early upbringing. He gave way to the "strong lurking inclination to wander in that desert", and his wandering was unedifying. He meant to give it up at the age of 40, but got a little belated in his good intentions. Yet in the crisis against Rana Sanga—his formidable opponent from Rajputana—when his people were wavering and it was very necessary to stimulate them, there came a moral reformation. He had the will and self-mastery to abandon his habit of wine-drinking, to break up the illicit gold and silver goblets which his Firman describes as the "ornaments of the assembly of wickedness", and to distribute the fragments to the poor. He owns that he had "much difficulty in reconciling himself to that desert"—the desert this time of penitence and not of indulgence—but he had the resolution nevertheless to persevere, and he seemed to have done so to the end. It was easy to make strictures on a vice which was not uncommon in his time and in his race. But that part of the British public which in the greater crisis of our time had not had the self-mastery to follow his later example were not in a strong position to assert their moral superiority over the Tartar prince.

Mr. Roberts next dwelt upon the vigour, active-mindedness, and force of character of this great man who from the unpromising vicissitudes of his youth rose to the signal achievements of his manhood. The story looked like one of mere good fortune coming at the end; but it had been well said that fortune was no more than the name of our hidden good or bad qualities. It might be difficult to remember how often he lost and won or tried to win the Chieftainship of Samarkand; but through these vicissitudes he wrote in one of his poems that he must put his trust only in his own soul. There was not anyhow anything else to trust to amid the scramble for

chieftainships that went on in what is now a province of Russian Turkestan. He advised his son to exert himself "strenuously to meet every situation as it occurs, for indolence and ease sit ill with royalty". He swam every river he came across, including the Ganges, and he spent Ramazan, the month of fasting, in a different locality every year of his life. As a soldier he carefully watched the discipline and efficiency of his army. He was in advance of his age in the use he made of the new Feringhi artillery. He profited by his early defeats at the hands of the Uzbeks, who drove him finally south of the Hindu Khush, for he used the tactics which defeated him with good effect in the victories he won in India. And so when he finally started on his great adventure with his 12,000 men to meet Sultan Ibrahim with his army of 100,000 men and 1,000 elephants, he wrote in a well-known sentence that he "placed his foot on the stirrup of resolution and his hands on the reins of confidence in God". It is easy to see from the Memoirs that it was his own strength of will when everyone else was wavering which gave him his Indian victories. Again, he resisted the temptation to be a mere raider and plunderer. He does not seem to have loved the people he conquered. He has left unflattering comments on them, but, after all, he paid them the compliment of wishing permanently to govern them. That resolution fixed a great dynasty in the north of India, though it would have given him a shock to have known the name history would attach to it, considering his poor opinion of the Mongols. On the other hand, he was not an organizer of administration except in the Army; there is no trace of genius in his civil administration, though his organization of posts on the road between Delhi and Kabul may just be mentioned. There was a learned Society, and he must not get on disputable ground. But when one read the story of some of the distinguished soldiers and rulers who had fought

and governed in India in the past he could not refrain from asking himself whether our military system in India did leave sufficient scope for the power of initiative and the soldierly qualities of the great men whom the peoples of the East and the peoples of India from time to time produced.

In presenting the Medal Mr. Roberts congratulated the winner on his brilliant essay, and expressed a hope he would not be content with the prize, but would use the knowledge he had gained as a clue to carry him further into the fascinating world of the East. He also presented the book prize to Mr. F. P. D. Scott, of Eton, and Mr. C. J. Radcliffe, of Haileybury. The fourth prizewinner, Mr. C. G. Burge, of Shrewsbury School, being with his regiment, was unable to be present.

THE REV. F. HIBBERT, Head Master of Denstone College, said that when he attended a similar function two years ago Lord Reay pointed out that it was an occasion of special interest, for it was the first year in which all the schools represented at the Head Masters' Conference were permitted to compete, the privilege having been previously confined to a few of the great schools. The great public schools of this country had very great responsibilities, educational, national, and imperial, and they deserve to have corresponding privileges. He believed that when the future gave its verdict as to the way in which they had carried out their work and had prepared for the supreme crisis of these times, the verdict would be that they had splendidly realized their responsibilities and splendidly justified their privileges, and had set the other schools a splendid example. Three years ago the Royal Asiatic Society decided in its wisdom to widen the scope of the competition, and he need not say how very much the schools concerned appreciated the great honour of inclusion. Referring to the clamant demand for reform in the public school curricula, and

to a letter in the *Times* of that morning urging that more attention should be paid to history and science, he mentioned that both Hassell and his predecessor from Denstone two years ago were on the Science side of the school. The winner of two years ago applied for a commission on the outbreak of the War, and was at once accepted. He had done excellent service in France, where he was wounded, and now he was in service in Egypt. He was sorry to say that he was in hospital, but he was sure that his thoughts would be with them that afternoon.

THE PRESIDENT said that what they had just heard of the Denstone winner of two years ago reminded him of a saying attributed to Disraeli. Asked if he had read a certain work of fiction he replied: "No, I don't read novels, I write them." The winner of the Medal two years ago might also say: "I have not read lately historical works, but I have been helping to make history since joining the Army." Allusion had been made to the struggle going on in the restless educational world respecting the perennial controversy between the classical and modern side. The demand for Science teaching had been put forward very vigorously by Professor Ray Lankester, among others, but he did not suppose that even he would impugn the right of the Royal Asiatic Society to assist in promoting the study of the history of the Indian Empire. No one could deny now that knowledge of Indian history was absolutely essential for the rising generation. He had read Hassell's essay with the greatest pleasure. The adjudicators must have had a difficult task in deciding between the merits of some of the essays.

He fully concurred in the observation of Mr. Roberts that history ought to be taught by pictures and monuments and other illustrations as well as from books. It would be a good thing if the pictures to which Mr. Roberts had referred could find their way to the cinema screen. The

cinema had become such a means of instruction that instead of having the very silly and sometimes by no means innocuous scenes depicted, it ought to be used to illustrate the history and work of our great Empire and for other instructive purposes.

He could not conceive a more interesting study than that of Baber, who might be said to represent many human virtues as well as many human vices. In some respects his personality was very attractive, and when we think of the age in which he lived we cannot fail to marvel at his extraordinary career. He was quite sure that if Baber had been living to-day he would have been fighting for the British Empire in Salonica, Mesopotamia, or France with the greatest vigour, and he would certainly not have accepted the senseless invitation to enter upon a "Holy War" in the interests of Germany. Baber's action in destroying the gold and silver goblets in a time of crisis could not fail to remind them of the action of our King and Queen in deciding to abstain from the use of alcohol in the critical circumstances of these times. Their Majesties had been most strenuous in their response to the call of this great hour, and never had the rulers of any country carried out more fully the advice of Baber to his son to exert himself strenuously to meet every situation, since indolence and ease sit ill with Royalty. He agreed with Mr. Roberts that we must face the question of what we could do in every way to utilize the great military resources which were evidently latent in India. We had seen how readily the Princes and Chiefs of India had offered their swords and had joined with us in this great fight. It would be our duty after the War to consider carefully by what means we could further develop that military capacity.

Every year it gave him greater pleasure to be present at this ceremony. The times which were before us would make it incumbent on the younger generation to worthily

fill the place of those who were falling in the defence of the liberties of Europe. Of all the sad results of the War the most lamentable was the loss of so many promising young lives. The best homage we could pay to the memory of the fallen would be that of strenuous individual effort on the part of their surviving comrades. For our great Empire a future was in store of the simple life and the religious life, with more spontaneous obedience to the decrees of God. Only in that way would Great Britain and the Empire emerge from the struggle regenerated and stronger than we had ever been before. He concluded by moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Roberts, which was heartily accorded.

II. PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

I. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. Série XI, Tome V, No. iii.

Lévi (S.). Sur la récitation primitive des textes bouddhiques.

Vinson (J.). Notes sur la prosodie tamoule.

Segalen (V.). Premier exposé des résultats archéologiques obtenus dans la Chine occidentale par la mission Gilbert de Voisins, Jean Lartigue, et Victor Segalen.

Tome VI, No. i.

Weill (R.). La période comprise entre la xii^e et la xviii^e dynastie.

Senart (E.). Rajas et la théorie indienne des trois guṇas.

II. TRANSACTIONS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

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Robinson (J. A.). Bibliography of Early Spanish-Japanese Relations compiled from MSS. and Books in the Philippine Library, Manila.

Schwartz (W. L.). A Survey of the Satsuma Dialect.

III. GIORNALE DELLA SOCIETÀ ASIATICA ITALIANA.
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- Beccarini-Crescenzi (E.). Il dramma della Sacra di Rāma composto dal poeta Bhāsa.
 Papesso (V.). Il "Pinākinimāhātmyam" attribuito al Brahmāṇḍapurāṇam.
 Puini (C.). La Parabola del Figliuolo prodigo e un capitolo del Saddharmapūṇḍarika sūtra.
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IV. CEYLON ANTIQUARY AND LITERARY REGISTER.
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- Bell (H. C. P.) and A. M. Gunasekhara. Kēlaṇi Vihāra and its Inscriptions.
 Seneveratne (J. M.). Kēlaṇiya in the Fourteenth Century.
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V. LE MUSÉON. Tome I, No. ii.

- Thomas (F. W.). A Brhaspati sūtra.
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 Toutain (J.). Le culte du taureau Apis à Memphis sous l'empire romain.

VI. JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Vol. I, Pt. ii.

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Jayaswal (K. P.). Republics in the Mahābhārata.

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Hara Prasad Shastri. Kalidasa: (1) His Home.

Campbell (Hon. and Rev. A.). Superstitions of the Santals.

Roy (S. C.). Some Remains of the Ancient Asuras in the Ranchi District.

Haldar (S.). Ho Folk-lore.

VII. JOURNAL OF THE PANJAB HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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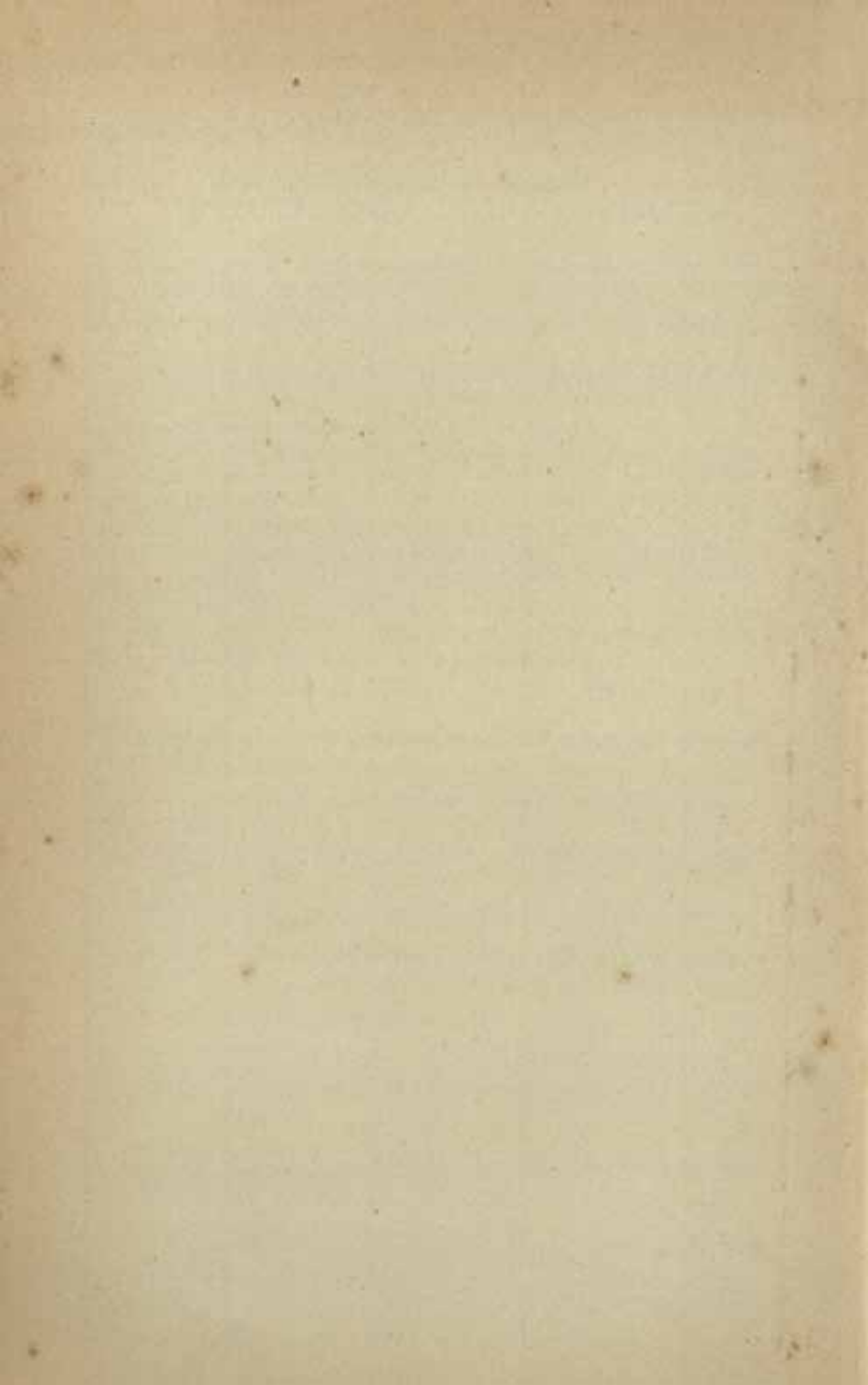
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JOURNAL
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1916

XVII
ON THE SARADA ALPHABET



BY SIR GEORGE GRIERSON, K.C.I.E., M.R.A.S.

THE earliest account of the Śaradā alphabet with which I am acquainted is that contained in Leech's "Grammar of the Cashmeeree Language" in the JASB., vol. xiii, pp. 399 ff., 1844. Leech gives the forms only of the vowels and of the simple consonants, and does not deal with the combinations of consonants with vowels or with conjunct consonants. As the subject is one of some interest, I here give complete tables, showing not only the simple vowels and consonants, but also all possible combinations of these, as they occur in this alphabet. The characters have all been written for me by my friend Mahāmahōpādhyāya Paṇḍit Mukunda Rāma Śāstri of Śrīnagar, and may therefore be accepted with the fullest confidence. Two plates illustrating the alphabet were published by Burkhard in his edition of the Kaśmīr Śakuntalā (Vienna, 1884), but I think it will be found that the following tables are much more complete.

The Śaradā alphabet is based on the same system as that of the Nāgarī alphabet. It is most nearly related to the Ṭākri alphabet of the Pañjāb Hills¹ and to the *Landā*, or "clipped", alphabet of the Pañjāb, and through them




¹ See JRAS. 1904, pp. 67 ff.

to the Gurmukhī alphabet, but, unlike them, and like Nāgarī, it puts the letters *sa* and *ha* at the end of the alphabet, and not after the vowels. Kashmīr is called the *Śāradā-kṣētra*, or holy land of the goddess Śāradā, and this is no doubt the origin of the name of the alphabet, although Elmslie, in his *Kāshmīrī Vocabulary* (London, 1872), s.v. *Shāradā*, mentions a tradition that it is so called in honour of one Śāradānandana, who is said to have first reduced the Kāshmīrī language to writing.


In India proper, when the alphabet is written down, it is usually preceded by the invocation *Ōm namaḥ siddham*, Ōm, reverence, established.¹ In Kashmīr a slightly different formula of invocation is employed, viz. *Ōm svasti ekam siddham*, Ōm, hail! one, established. As regards the word *ekam*, one, it is a curious fact that, while, in writing the invocation, the words *ōm*, *svasti*, and *siddham* are fully written out—thus, ओं, स्वस्ति, and सिद्धं—the word *ekam* is not written. Instead we have the mystic sign , which is named in Kāshmīrī *oku sam gōr*, and is read as *ekam*. So that what is written in the Śāradā character is ओं स्वस्ति  सिद्धं read as *ōm svasti ekam siddham*. The traditional explanation of this is as follows: In order to master the theory of *mantras* in Kāshmīrī Śaivism, it is necessary to learn the meaning or power of each letter composing a *mantra*, or the *mātrkā-cakra*. Each letter of the alphabet represents some mystic object. The vowels represent the various *śaktis*, the twenty-five consonants from *ka* to *ma* represent the twenty-five lower *tattvas*, and the other letters the higher *tattvas*, while *kṣa* represents the *prāṇa-bīja* or Life-seed.² In this way the

¹ Cf. Bühler, *On the Origin of the Indian Brāhma Alphabet*, p. 29 (Vienna, 1895), and Hoernle, on "The 'Unknown Languages' of Eastern Turkistān", JRAS. 1911, p. 450. Bühler translates *siddham*, success.

² A full account of the *Mātrkā-cakra* will be found in Kṣēmarāja's *Śivasūtravimarsinī*, ii, 7, translated in the *Indian Thought Series*, No. II.

letter *a* represents the *jñāna-śakti*. It also indicates the Supreme (*anuttara*) and Solitary (*akula* = *kulōttīrṇa*) Śiva. The sign  is composed of three parts. The horizontal line — represents the letter *a*, i.e. also Śiva; the two perpendicular strokes  represent the other vowels, and also the *śaktis*; and the two curved marks  represent a plough (*hala*), and hence all the consonants, which are called by grammarians "*hal*". The whole sign therefore represents all the vowels plus the consonants, or, in other words, the entire alphabet. On the mystical side it also represents Śiva plus all the *śaktis* and *tattvas*, i.e. Śiva and all his developments in the way of so-called creation.

In the Kāshmīrī name *ok^u saṁ gōr*, *ok^u* means "one", "non-dual"; *saṁ* is a contraction of *saṁvittva*, or condition of *parā saṁvit*, the Supreme Experience; and *gōr* is for *gōr^u*, it has been inquired into (and therefore understood). With *siddham* added the whole means "the supreme monist experience has been mastered (for it has been established in the *āgamas*)". *Ēkaṁ siddham* has the same meaning.

A less mystical interpretation has been kindly given to me by Professor Barnett. He points out that the *siddham* is probably derived from the first *sūtra* of the Kātantra, which runs *siddhō varṇasamāmnāyah*, i.e. "the traditional order of the letters is established (as follows)", and that this grammar was, over a thousand years ago, the most popular handbook in Northern India¹ and the Buddhist regions of Central Asia. The mark  is evidently one of the sacred symbols used at the commencement or end of any important writing, such as are referred to by Bühler on p. 85 of his *Indische Palaeographie*, and has practically the force of a sign of punctuation. A not

¹ When I was in India its use in Northern India seems to have been confined to Eastern Bengal, where I studied it with the local Paṇḍits. In the rest of Bengal the Mugdhabōdha was in general use.

very dissimilar sign will be found at the end of the plate facing p. 281 of vol. ii of Rājendra Lāla Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts* (ॐ). Taking this sign as one of punctuation, it would be natural to mark this first division-point by mentally interjecting *ekaṃ*, as a distant echo of the numbering of the first *sūtra* of the Kātantra, and in course of time the word *ekaṃ* would become petrified, the meaning would be forgotten, and a new mystical meaning given to it.

In those parts of Northern India with which I am acquainted there are, except in the Pañjāb, no special names for the various letters. अ *a* is called *a-kāra*, क *ka* is called *ka-kāra*, and so on. In the Gurmukhi alphabet, used in the Pañjāb, it is different. Here the vowels have each its own name. Thus, initial अ *a* is called *āirā*, non-initial ऀ *ā* is called *ā-kannā*, and so on. The consonants are also named by enunciating each twice and doubling the consonant mentioned the second time. Thus क *ka* is called *kakkā*, ख *kha* is called *khakkhā*, and so on.

In the schools of Kashmir this Pañjāb system is carried much further. Every vowel form and every consonant has its separate individual name. Most of these names have no definite meaning apart from this connotation, and, as names of letters, do not seem to have been invented on any regular system. Even each syllable of *om svasti*, and of *siddham*, and the sign ॐ for *ekaṃ*, has its own name. I give these names in the following tables, written in the Nāgarī and Śāradā characters, with a transliteration into the Roman character. As these names are not Sanskrit, but are in the Kāshmīrī language, the system of transliteration followed is that which is applied to Kāshmīrī, and which differs slightly from the transliteration of the corresponding Nāgarī or Śāradā letters when used for Sanskrit.

VOWELS, Etc.

Roman.	Nāgarī.	Sārada.	Kāshmirī name in Nāgarī.	Kāshmirī name in Sārada.	Kāshmirī name in Roman.	Remarks.
ōm	ओं	ॐ	ओंकारा ओं	खि कङ्ग लि	ōmkārā ōm	
sva	स्व	भु	स्वयं सो	भुयं भे	sōyan̄ sō	
sī	स्ति	भि	त्वयिस् ते	हु वि भि डे	tēvis tē	
ēkan̄		जाठ	अंकु सं गोरु (एकं)	मुं कुं भं गि (एकम)	ol ^a san̄ gōr	Read as ēkan̄.
sī	सि	भि	खट्वि से	मुमि वि भे	sēdiv sē	There are no sonant aspirates in Kāshmirī.
ddhan̄	धं	हुं	दमर् दं	ममर् मं	damar dan̄	
a	अ	मु	आदी अ	मुनि मु	ādan a	
ā	आ	मु	ऐतव् आ	लेवा मु	aitav ā	
-ā	।	२	वहाय्	वळ्या	wahāy	
i	इ	उ	ययव् ये	ययवा ये	yēyēv yē	
-i	ि	३	मूयर्	मुं कुं ग	mūntkar	
i	ई	उं	इशरव् ई	उमवा उं	yishērav yī	

VOWELS, etc. (*continued*).

Roman.	Nāgarī.	Sāradā.	Kāshmirī name in Nāgarī.	Kāshmirī name in Sāradā.	Kāshmirī name in Roman.	Remarks.
-ē	१	१	अर् मून्	अग मून्	ar mūnthar	
u	उ	उ	वपन् वो	वपन् वो	wōpal wō	
-ū	२	२	खू	खू	khū ^{ra}	
ē	ऊ	ऊ	वपन् वा ऊ	वपन् वा ऊ	wōpal bā ū	
-ē	३	३	अर् खू	अग खू	ar khūrā	
ṛ	च	८	चनव् च	चनव् च	ṛēnav ṛē	
-ṛ	८	८	Same name as for the initial form. Thus, क <i>ṛ</i> is called <i>kōv kahās tal ṛēnav ṛē</i> , or <i>ṛēnav ṛē</i> under <i>kōv ka</i> , i.e. <i>ṛ</i> under <i>ka</i> .			
ṛ	७	७	रखव् ७ [७]	गगव ७ [७]	ṛakhav ṛā	
-ṛ	८	८	Same name as for the initial form. Thus, क <i>ṛ</i> is called <i>kōv kahās tal ṛakhav ṛā</i> .			
l	ल	१४	ल्यव् ल	ल्यव् ल	lēyēv lē	
-l	८	८	Same name as for the initial form. Thus, क <i>l</i> is called <i>kōv kahās tal lēyēv lē</i> .			
ī	९	९	नीसव् नू	नीमव् नू	lisav ī	
-ī	९	९	Same name as for the initial form, as above.			

CONSONANTS

Roman.	Nāgarī.	Śarada.	Kāshmirī name in Nāgarī.	Kāshmirī name in Śarada.	Kāshmirī name in Roman.	Remarks.
<i>ka</i>	क	क	कोक् क	केव क	<i>kōv ka</i>	The Kāshmirī language does not possess the letter <i>gha</i> .
<i>kha</i>	ख	ख	खूनि ख	खूनि ख	<i>khōnī kha</i>	
<i>ga</i>	ग	ग	गग् ग	गग् ग	<i>gagar ga</i>	
<i>gha</i>	घ	घ	गोसि ग [घ]	गोसि ग [घ]	<i>gōsī ga [gha]</i>	
<i>ṇa</i>	ङ	ङ	नाङ्ग न	नाङ्ग न	<i>nāṅg na</i>	
<i>ca</i>	च	च	चाटुच् च	चाटुच् च	<i>tsātuv tsa</i>	The Kāshmirī language does not possess the letter <i>jha</i> .
<i>cha</i>	छ	छ	छूटिच् छ	छूटिच् छ	<i>tshōtīn tsha</i>	
<i>ja</i>	ज	ज	जयि ज	जयि ज	<i>zāyī za</i>	
<i>jha</i>	झ	झ	जाणिञ् ज [झ]	जाणिञ् ज [झ]	<i>zōshn za [jha]</i>	
<i>ṇa</i>	ञ	ञ	खून फुटिञ	खून फुटिञ	<i>khōna phutī ṇē</i>	

ta	ट	८	अर्-मोट	अर् मं०	ar-māṭa	The Kāshmiri language does not possess the letters <i>dha</i> or <i>na</i> .
tha	ठ	०	सर्-मोट	भर् मं०	sar-māṭha	
da	ड	३	ड्ड ड	डुडु ड	ḍuḍḍa	
dha	ढ	५	डक ड [ढ]	डक ड [ड]	ḍaka ḍa [dha]	
na	ण	७	नानगुरि न [ण]	न न गुरि न [न]	nānaguriṇa [na]	
ta	त	३	तोव त	डुव ड	tōv ta	The Kāshmiri language does not possess the letter <i>dha</i> .
tha	थ	४	थोगि थ	संमि थ	thōshiṭha	
da	द	५	ददव द	ममव म	dadav da	
dha	ध	७	दुडु द [ध]	मम ड [ध]	dāḍḍa [dha]	
na	न	८	नसुव न	नमुव न	nastuv na	
pa	प	५	पडुरि प	पडुरि प	paduriṇa pa	The Kāshmiri language does not possess the letter <i>bha</i> .
pha	फ	६	फरिडु फ	डरिडु ड	phariṇa pha	
ba	ब	७	बुव ब	डुव ड	bub ba	
bha	भ	८	बायि व [भ]	डुयि व [ड]	bōyiṇa ba [bha]	
ma	म	९	मोव म	मेव म	mōv ma	

CONSONANTS (*continued*).

Roman.	Nāgarī.	Śaradā.	Kāshmirī name in Nāgarī.	Kāshmirī name in Śaradā.	Kāshmirī name in Roman.	Remarks.
<i>ya</i>	य	य	याव य	याव य	<i>yāwa yē</i>	
<i>ra</i>	र	र	रक् र	रक् र	<i>raka ra</i>	
<i>la</i>	ल	ल	लाव ल	लाव ल	<i>lāwa la</i>	
<i>va</i>	व	व	वग व	वम व	<i>waslē wa</i>	
<i>śa</i>	श	म	शक् श	मक् म	<i>shēkar shē</i>	The Kāshmirī language does not possess the letter <i>śa</i> .
<i>ṣa</i>	ष	ध	फोरि ष [ष]	ळंठि म [ध]	<i>phōṇ' shē [ṣa]</i>	
<i>sa</i>	स	भ	सुम् स	भुम भ	<i>sus sā</i>	
<i>ha</i>	ह	ह	हान ह	हल ह	<i>hāla ha</i>	
<i>kṣa</i>	क्ष	क	कलि खंठि च	कलिष्टि क	<i>kōli vēṭhi kshē</i>	
<i>tra</i>	त्र	ट	त्रुक तोव च	इक उवा इ	<i>truka tov tra</i>	

<i>jña</i>	ज्ञ	ज्ञ (जयि जहस् तन् यून फुटि ज)	(ययि यलम य) (यने कुलि म)	(<i>zāyī zahas tal khōna</i> <i>phauṣ ṇē</i>)	This compound has no special name, and is * simply spelt out, <i>khōna</i> <i>phauṣ ṇē</i> (= <i>ṇa</i>) under <i>zāyī sa</i> (= <i>jā</i>).
<i>la</i>	ळ	वहु लुङ ड (वा बहु रळ र)	वहु कुङ ड (व बहु मर)	<i>boḍu dūd da</i> (or <i>boḍu</i> <i>vaka ra</i>)	
<i>lha</i>	ळ्ह				

There is no equivalent for this letter in Śāradā.

Note that the only difference between the characters for *ma* and *sa* is that the left-hand lower corner of the former is round, while in the latter it is pointed.

Consonants followed by Vowels.—As in Nāgari, the non-initial form of a vowel is used when it is preceded by a consonant. In naming the syllable, or *akṣara*, so formed, except in the cases of the vowels *ṛ*, *ṝ*, *l*, and *ī*, the name of the consonant is uttered first. This is followed by the name of the non-initial vowel, and this by the *akṣara* itself. Thus, the name of *ka* is *kōv ka*, and that of non-initial *ā* is *wahāy*, and the *akṣara kā* is therefore named *kōv ka wahāy kā*. In most cases the name of the vowel is slightly altered so as to appear in the agent or dative case, while the name of the consonant remains unchanged. Thus, non-initial *e* is called *hōṇḍā*, the dative of which is *hōṇjē*, and *kē* is called *kōv ka hōṇjē kē*.

The treatment of *ṛ*, *ṝ*, *l*, and *ī* is different. Here it is the consonant that is put into the dative case, which is governed by the postposition *tal*, under. Thus, from *kōv ka* we get a dative *kōv kahas*, *Kōv kahas tal* means "under *ka*", and *kr* is called *kōv kahas tal ṛēṇav ṛē*, i.e. *ṛēṇav ṛē* under *kōv ka*, or *ṛ* under *ka*. Similarly for the others. It will subsequently be seen that, so far as nomenclature goes, these four vowels are treated as if they were the second members of conjunct consonants, and the whole is named on the principle that is followed in the case of conjunct consonants.

The following table shows how each *akṣara* is named. With two exceptions the consonant employed is *ka*. The names and forms for *ku* and *kā* are irregular, and in their place I give the names and forms for *khu* and *khā* respectively. These are quite regular.

Roman.	Nāgarī.	Śaradā.	Kāshmirī name in Nāgarī.	Kāshmirī name in Roman.
<i>ka</i>	क	क	कोव् क	<i>kōv ka</i>
<i>kā</i>	का	क	कोव् क वहाय् का	<i>kōv ka wahaīy kā</i>
<i>ki</i>	कि	कि	कोव् क मून्वरि कि	<i>kōv ka mūntharī ki</i>
<i>kī</i>	की	की	कोव् क अर मून्वरि की	<i>kōv ka ar mūntharī kī</i>
<i>khu</i>	खु	ख	खुनि ख खूरि खु	<i>khōnī kha ar khūrī kha</i>
<i>khā</i>	खू	ख	खुनि ख अर खूखू	<i>khōnī kha ar khūkhū</i>
<i>kṛ</i>	कृ	क	कोव् कहस तन् चनव् च	<i>kōv kahas tal tēnav cē</i>
<i>kṝ</i>	कृ	क	कोव् कहस तन् रखव् कृ	<i>kōv kahas tal rakhav kṝ</i>
<i>kl</i>	कल	क	कोव् कहस तन् लयव् ल	<i>kōv kahas tal lēyēv lē</i>
<i>kḷ</i>	कळ	क	कोव् कहस तन् लीसव् लु	<i>kōv kahas tal lisav l̄</i>
<i>kḥ</i>	कह	क	कोव् क ह्य के	<i>kōv ka hōnjē kē</i>
<i>kai</i>	कै	कै	कोव् क ह्योर कै	<i>kōv ka hōnjōr kai</i>
<i>kō</i>	को	को	कोव् क अकु शूरि को	<i>kōv ka oku shūrī kō</i>
<i>kan</i>	कौ	कौ	कोव् क अकुशि वहाय् कौ	<i>kōv ka okushi wahaīy kōu</i>
<i>kañ</i>	कं	कं	कोव् क मस प्यरि कं	<i>kōv ka mas phērī kañ</i>
<i>kah</i>	कः	कः	कोव् क दो प्यरि कः	<i>kōv ka dō phērī kah</i>

IRREGULAR FORMATIONS

Non-initial *ā* is, as shown in this table, usually indicated by a short blunt triangle suspended from the top line, thus **𑖦**. Other examples are **𑖦** *khā*, **𑖦** *cā*, **𑖦** *tā*, and **𑖦** *pā*, named respectively *khōṇi kha wahāy khā*, *tsāṭuv tsa wahāy tsā*, *tōv ta wahāy tā*, and *paḍuvī pa wahāy pā*. The letters **𑖦** *ṇa*, **𑖦** *ja*, **𑖦** *ṭa*, and **𑖦** *ṇa* have already a similar stroke on the right, and, with non-initial *ā*, this stroke and the following vowel combine into a kind of semicircle or hollow triangle (**𑖦**) called *kundali wahāy*. Thus—

Roman.	Nāgarī.	Sāradā.	Kāshmīrī name in Nāgarī.	Kāshmīrī name in Roman.
<i>ṇa</i>	𑖦𑖄	𑖦	नारुग न कुंडलि वहाय ना	<i>nāruḡ na kundali wahāy nā</i>
<i>ja</i>	𑖦𑖅	𑖦	जयि ज कुंडलि वहाय जा	<i>zāyī za kundali wahāy zā</i>
<i>ṭa</i>	𑖦𑖆	𑖦	अर्-मोट कुंडलि वहाय टा	<i>ar-māṭa kundali wahāy ṭa</i>
<i>ṇa</i>	𑖦𑖇	𑖦	नानगुरि न कुंडलि वहाय ना	<i>nānagurī na kundali wahāy nā</i>

The same changes occur when any of the above consonants appears as a member of a conjunct consonant. For examples see below under that head.

The usual form of non-initial *u* is a blunt triangle lying on its side, thus **𑖦**, suspended from the consonant, as in *khu* in the table on p. 13. This sign is called *khāṛu*. Other examples are **𑖦** *cu* and **𑖦** *tu*, named respectively *tsāṭuv tsa khāṛi tsu* and *ar-māṭa khāṛi tu*. The letters *ka*, *ga*, *ḡha*, *ṇa*, *ḍa*, *ta*, *bha*, and *śa* do not take this form, but suffix the lower part of initial *u*, **𑖦**, named *vōpal vō*,

instead. The resultant sign resembles a Nāgarī ५. Besides the spelt-out name usual with these conjuncts, these particular conjuncts each have a name of their own. Thus—

Roman.	Nāgarī.	Saradh.	As spelt out in Kāshmirī (Nāgarī character).	Kāshmirī name (Nāgarī).	As spelt out in Kāshmirī (Roman character).	Kāshmirī name (Roman).
ku	कु	ऊ	कु काको कस् तन् वपल् वो	कुका कु	ku kākō kas tal vōpal vō	kukā ku
gu	गु	ग	गु गरी गस् तन् वपल् वो	गगरी गु	gu gagarī gas tal vōpal vō	gagarī gu
ghu	घु	घ	घु झगिञ् जस् तन् वपल् वो	झागिञ् ज खूरि झु	zu zōshin̄ zas tal vōpal vō	zōshin̄ za khārī zu
ṇu	णु	ण	णु खून फुटि ङस् तन् वपल् वो	खून फुटिञ् खूरि ङु	ṇu khōṇa phuṭi ṇēs tal vōpal vō	khōṇa phuṭiṇē khārī ṇu
ḍu	डु	ड	डु डू डस् तन् वपल् वो	डू ड खूरि डु	ḍu ḍuḍā ḍas tal vōpal vō	ḍuḍa khārī ḍu
tu	तु	उ	तु तातो तस् तन् वपल् वो	तुता तु	tu tāṭō tas tal vōpal vō	tutā tu
bhu	भु	ब	भु बायी बस् तन् वपल् वो	बायि ब खूरि भु	bu bōyī bas tal vōpal vō	bōyī ba khārī bu
ḥu	हु	भ	भु शकर् शस् तन् वपल् वो	शुकरी शु	shu shēkar shēs tal vōpal vō	shukarī shu

The *akṣara ru* is formed as follows:—

ru	रु	र	(Not spelt out.)	रखरी रु	(Not spelt out.)	rukharī ru
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When *u* is added to a conjunct consonant ending in *ra* it takes the following forms :—

Roman.	Nāgarī.	Śāradā.	Kāshmīrī name in Nāgarī.	Kāshmīrī name in Roman.
<i>kru</i>	कू	कू	कोव् क दुतरिख् खुरी कू	<i>kōv ka dutarikh khurī kru</i>
<i>khru</i>	खू	खू	खूनि ख दुतरिख् खुरी खू	<i>khōnī kha dutarikh khurī khru</i>
<i>gru</i>	गू	गू	गगर् ग दुतरिख् खुरी गू	<i>gagar ga dutarikh khurī gru</i>

And so on.

Compare the forms for *kra*, *khra*, *gra* below. *Dutarikh* is the name of *ra* when it is the second member of a conjunct.

The usual form of non-initial *ū* is a straight horizontal line, thus ॡ, suspended from the consonant, as in *khū* in the table on p. 13. Other examples are ॡ *ghū* and ॡ *cū*, called respectively *gōsī ga ar khūrū ghū* and *tsātuv tsa ar khūrū tsū*, the sign itself being called *ar khūrū*. Those letters which take the lower part of the initial form of *u* also take the lower part of the initial form of initial *ū* ॡ, named *wōpal bā ū* instead of *ar khūrū*. So also does the letter *ra*. Unlike the *akṣaras* with *u*, these

[to next page]

When *ū* is added to a conjunct consonant ending in *ra* it takes the following forms :—

Roman.	Nāgarī.	Śāradā.	Kāshmīrī name (Nāgarī character).	Kāshmīrī name (Roman character).
<i>krū</i>	कू	कू	कोव् क दुतरिख् अर् खूकू	<i>kōv ka dutarikh ar khūrū krū</i>
<i>khṛū</i>	खू	खू	खूनि ख दुतरिख् अर् खूखू	<i>khōnī kha dutarikh ar khūrū khṛū</i>



And so on.



akṣaras with *ā* have, except *rā*, no special name. The descriptive spelling out is a sufficient name. Thus—

Roman.	Nāgarī.	Saradā.	Kāshmirī name (Nāgarī character).	Kāshmirī name (Roman character).
<i>kā</i>	कू	कु	कोव्ह कहस् तल् व्वपल् वा ऊँ	<i>kōv kahas tal wōpal bā ū</i>
<i>gā</i>	गू	गु	गगर गहस् तल् व्वपल् वा ऊँ	<i>gagar gahas tal wōpal bā ū</i>
<i>jhā</i>	झू	जु	जांशिन् जहस् तल् व्वपल् वा ऊँ	<i>zōshiñ zahas tal wōpal bā ū</i>
<i>nā</i>	नू	नु	खुन फुटि न्हस् तल् व्वपल् वा ऊँ	<i>khōna phuṭi ñēhas tal wōpal bā ū</i>
<i>dā</i>	डू	दु	डुड डहस् तल् व्वपल् वा ऊँ	<i>ḍuḍ ḍahas tal wōpal bā ū</i>
<i>tā</i>	तू	तु	तोव्ह तहस् तल् व्वपल् वा ऊँ	<i>tōv tahas tal wōpal bā ū</i>
<i>bhā</i>	भू	भु	बांयि बहस् तल् व्वपल् वा ऊँ	<i>bōyi bahas tal wōpal bā ū</i>
<i>śā</i>	सू	सु	शकर शहस् तल् व्वपल् वा ऊँ	<i>shēkar shēhas tal wōpal bā ū</i>
<i>rā</i>	रू	रु	रा अर् खराँ रु (इयदेव)	<i>rā ar kharā rū</i>

CONJUNCT CONSONANTS

The following is a list of conjunct consonants. Their names are based on their component parts, the first member being put into the dative, governed by *tal*, below. Thus *kka* is called *kōv kahas tal kōv ka*, i.e. *kōv ka* under *kōv ka*, or *ka* under *ka*; *kea* is called *kōv kahas tal tsāṭuv tsa*, i.e. *tsāṭuv tsa* under *kōv ka*, or *ca* under *ka*; and so on.

When *ya* is the second member of a conjunct consonant it takes the form , which is named *शुतरिख् shutarikh*. Thus, *kya* is written , and is called *कोव्ह क शुतरिख् क* *kōv ka shutarikh kya*, and so on for the others.

When *ra* is the second member of a conjunct consonant it takes the form , which is named *दुतरिख् dutarikh*. Thus, *kra* is written , and is called *कोव्ह क दुतरिख् क* *kōv ka dutarikh kra*, and so on for the others.

Roman.	Nāgarī.	Sārādā.	Roman.	Nāgarī.	Sārādā.	Roman.	Nāgarī.	Sārādā.
kka	क	क	khya	ख	ख	ñkha	ह	ह
kkha	कख	कक	khra	खु	ख	ñkhya	ह्य	ह्य
kña	कुड	ऐ	gna	गण	ग	ñkhyā	ह्या	ह्या
kca	कु	क	gda	गद	ग	nga	ङ	ङ
kna	कण	क	gda	गद	ग	ngya	ङ्य	ङ्य
cta	क	क	gdha	गध	ग	ngyā	ङ्या	ङ्या
kyta	कय	क	gna	ग	ग	ngha	ङ	ङ
ktra	कृ	क	gba	गव	ग	nghya	ङ्य	ङ्य
ktrya	कृय	कृ	gma	गम	ग	nghra	ङ्र	ङ्र
ktva	कृ	कृ	gya	ग्य	ग	nghrā	ङ्रा	ङ्रा
ktha	कथ	कृ	gra	ग	ग	nghrau	ङ्री	ङ्री
kthya	कथ	कृ	grya	ग्य	गृ	ñña	ङ्	ङ्
kna	क	क	gva	ग	ग	ñma	ङ	ङ
knya	कय	कृ	ghna	घ	घ	nya	ङ	ङ
kpa	कप	कृ	ghnya	घ्य	घृ	cca	च	च
kma	कम	कृ	ghma	घम	घृ	ccha	च	च
kya	कय	कृ	ghya	घ्य	घृ	cchra	च	च
kra	क	क	ghra	घ	घृ	cña	च	च
krya	कय	कृ	ñka	ङ	ङ	cma	च	च
kla	क	क	ñkta	ङ	ङ	cya	च	च
kva	क	क	ñktya	ङ	ङ	cra	च	च
krya	कृय	कृ	ñktyā	ङ्या	ङ्या	chya	च	च
kṣa	क्ष	क	ñktyā	ङ्या	ङ्या	chra	च	च
kṣma	क्षम	कृ	ñktau	ङ्री	ङ्री	jga	ज	ज
kṣya	क्षय	कृ	ñkya	ङ	ङ	jja	ज	ज
kṣva	क्ष	कृ	ñkṣa	ङ	ङ			
			ñkṣva	ङ	ङ			

Roman.	Nāgarī.	Sārādā.	Roman.	Nāgarī.	Sārādā.	Roman.	Nāgarī.	Sārādā.
jīha	जिह	𑌕𑌃𑌔	dgha	दघ	𑌔𑌃𑌔	n̄pa	णी	𑌔𑌃𑌔
jūa	जु	𑌕𑌃𑌔	dghra	दघ्र	𑌔𑌃𑌔𑌃𑌔	n̄ma	म	𑌔𑌃𑌔
jūā	जा	𑌕𑌃𑌔	dja	ज	𑌔𑌃𑌔	n̄mā	मा	𑌔𑌃𑌔
jūya	ज्य	𑌕𑌃𑌔	djā	जा	𑌔𑌃𑌔	n̄ya	य	𑌔𑌃𑌔
jma	जम	𑌕𑌃𑌔	d̄dha	दध	𑌔𑌃𑌔	n̄va	व	𑌔𑌃𑌔
jya	जय	𑌕𑌃𑌔	d̄da	दा	𑌔𑌃𑌔			
jra	ज्र	𑌕𑌃𑌔	d̄dha	दध	𑌔𑌃𑌔	tka	क	𑌔𑌃𑌔
jva	जव	𑌕𑌃𑌔	d̄ma	म	𑌔𑌃𑌔	tkra	क	𑌔𑌃𑌔
			d̄ya	य	𑌔𑌃𑌔	tta	त	𑌔𑌃𑌔
n̄ca	च	𑌕𑌃𑌔	d̄ra	र	𑌔𑌃𑌔	ttya	त्य	𑌔𑌃𑌔
n̄cma	चम	𑌕𑌃𑌔				ttra	त्र	𑌔𑌃𑌔
n̄cya	चय	𑌕𑌃𑌔	d̄hya	ह	𑌔𑌃𑌔	ttea	त	𑌔𑌃𑌔
n̄cha	चह	𑌕𑌃𑌔	d̄hra	ह्र	𑌔𑌃𑌔	ttha	त	𑌔𑌃𑌔
n̄ja	ज	𑌕𑌃𑌔				tna	न	𑌔𑌃𑌔
n̄n̄a	ञ	𑌕𑌃𑌔	n̄ta	ट	𑌔𑌃𑌔	tnya	तय	𑌔𑌃𑌔
n̄ya	ज्य	𑌕𑌃𑌔	n̄tā	टा	𑌔𑌃𑌔	tpa	त	𑌔𑌃𑌔
			n̄tha	ठ	𑌔𑌃𑌔	tpra	त	𑌔𑌃𑌔
t̄ta	ट	𑌔𑌃𑌔	n̄thya	य	𑌔𑌃𑌔	tma	त	𑌔𑌃𑌔
t̄tā	टा	𑌔𑌃𑌔	n̄thyau	यौ	𑌔𑌃𑌔	tmya	तय	𑌔𑌃𑌔
t̄tha	ठ	𑌔𑌃𑌔	n̄d	ड	𑌔𑌃𑌔	t̄ya	त	𑌔𑌃𑌔
t̄pa	प	𑌔𑌃𑌔	n̄dya	य	𑌔𑌃𑌔	tra	त	𑌔𑌃𑌔
t̄ya	पय	𑌔𑌃𑌔	n̄dra	ड	𑌔𑌃𑌔	trya	त	𑌔𑌃𑌔
thya	य	𑌔𑌃𑌔	n̄drya	य	𑌔𑌃𑌔	tva	त	𑌔𑌃𑌔
thra	र	𑌔𑌃𑌔	n̄dha	ड	𑌔𑌃𑌔	tsa	त	𑌔𑌃𑌔
dga	ड	𑌔𑌃𑌔	n̄dhā	डा	𑌔𑌃𑌔	tsna	त	𑌔𑌃𑌔
dgya	डय	𑌔𑌃𑌔	n̄ma	म	𑌔𑌃𑌔	tsnya	तय	𑌔𑌃𑌔
			n̄mā	मा	𑌔𑌃𑌔	tsya	तय	𑌔𑌃𑌔

Roman.	Nāgarī.	Saradā.	Roman.	Nāgarī.	Saradā.	Roman.	Nāgarī.	Saradā.
thna	थ	𑖦	nka	क्	𑖧	pva	प्	𑖯
thya	थ्य	𑖦𑖥	nta	क्त	𑖧𑖥	psa	प्स	𑖯𑖥
dga	ङ	𑖦𑖥	ntyā	क्त्थ	𑖧𑖥𑖥	psva	प्स्व	𑖯𑖥𑖥
dgha	ङ्	𑖦𑖥𑖥	ntra	क्त्थ	𑖧𑖥𑖥	bgħa	ब्घ	𑖧𑖥𑖥
dghra	ङ्घ	𑖦𑖥𑖥𑖥	ntha	क्त्थ	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥	bja	ब्ज	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥
dda	ड	𑖦𑖥𑖥	nda	क्त्थ	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥	bda	ब्द	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥
ddyā	ड्य	𑖦𑖥𑖥𑖥	ndra	क्त्थ	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥	bdha	ब्ध	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥
ddha	ड्	𑖦𑖥𑖥𑖥	ndha	क्त्थ	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥	bna	ब्न	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥
ddhya	ड्य	𑖦𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥	ndhra	क्त्थ	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥	bba	ब्ब	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥
dna	ड	𑖦𑖥𑖥	nna	क्त्थ	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥	bbha	ब्भ	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥
dba	ड्	𑖦𑖥𑖥𑖥	npa	क्त्थ	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥	bbhya	ब्भ्य	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥
dbha	ड्भ	𑖦𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥	npra	क्त्थ	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥	bya	ब्य	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥
dbhya	ड्यभ	𑖦𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥	npha	क्त्थ	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥	bra	ब्भ	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥
dma	ड	𑖦𑖥𑖥𑖥	nma	क्त्थ	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥	bva	ब्ब	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥
dya	ड्य	𑖦𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥	nya	क्त्थ	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥	bhna	ब्भ	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥
dra	ड	𑖦𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥	nra	क्त्थ	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥	bhya	ब्भ	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥
drya	ड्य	𑖦𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥	nṣa	क्त्थ	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥	bhra	ब्भ	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥
dva	ड	𑖦𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥	nsa	क्त्थ	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥	bhva	ब्भ	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥
dvya	ड्य	𑖦𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥	pta	क्त्थ	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥	mna	म्भ	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥
dhna	ध	𑖦𑖥𑖥𑖥	ptya	क्त्थ	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥	mpa	म्भ	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥
dhnya	ध्व	𑖦𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥	pna	क्त्थ	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥	mpra	म्भ	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥
dhma	ध्म	𑖦𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥	ppa	क्त्थ	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥	m̐ba	म्भ	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥
dhya	ध्व	𑖦𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥	pma	क्त्थ	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥	mbha	म्भ	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥
dhra	ध	𑖦𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥	pya	क्त्थ	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥	m̐m̐ba	म्भ	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥
dhrya	ध्व	𑖦𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥	pra	क्त्थ	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥	mma	म्भ	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥
dhva	ध्व	𑖦𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥	pla	क्त्थ	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥	m̐ya	म्भ	𑖧𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥𑖥

Roman.	Nāgarī.	Sārada.	Roman.	Nāgarī.	Sārada.	Roman.	Nāgarī.	Sārada.
mra	म	𑖦	rbha	भं	𑖢	śra	श	𑖦
m̐a	𑖦	𑖦	rma	मं	𑖦	śrya	श्र	𑖦𑖦
m̐va	𑖦	𑖦	rya	यं	𑖦	śla	ल	𑖦𑖦
			rla	लं	𑖦	śva	व	𑖦𑖦
yya	य	𑖦	rva	वं	𑖦	śvya	श्व	𑖦𑖦
yva	व	𑖦	r̐sa	र्ग	𑖦	ś̐sa	श	𑖦
			r̐sa	र्ष	𑖦			
rr	रं	𑖦	rsa	र्म	𑖦	sta	ट	𑖦
rka	कं	𑖦	rha	हं	𑖦	stya	थ	𑖦𑖦
rkha	खं	𑖦				stra	ड	𑖦𑖦
rga	गं	𑖦	lka	क	𑖦	strya	ढ	𑖦𑖦
rg̐ha	घं	𑖦	lpa	प	𑖦	st̐va	ह	𑖦𑖦
rca	चं	𑖦	lpha	फ	𑖦	st̐vā	हा	𑖦𑖦
rcha	छं	𑖦	lma	म	𑖦	sth	ष	𑖦𑖦
rja	जं	𑖦	lya	य	𑖦	sthā	षा	𑖦𑖦
r̐ta	टं	𑖦	lra	र	𑖦	̐na	ण	𑖦𑖦
r̐tha	ठं	𑖦	lla	ल	𑖦	̐nya	ण्य	𑖦𑖦
r̐da	डं	𑖦	lva	व	𑖦	̐pa	प	𑖦𑖦
rd̐ha	ढं	𑖦				spra	प्र	𑖦𑖦
r̐a	णं	𑖦	vna	व	𑖦	spha	प्फ	𑖦𑖦
rta	तं	𑖦	vya	य	𑖦	sma	प्म	𑖦𑖦
r̐tha	थं	𑖦	vra	व	𑖦	̐ya	य	𑖦𑖦
r̐da	दं	𑖦	vva	व	𑖦	̐va	व	𑖦𑖦
rd̐ha	धं	𑖦	̐ca	च	𑖦	ska	क्क	𑖦𑖦
rpa	पं	𑖦	̐ya	य	𑖦𑖦	skha	क्ख	𑖦𑖦
rpha	फं	𑖦	̐na	न	𑖦𑖦	sta	क्त	𑖦𑖦
rba	वं	𑖦	̐ya	य	𑖦𑖦	stya	क्त	𑖦𑖦

Rom.	Nāg.	Śār.	Rom.	Nāg.	Śār.	Rom.	Nāg.	Śār.
<i>stra</i>	स्त्र	𑖦𑖩	<i>sma</i>	स्म	𑖦𑖪	<i>hpa</i>	ह्र	𑖪𑖩
<i>stva</i>	स्त्व	𑖦𑖩𑖪	<i>smya</i>	स्म्य	𑖦𑖪𑖩	<i>hna</i>	ह्र	𑖪𑖩
<i>stha</i>	स्थ	𑖦𑖩𑖪𑖩	<i>sya</i>	स्य	𑖦𑖪𑖩	<i>hma</i>	ह्र	𑖪𑖩
<i>sna</i>	स्न	𑖦𑖩𑖪	<i>sra</i>	स्र	𑖦𑖪𑖩	<i>hya</i>	ह्र	𑖪𑖩
<i>snya</i>	स्न्य	𑖦𑖩𑖪𑖩	<i>sva</i>	स्व	𑖦𑖩𑖪	<i>hra</i>	ह्र	𑖪𑖩
<i>spa</i>	स्प	𑖦𑖩𑖪𑖩	<i>ssa</i>	स्स	𑖦𑖩𑖪𑖩	<i>hla</i>	ह्र	𑖪𑖩
<i>spha</i>	स्फ	𑖦𑖩𑖪𑖩	<i>sha</i>	श्र	𑖦𑖩𑖪𑖩	<i>hva</i>	ह्र	𑖪𑖩

NUMERALS

Roman.	Nāgari.	Śaradā.	Kāshmirī (Nāgari).	Kāshmirī (Śaradā).	Trans- literation.
1	१	०	अख	𑖦𑖩𑖪	<i>akh</i>
2	२	१	बह	𑖪𑖩𑖪	<i>zah</i>
3	३	३	च	𑖪𑖩𑖪	<i>trē</i>
4	४	२	चोर्	𑖪𑖩𑖪	<i>tsör</i>
5	५	५	पाँह	𑖪𑖩𑖪	<i>pōtsh</i>
6	६	७	षह	𑖪𑖩𑖪	<i>shēh</i>
7	७	१	सथ	𑖪𑖩𑖪	<i>sath</i>
8	८	३	ऐट्	𑖪𑖩𑖪	<i>aiṭh</i>
9	९	७	नव्	𑖪𑖩𑖪	<i>nav</i>
10	१०	००	दह	𑖪𑖩𑖪	<i>dah</i>
11	११	००	काह	𑖪𑖩𑖪	<i>kāh</i>
20	२०	१०	बुह	𑖪𑖩𑖪	<i>wuh</i>
30	३०	३०	ब्रह	𑖪𑖩𑖪	<i>trah</i>
100	१००	०००	हथ	𑖪𑖩𑖪	<i>hath</i>
1000	१०००	००००	सास	𑖪𑖩𑖪	<i>sās</i>

APPENDIX

THE ALPHABET IN SAIVA MYSTICISM

As very little is known regarding the mystic character attributed to the letters of the alphabet in Kashmīr Śaivism, I have obtained the following account of this complicated subject from Mahāmahōpadhyāya Paṇḍit Mukunda Rāma Śāstri. It was written by him in Sanskrit, and it is so full of technical terms of and references to Śaiva philosophy that only an expert in the subject could interpret it. Professor Barnett has most kindly come to my rescue, and the following translation is from his competent hand. Everyone who is interested in this branch of mysticism will be grateful to him for the care and labour that he has expended in order to guide us laymen through a maze of considerable intricacy. Additions and notes by Professor Barnett himself are enclosed between square brackets.

The account is interesting from another point of view. It contains a quotation from a hitherto unknown treatise, the *Mahā-naya-prakāśa*. The importance of this work consists in the fact that it was not written in Sanskrit, but in an old form of Prakrit from which apparently modern Kāshmīri is descended. The passage quoted is tantalizingly short, but I am endeavouring to obtain a copy of the complete work, which promises to throw much light on the disputed question as to what form of Prakrit was current in North-Western India in ancient times.


[*Note*.—According to the Āgamas, Paramêśvara by the agency of his Śakti stirs up the Bindu (also called Śiva-tattva, Kuṇḍalinī, Śuddha-māyā, Kuṭila, Śabda-brahma, Śabda-tattva, etc.). The Bindu is the insentient material cause whence in consequence of this disturbance arise the six Adhvans (viz. the Mantra, Pada, Varṇa, Bhuvana,

Tattva, and Kalā Adhvans); and it is the real substrate of all differences of condition (e.g. rise and dissolution of the cosmos) which are described as *upādhis* to the unconditioned Śiva. The Bindu is a *parigraha-śakti* or "possessed Power" of Śiva, but is in no sense identical with him.

From the Bindu there emerges the Praṇava, and from the latter the letters, forming the Varṇādhvan, of which the consonants are lifeless bodies and the vowels their life; the combinations thereof form eighty-one words, the Padādhvan, whence are produced eleven spells, the Mantrādhvan. The Varṇas, Mantras, and Padas together form the Vēdas and Āgamas.

The Tattvādhvan is composed of the Bindu or Śiva-tattva, the Sadāśiva-tattva (an efflux from the Bindu without change in the equipoise of the Powers of Action and Will in Paramēśvara), Mahēśvara-tattva or Īśvara-tattva (when Will is depressed and Action intensified in the Bindu), and Śuddha-vidyā-tattva (when the reverse is the case).

Some identify the Śiva-tattva with the Nāda, and the Śakti-tattva with the Bindu. But the Pauṣkarāgama states clearly that the Bindu is as described above, and that it is that whence the "complex of sound", *nādātmikō yōgaḥ*, arises immediately, in which it moves, and into which it dissolves (ii, 3).]

THE UTTERANCE "OK^u SAM GOR^u", AND ITS SIGN .

The object of using this sign is this. In the first place the upper horizontal line — indicates the letter *a*, that is to say the Uppermost (*anuttara*), or Śiva, transcending the Kula¹ and secondless (*akula advaitasvarūpa*). The

[¹ The Kula consists of *Jiva* (individual soul), *Prakṛti* (primal matter), space, time, ether, earth, water, fire, and air. The state of grace in which all these are conceived as one with Brahma or Śiva is *Kulācāra*. On this basis is built up the Kaula or Kaulika cult, which differs from

two middle perpendicular lines indicate all the vowels from *ā* onwards, while the two outer curved lines *↘ ↙* represent a plough (*hala*), and therefore indicate all the consonants (*hal*). The whole sign *ॐ* therefore indicates the totality of all the letters from *a* to *h*.

Its utterance "*ok^u saṁ gōr^u*".—*ok^u*, One, absolute, secondless; *saṁ*, the principle of Consciousness (*saṁvit-tattva*); *gōr^u*, known by the Intuition of the Ego. Supply "by all". This "One", the Syllable indicating the secondless Brahma and expressed as a unity, is established (*siddha*) in all mystic Āgamas. The sense is: The Supreme Lord's secondless Power (*Śakti*), which consists of the Uppermost (Anuttara) and the Visarga, and (thus) begins with *a* and ends with *ha*—which has the form of pure Consciousness, which contains in germ the whole universe, and in which the principles of being are perfectly comprehended—bestows transcendental power (*siddhi*), viz. enjoyment and salvation.

In the various Āgamas it is laid down that the Word-brahma (*śabda-brahma*), consisting of the letters from *a* to *ha*, and having the form of a secondless Consciousness, exists as the total universe.

To this effect are two verses in the book *Mahā-naya-prakāśa*, consisting of verses composed in very ancient vernacular, viz.:

akula chutta vyāpaka bōdhārani |
kulagata ahalī śatta gumūna ||
ganthi-cakka-ādhāra-vidhārana |
sānēkarūpa akkai vijayūna ||

the Śākta cult in being more gross (besides details of ritual, etc.). It is expounded in the *Mahānirvāna-tantra*, vii, 95 ff., and elsewhere, *ibid.*; and a plain unvarnished account of its ritual, in all its nastiness, is given in Tarunācārya's *Kula-rahasya*. See also the account in Viśvakōśa, s.v. *Kulācāra*. The speech of Bhairavānanda in Rājasekhara's *Karpūra-mañjari* (Konow's transl., p. 235) gives a good idea of the Kaula as others saw him.]

The meaning of it is: *akula*, form transcending the *Kula*¹; *chutta*, touching; *vyāpaka*, omnipresent; *bōdhārāṇi*, seat of the rise of perception; then *kulagata*, existing in the *Kula*; *ahalī*, 'having the form of *ahal*', i.e. of the consonants without *a*, this being a compound formed with the elision of the middle word (*a-varjita-hal* becoming *a-hal*), i.e. being in the form of consonants, but being devoid of this *a*, which has the form of a definite line²; *śatta*, Power, the Power *Ahalā*.

Or again (we may derive *ahalī* thus): *lāṭi*, she takes or pervades the letters *a* and *ha*, the first and the last sounds (of the alphabet), as she consists in utterance of the letters.


Or again: *ahal* is she in whom there exists no *hal*, no consonant; scil. the Kuṇḍalinī in the form of breath, not written down, only in the course of utterance.

Ganthi-cakka-ādhāra-vidhārana, shatterer of bonds, circles, and bases; *gumūna*, murmuring, buzzing, as it were, let her make a noise, utter a sound. From her place the *Ahalā*, scil. the Power consisting of the power of upward breath—shattering in her condition of uprising the bonds, circles, and bases—opening a passage for herself to rise aloft—shall reveal herself, becoming manifest in sound. [This refers to the Tantric notion which identifies Śakti with the Kuṇḍalinī force resting coiled round the Linga in the *mālādhāra* of the microcosm.] *Sā akkai*, although thus secondless in character; *anēkarūpa*, manifold; *vijayūna*, may she prosper!

To the same effect (it is said) in the *Amāvāsya-trimśikā*:

yō 'sau parāparaḥ śāntaḥ śivaḥ sarvagatō mahān |
apramēyō hy anantaś ca vyāpī sarvśvarēśvaraḥ ||
tasyāsti sahajā śaktiḥ sarvaśaktimayī parā |

¹ See the preceding footnote.

² Scil. the top horizontal line in the figure .

icchājñānakriyātvēna sâvâikā bahudhā sthitā ||
tasyā udītarūpāyā yē bhēdāḥ kāryatō gatāḥ |
tān antas tu samāhṛtya sāmāsyē śivē sthitā ||

"That Śiva who is at once Higher and Lower, still, omnipresent, great, beyond scope of (logical) perception, and boundless, all-pervading, lord of all lords, possesses a congenital Higher Power which is constituted of all powers. Though One only, She exists in various forms as Will, Thought, and Action. The divisions which issue as products from Her when She is in the State of being aroused, She when in equilibrium gathers together within Herself, and (then) She rests in Śiva."

The object of study being then the Power, as it is said in the Āgamas:

sthūlā viśvatanur dēvī sūkṣmā cīnmatrarūpiṇī |
parā nityōditā śāntā brahmasattāsvarūpiṇī ||

"The Goddess when gross forms the body of the universe; when subtile, She has only the form of spirit: Higher, Eternal is She called, still, essentially composed of the being of Brahma."

(The author of the *Mayā-naya-prakāśa*) thrice praises firstly the Goddess (mentioned) at the end (above) as being Higher, scil. in the words *akula chutta vyāpaka bodhāravi*, next (the Goddess) in the subtile form, as both Higher and Lower, scil. in the words *kulagata . . . vidhārana*; and then (the Goddess) in gross form, as Lower, scil. in the words *anēkarūpa*: and (he means to say as follows): "She, though appearing in three forms, is one," and "may She be successful in Her essential nature of Selfhood, as identical with the Self: pervading the *akula* sphere; and acting as *araṇi* (fire-stick), scil. mother, to perceptions, i.e. phenomena; and manifold in form, though one, may she conquer! Essentially consisting in infinite manifestation.

may She without check, by repulse of opponents, prosper in sole monarchy, i.e. in empire".¹

[The author then proceeds to expound in detail the theory of the revelation of the Power in the form of the letters, with which may be compared the *Śiva-sūtra-vimarśinī*, ii, 1, 3, 7, and 19, etc., in the Kashmir Series of

[¹ The following extract from Shrinivas Iyengar's translation of *Śiva-sūtra-vimarśinī*, in *Indian Thought*, vol. iii, p. 360, note, throws light on the subjects above dealt with. The spelling of Sanskrit words has been altered to agree with the system of transliteration used in this paper :—

"Parā Śakti is the mother of the universe. She may be conceived as Śiva-śakti, the consciousness of Īvara. She is Consciousness, Pure, Universal, and Unlimited. Hence she is Independence (*svacchanda*) ; she is the vibratory energy that drives the cosmos. Being consciousness, she is symbolized * by Light ; as the light of the sun makes the whole world visible, so she makes cognition desire and muscular action visible to the man that exercises these functions, i.e. she makes him aware of them. Man in his own real nature is Śiva, but attached to a body and mind. When these latter act, i.e. when cognition, etc., take place, she turns his attention on them and makes him identify himself with them. She is hence Mahā-Māyā, the great deceiver. She is also Mahā-Śakti, the driver of the cosmos ; in this she is symbolized by Sound, the greatest manifestation of energy outside us. As Sound symbolizes this aspect of her, individual sounds are the bodies, physical manifestations of parts of her, viz. her attendant divinities, *dēvis*, *yōginis*, *Śaktis*, etc. By themselves, these sounds that constitute the mantras are merely, as it were, dead sound ; they become vitalized when one acquires mantravīrya and makes the mantras charged with mystic power (Śakti). This is done by the "rousing" of Kuṇḍalinī. Kuṇḍalinī is Parā Śakti herself, or rather, a minified replica of her, residing in a man's body. In the case of ordinary men, Kuṇḍalinī is potential merely ; she resides in the shape of a serpent coiled round his heart. By the word "heart" is not meant the physiological organ, but the centre of the body imagined as a hollow and filled with ākāśa. Ākāśa is sound conceived not as sensation within the brain, but as an objective entity. Such an ākāśa fills the inside of the body. In its centre, which is the heart, 'the buddhi guha,' there is a dot of Light. It is the Śiva, the representative of the supreme in the microcosm. As Śiva's Śakti surrounds Him in the cosmos, so in man this dot of Light (bindu) is surrounded by the Śakti in the shape of the sleeping serpent. 'Churning' with the bindu makes the coiled serpent straight."]

* "Symbolized" is hardly adequate ; "cosmically revealed, or embodied" would be nearer.—L. D. B.

Texts and Studies, with Mr. Shrinivas Iyengar's translation (*Indian Thought*, vol. iii), and then he goes on to give the following account of the mystic significance of each letter, with which the curious reader may compare the exposition in *Śiva-sūtra-vimarśinī*, p. 60 f.]

- A : the first element in the conception of the Uppermost Ego, perfect egoity essentially transcendental in nature.
- Ā : the sinking to rest in that same (perfect egoity), hence the Power of Joy, consisting in the combination of two a's.
- I : the Power of Will, styled Aghōrā, consisting of an instinct towards external self-manifestation amidst the union consisting of the equilibrium of Śiva.
- Ī : the same when mistress (*īśitrī*) and, as it were, fallen to rest in the Self, hence composed of the combination of two i's.
- U : the Power of Thought in the form of an opening out (*unmēṣa*) of a universe, while there is in (the Power of) Will an instinct outwards.
- Ū : a condition revealing deficiency in the principle of Consciousness, owing to the excess of the object of thought, while this (Power of Thought) is still undivided like (the image) of a town in a mirror.
- Ṛ, Ṝ : as the twofold Will reposing upon the realm of the Void touches the luminous principle (*tējas*) by the agency of the Power of Thought, it reveals itself in the sound *R* like the lightning-flash and the lightning.¹
- Ṝ, Ṝ̄ : when the same (Will) advances far in the realm of the Void, and owing to a certain deficiency of the Power of Thought assumes the form of wood and stone, it reveals itself in the same way as

¹ See note on next page.

the lightning-flash and lightning,¹ by means of the sound *L* because of its solid nature; hence these things (wood, etc.) are similarly eternal, because they sink to rest solely in the Self. The term "neuter" is applied, because (the *l* and *ḷ*) are unable to generate any other radical letter (*bīja*, a mystical letter forming the essential part of the spell of a deity), owing to their lack of instinct outwards.

Ē: a triangular radical (*bīja*) due to the predominance of the Uppermost whilst the Uppermost and Joy are proceeding in Will, (its triangular form being) because of the equilibrium of Will, Thought, and Action.

AI: a prolongation owing to greater (vocalic?) sound, as a result of the extreme extension of the same two (scil. the Uppermost, represented by *a*, and Joy, represented by *ā*) in Will (the letter *i*) and the Mistress (the *ī*).

Ō: having the form of an extension of the Uppermost and Joy, due to the desire for manifestation outwards, in the Power of Thought (when the latter is) in the condition in which the universe opens out into manifestation.

AU: as this is an extreme prolongation of the same (vowel *ō*), it is a trident-radical letter (*triśula-bīja*), because Will, Thought, and Action are distinct in it.

[¹ Cf. *Śiva-sūtra-vimarsinī*, p. 61, and n. 39, *ibid*. The note says: "As the illumination (*vidyōtana*) of the lightning-flash, i.e. the latter is slightly superior, so the same Will, taking the form of the letter *R̥*, is like the lightning-flash; the illumination of the latter, i.e. a slight superiority (of the former), is the *R̄*, and the sound *R* is the seed of Fire, consisting of radiance.

Similarly, Will when resembling the lightning-flash is *L̥*; and so to speak the illumination of the same, being slightly superior, is *L̄*, and the sound *L*, being solid of nature, is the seed of the Earth."]]

AM: a Power-inspired intuition for the first time of the universe, so far (as it yet exists), as being the Bindu, because it consists of sensation.

AH: an intuition of the predominance of Power in the above-mentioned Uppermost (when the latter is) in unbroken union with the Power of Joy, (so that the Uppermost and the Power of Joy are intuited) as being in the form of the Visarga.

The Powers of the Supreme Lord are five; each of these Powers again is capable of a fivefold combination.

Hence the *K*-series issuing from the Uppermost, the *C*-series arising from Will when in her essential form, the *T*-series springing from the same Will when she is in the double form of being disturbed and not disturbed, the *T*-series, and *P*-series which arises from the opening out (of the Power so as to form a universe), have each five members. Of these the presiding goddess of the *A*-series is Brāhmī, that of the *K*-series is Māhēśvarī, and their essential nature is that of the five elements of primitive matter, scil. earth, water, fire, wind, and ether. Of the *C*-series the presiding goddess is Vārāhī, and they have the five subtile elements, scil. smell, fluidity, form, touch, and sound. Of the *T*-series the presiding goddess is Kaumārī, and they have the five organs of action, scil. penis, anus, foot, hand, and speech - organs. Of the *T*-series the presiding goddess is Cāmundā, and they have the five organs of perception, scil. smell-organ, tongue, eye, skin, and ears. Of the *P*-series the presiding goddess is Carcikā, and they have the five tattvas, scil. thought-organ, Buddhi, Ahankāra (personal egoity), Prakṛti (Primal Matter), and Puruṣa (individual soul).

The semi-vowels have the four tattvas, Niyati, Rāga, Kalā, and Vidyā [see Kashmir Shaivism, p. 75 ff., 153 f.], and Mayā and Kāla are included in them [see *ibid.*]. The letters *śa*, *ṣa*, and *sa* represent Īśvara, Sadāśiva, and

Power; the *ha* is a grosser form of the above-mentioned Visarga.

In order to show that in the *pratyāhāra* composed of the Uppermost and the letter *ha* (scil. *aḥ*, the Visarga) the whole universe, composed of objects and terms of speech and constituting the Six Adhvans,¹ sinks to rest in the Uppermost, the *kūṭa-bīja* (topmost radical) *kṣa* is shown at the end (of the alphabet), because it is a compound of the letter *ka*, which is the Uppermost, and of the letter *sa*, which is composed of Power. Thus the determination of the letters.

Similarly we have above explained the nature of the radical *ॐ*, which is composed of the Great Spells, and indicates Śiva as identical with Consciousness composing the thirty-six Tattvas.

[Regarding the above, see *Śiva-sūtra-vimarśinī*, pp. 45 (and note) and 101, with Shrinivas Iyengar's translation, *ut supra*. The Śakti, by combination with objects, is divided into two (*bījas* or vowels and *yōnis* or consonants), into nine (nine vargas of letters), and into fifty (letters in all). She thus becomes *mālinī* or a series. From her issue, after the twelve vowels, bindu and visarga, twenty-five letters, *ka-ma*, corresponding to the universe (the *ka*-series coming from the Śakti of *a*, the *ca*-series from that of *i*, etc.); then come the four letters *ya, ra, la, va*, which are called *antastha* because they are established in the Puruṣa as the sheath (*kañcuka*), consisting of *niyatī, kalā, rāga, vidyā*, etc. (see *Śiva-sūtra-vimarśinī*, p. 62); then come *śa, ṣa, sa, ha*, called *uṣma* because they emerge (*unmiṣita*) when differentiation vanishes and unity of being is grasped (*ibid.*); then comes the *kṣa* or *prāṇa-bīja*, composed of *ka* from Anuttara, and *sa* from *ha*, or Anāhata, and hence = *aham*, the consciousness of all being in self, the universe formed by the Śaktis Anuttara and Anāhata.]

¹ [Namely, the Mantra, Pada, Varṇa, Bhuvana, Tattva, and Kalā Adhvans.]

XVIII

THE SUTTA NIPĀTA IN A SANSKRIT VERSION FROM EASTERN TURKESTAN

By A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE

WHILE preparing a descriptive register of the manuscript fragments recovered by Sir Aurel Stein from the sand-buried ruins of Khadalik in the course of his second tour of exploration in Eastern Turkestan, I have recently discovered a portion of the Sanskrit version of the Sutta Nipāta. It is contained in fragments of five consecutive folios.¹ According to Fausbøll, in the reasoned statement in the Introduction to his Translation of the Sutta Nipāta (in SBE., vol. x), certain portions of that work, including the Aṭṭhavagga, are "very old", containing as they do "some remnants of Primitive Buddhism" (loc. cit., p. xi). It is just the Aṭṭhavagga which happens to be preserved in the fragments, and it is this fact which imparts a particular interest to the discovery.

The fragments measure about 6 × 3 inches, and are corresponding parts of the middle of their respective folios. Their right and left ends are broken off, and with the left end the folio numbers and string-holes are lost. As may be seen from the first fragment (obv., ll. 5, 6; rev., ll. 1, 2, quoted below), the maximum number of the surviving akṣaras in a line is 21-3. The text of that fragment is written in śloka verses; and that fact enables us, by comparing the surviving Sanskrit text with the full Pāli text, to determine that the full number of akṣaras in

¹ By Sir A. Stein they are marked Kha. 0012. b, and belong to those Khadalik finds which he purchased from the Khotanese trader Badruddin; see his *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, vol. i, pp. 236-7. In the Register they are No. 517.

a complete line of the Sanskrit text must have been from about 56 to 60. It follows that the surviving fragments represent about one-third of the complete folios. The latter accordingly must have measured about 18×3 inches. The lower margin (looked at from the obverse side) is intact, but the upper margin is badly damaged, though marks of the full width of the folio having been 3 inches are left, showing that the page bears six lines of writing. The writing, unfortunately, is much sand-rubbed, so as to render it in some places only faintly visible, or even altogether illegible. In other places, especially in the better preserved bottom lines of the obverses and top lines of the reverses, the writing is well preserved and thoroughly legible. Moreover, in many places the faintly visible writing can be confidently restored on the basis of the corresponding Pāli text, though in other places where the two versions differ, the identity of the faintly visible letters is very doubtful. The most severely damaged by sand-rubbing is the fourth fragment.

In the subjoined romanized transcript the limits of the surviving text in the several lines are indicated by ringlets; illegible akṣaras are shown by asterisks, and semi-legible ones are placed in round brackets, while missing akṣaras which can be readily restored from the Pāli are placed in square brackets. The Pāli version is given in parallel columns, and such portions of it as actually correspond to portions of the surviving Sanskrit text are printed in italics. It is extracted from the Pāli Text Society's "New Edition", published in 1913. The verse numbers (shown in antique type), of course, are an editorial addition; neither the Pāli nor the Sanskrit original has any continuous numbering of the verses. In the (now discovered) Sanskrit MS. there is no numbering of them even within each chapter (*varga*), such as there appears to be in the Pāli MSS. The surviving Sanskrit version corresponds to four suttas of

the Aṭṭhavagga, or the Fourth Section of the Sutta Nipāta, viz. the 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th suttas, printed on pp. 160-6 of the New Edition.

Fragment I. Obverse

PTS. Edition, p. 160

1. 1. °o madgībhūto visva°
 1. 2. °praśnaṁ [pr]ṣṭavān¹ ||
 Mai(thune)hyanu(yukta)° [814] *Methunam anuyuttassa,*
 1. 3. °ttau ajñātārthāś ca me
 śrāvaka(ā) bhaviṣya(nt)i
 sūtrapadaṁ ca° etc.
 1. 4. [ta]syāṁ velāyāṁ idam
 arthakavargīyaṁ sūtraṁ
 bhāṣate sma² ~ Maithu° [815] *Methunam anuyuttassa*
 mussat' evāpi sāsanāṁ |
 miccā ca paṭipajjati etaṁ
 tasmim anāriyaṁ ||
 1. 5. °yo niṣevate ~
 yānaṁ bhr(ā)ntaṁ yathā
 loke hīna(m āhu) pṛthag-
 janam° [816] *Eko pubbe caritvāna*
 methunaṁ yo nivesati |
 yānaṁ bhantaṁ va taṁ
 loke hīnaṁ āhu puthu-
 janam ||
 [817] °Yaso kitti ca yā pubbe
 hāyat' evāpi tassa sā |
 etaṁ pi disvā sikkhetha
 methunaṁ vippahātave ||
 [818] Saṁkappehi pareto so
 kapaṇo tiya jhāyati |
 sutvā paresaṁ nigghosaṁ
 maṁku hoti tathāvidho ||
 1. 6. [ka]panaṁ dhyāyato
 bata :³ śrutvā dhīrasya
 nāgghoṣaṁ⁴ maṁ(ku)r
 bhavati ta(dvi)° [819] °Atha satthāni kurute
 paravādehi codito | esa

¹ Prose introductory narrative to the 7th varga, or the Tissametteyya-sutta in PTS. ed., p. 160. Verse 814 is included in it, similarly, e.g., to v. 450 included in the prose narrative of the Subhāsita-sutta in the Mahāvagga, PTS. ed., p. 78.

² Prone comma and double dot as marks of interpunction, here and elsewhere.

³ Verses 817, 819, lost in Sanskrit MS.

⁴ Sic, read *nirgghoṣaṁ*.

Reverse

- l. 1. °ca sarvbaśaḥ
sa c-āva maithune yukto
ma(nda)va)tparidr(śyate •)

- l. 2. °[pūrvba](pare)sadā ~
ten-ānyam n-[ai]va man-
yeta(ni)rvbāpa**(hābha)-
vet***

- l. 3. °² (tam) ekasmim sama(ye bhagavām Śrāva)styām var(śam
atigato deva)*°
l. 4. °rbhūto bhagavatā sārđham sa(immoditya)*I °°(na puna)
varśa*°
l. 5. °mā (dā)ya pātracivaram ye°
l. 6. °r*āṭha (pra)da*I*°e°

Fragment II. Obverse

- l. 1. °***tyā bud[đha]śara°
l. 2. °*ya*****buddha*(agarā)
***(riṇām) pravra[ji]°

- l. 3. °ṣu viśuddhim āhuḥ
yan ni(śr)[tās ta]tra (śu)-
[bham va]da(nto) pra(tye-
kasa)°

khv-assa mahāgedho mo-
savajjam pagāhati ||

- [820] Paṇḍito ti samaññāto
ekacariyam adhiṭṭhito |
athāpi methune yutto
mando va parikissati ||

- [821]¹ Etam ādinavam ānavā
muni pubbāpare idha |
ekacariyam dāḥam ka-
yirā na nisevetha methu-
nam ||

- [822] Vivekam yeva sikkhetha
etaḍ ariyānam uttamam |
tena seṭṭho na maññetha
sa ve nibbānasantike ||

- [823] ¹Rittassa munino carato
kāmesu anapekhino | og-
hatiṇṇassa pihayanti kā-
mesu gathitā pajā ||

PTS. Edition, p. 161

- [824] Idh' eva suddhi iti vādi-
yanti nāññesu dhammesu
visuddhim āhu | yam
nissitā tattha subham
vadānā paccekasaccesu
puṭhā nivīṭṭhā ||

¹ Verses 821, 823, lost in Sanskrit MS.

² Line 3 contains a part of the prose narrative which introduces the 8th varga, or the Paśūrasutta in PTS. ed., p. 161, and which extends down to obv. l. 2 of frag. II. The 7th varga must have concluded in the lost portion of l. 2.

1. 4. °kāmā'pi sado vigā(hya ~) [825] *Te vādakāmā parisāṇi
vigayha bālaṃ dahanti
mithu aññamaññaṃ | va-
denti te aññasitā katho-
jaṃ pasamsakāmā kusalā
vadānā ||*
- Yuktaḥ kathāyām(sadaso [826] *Yutto kathāyām parisāya
majjhe pasamsam iccham
vinighāti hoti | apāha-
tasmiṃ pana maṃku hoti
nindāya so kuppati vand-
hameṣi ||*
1. 5. °(t pa)ridevate dīnamanā [827] *Yam assa vādaṃ parihi-
nam āhu apāhataṃ pañ-
haviṃsaṃsakāse | paride-
vati socati hīnavādo upa-
ccagāmaṇ'ti anutthuyāti ||*
1. 6. °*ttān [828] *Ete vivāda samaṇesu jātā
etesu uggahāti nighāti hoti |
etam pi disvā virame ka-
thojjaṃ na h'aññadattḥ'
atthi pasamsalābhā ||*
- eteṣu c = °dgh(ā)tanighā-
tam eti ~
- Praśamsito vā punar attra [829] *Pasamsito vā pana tattha
hoti akkhāya vādaṃ pari-
sāya majjhe | so hassati
upamati-cca tena pap-
puyya tam atṭhaṃ yathā
mano ahū ||*
- bha°

Reverse

PTS. Edition, p. 162

1. 1. °bhūmir [830] *Yā uppati sāssa vighāta-
bhūmi mānātimānaṃ va-
date paṇ'eso | etam pi
disvā na vivādayetha na
hi tena suddhiṃ kusalā
vadanti ||*
- mānātimānaṃ vadate ca
mūḍhaḥ evaṃ hi dṛṣṭbā
na vighā(ta)°
- [831] *Sūro yathā rājakhādāya
puṭṭho abhigajjam eti
paṭisūram iccham | ye-*

1. 4. °kasya¹ patnī Māgandikam parivrājakam etad avoca||
 °Raktasya*°
 1. 5. °raktasya hi syād avakṛṣṭasāyā mādhasya śāyā sahas(ā-
 nupī)°²
 1. 6. padeṣu cakkrāpi sahasrāṇi : sanābhikāni sanemikā(ni)°

Reverse

1. 1. °Māgandikasya parivrājakasya patnī tasyām velāyām
 gāthām bhā(ṣate)°
 1. 2. °(driṣam) padam Atha bhaga[vā]n utkāśanaśabdā⁴ ak[ā]rṣād
 a(tha) Māgandika*°
 1. 3. °[ve]lāyām gāthām bhāṣa(te sma) || Rakto (naro bhavati) hi
 (gadga)dasvaro (dvi)°⁵
 1. 4. °[r]ivrājakah (bhagavantam) ***** (gacchantam dṛṣṭvā ca)
 punaḥ°
 1. 5. °bhāṣate sma ~ || (Rakto naro bha)°⁶
 1. 6. °(ye)*ya**i°

Fragment IV. Obverse

PTS. Edition, p. 164

1. 1. °nā (āśliṣṭa ?)°⁷
 1. 2. °(lāyām) **** (arthaka)-
 [vargī](yām) gāth[ām]
 (bhāṣita ?) * || *****°
 1. 3. °Atha bhagavān asmin
 nidāne [a]smin pra(karaṇe)
 a[nyam] arthōtp(ā)° [836] Etādisaṇ ce ratanaṁ na
 icchasi nāriṁ narindehi
 1. 4. °*bahujanyaṁ prthuśru- bahuhi patthitaṁ | diṭṭhi-
 tam yāvad deva manuṣy(e)- gataṁ śīlavatānupijvitaṁ

¹ Complete *Māgandikasya*.² See *Divyāvadāna*, p. 517, l. 18; also PTS., Comm. on *Dhammapada*, vol. i, pt. ii, p. 201; vol. iii, p. 195.³ Complete *sahasānupijita* (Pāli *sahasānupijita*).⁴ See *Divyāvadāna*, p. 517, ll. 25, 26.⁵ Ibid., p. 518, l. 1.⁶ Ibid., p. 518, l. 12.⁷ Reading of faint traces uncertain; might be *asreṣṭha*.⁸ The traces, though faint, seem clear enough, but are not intelligible; one expects *bhāṣate sma*, or such like. The *gāthā* in question, which stood on the lost portion of the folio, must have been v. 835 in PTS. ed., p. 163.

bhyaḥ) samyak(prārth?)¹

1. 5. °(gr)hitam
 dr̥ṣṭbā hi dr̥ṣṭīr vya(pa)-
 hāya sarvbā (hy ā)dhy-
 ātmat(o)ṣa°

1. 6. °(pra)vadanti santah
 Na dr̥ṣṭato na śrut(i)t(o
 na) c=āpi śilavraten=
 (aiva)°

Reverse

1. 1. °mando² py aha(m) m(o)-
 mu(ha) eva dharm(o)
 (dr̥)ṣṭād (i)h=ā[ke] p[r]-
 (ati)[yā]n[t]i śuddhi(m)

bhavūpapattiṃ ca vadesi
 kīdisaṃ ||

- [837] Idam vadāmi'ti na tassa
 hoti dhammesunīcheyya
 samuggahitam | passaṇ
 ca diṭṭhisu anuggahāya
 ajjhattasantiṃ pacinam
 adassam ||

- [838] Vinīchayā yāni pakappi-
 tāni te ve muni brāsi
 anuggahāya | ajjhatta-
 santi'ti yam etam attham
 kathan nu dhīrehi pave-
 ditam tam ||

- [839] Na diṭṭhiyā na sutiya
 na nāḥena śilabbatenāpi
 na suḍḍhim āha | adiṭṭhi-
 yā assutiya aññāyā asilātā
 abbatā no pi tena ||

- [840] Ete ca nissajja anugga-
 hāya santo anissāya bha-
 vaṃ na jappe | ² [No ce
 kira diṭṭhiyā na sutiya
 na nāḥena śilabbatenāpi
 visuḍḍhim āha | adiṭṭhiya
 assutiya aññāyā asilātā
 abbatā no pi tena ||]

PTS. Edition, p. 165, l. 3

maññe-m-aham momu-
 ham eva dhammam
 diṭṭhiyā eke paccenti
 suḍḍhiṃ ||

¹ Line 4 clearly contains a paraphrase of v. 836, as part of the prose introductory narrative.

² The four lines, within square brackets, in the Pāli version, would seem to be an interpolation. There was, apparently, no counterpart to them in the Sanskrit version. See below, p. 720.

² Read *manye*.

l. 2. Satyam it[y] e(va va)deta
(brāhma) (mr̥ṣ-êti) vā kim
prava(detha ke)[na •] ****

l. 3. g[r]āme * na sâ * (pata ?)
***** sa ***** °

l. 4. **** (vicareta) loke vigṛhya
*** ai ***** °

l. 5. °a(nūpa) ***** (nive)°

[841] Diṭṭhiñ ca nissāya anu-
pucchamāno samuggahi-
tesu pamoham āgā | ito ca
nāddakkhi aṇum pi sañ-
ñam tasmā tuvañ momu-
hato dahāsi ||

[842] Samo vivesi uda vā ni-
hino yo maññati so viva-
detha tena | tisu vidhāsu
avikampamāno samo vi-
ses'ti na tassa hoti ||

[843] Saccan'ti so brāhmaṇo
kim vadeyya musā 'ti vā
so vivadetha kena | yas-
miñ samam visamañ cāpi
n'atthi sa kena vādam
paṭisamyujeyya ||

[844] Okam pahāya aniketasāri
gāme akubbañ muni san-
thavāni | kāmehi ritto
apurekkharāno katham na
viggayha janena kayirā ||

[845] Yehi vivitto vicareyya
loke na tāni uggayha
vadeyya nāgo | elambu-
jam kapṭakam vārijam
yathā jalena paṃkena
c'anūpalittam || [evam
muni santivādo agiddho
kāme ca loke ca anūpa-
litto ||]

[846] Na vedagū diṭṭhiyā na
mutiyā sa mānam eti
nabi tammayo so | na
kammanā no pi sutena
neyyo anāpanito so nive-
sanesu ||

[847] Saññāvirattassa na santi
ganthā paññāvimuttassa

na santi mohā | saññañ ca
 diṭṭhiñ ca ye aggahesum
 te ghaṭṭayantā vicaranti
 loke ||

1. 6. ◎¹ *****

Fragment V. Obverse

PTS. Edition, deest

1. 1. °jagāma • (tadā brā)°
1. 2. °(s)ya ** śa * kramati • Atha * (v)isū°
1. 3. °tamañ vṛkṣamū(laṃ) niśṛtya niṣaṇṇo di(vā vi)hārāya ~ a*°
1. 4. °pasamhṛty-āikānte nyaṣidaṭ Eka(m nyā)² Vaisāla kulam
(bhūtvā)³ ya*°
1. 5. °(samn)hṛty⁴-āikānte nyaṣidaṭ Eka(m) nyāyena bhagavāms
te(n-āñja)lim praṇami°
1. 6. °* (pr)cchāmo bhavantañ Gauta(maṃ) kañcid eva ppra-
deśa(m) saveḍ avak(ā)śaṃ kra°

Reverse

1. 1. °* niṣṭhā na prthañniṣṭhā na(nu) bhavāñ Gautamo niṣṭhā-
vādi vayam api nī°
1. 2. °** (na)ra niṣṭhāñ samjānā(ti) yaduta Gautamaḥ nāva
(sam)jñā(nā)⁵ *°
1. 3. °maḥ kiñ manyasi vā ni(ṣṭhā) Mrgaśīrāḥ parivr(ā)jako
(niṣṭhā) **°
1. 4. °hi parivrā(jako) niṣṭhāprāpta(h) evam u(kt)e bhagavāñ vā
ni(ṣṭhā)°
1. 5. °(va) ** ye ** (ma) Mrga(śīrā na) *°
1. 6. °(m ayam pa) * Mrgaśī(r)aṃ°

1. Comparing the preceding two texts, the outstanding difference between them is the existence of prose narratives prefixed to the verses of the several sections (*varga*) in the Sanskrit text. Not that prose introductory narratives

¹ Here ends the 9th and begins the 10th *varga*. A small surviving portion of a double concentric circle is the sole indication. The last four lines are so badly sand-rubbed as to be practically illegible; but the still visible akṣaras in l. 5 point to the last line of v. 846.

² Apparently an error for *nyāyena*; see l. 5.

³ The identity of these two akṣaras is quite uncertain.

⁴ Read *samhṛtya*.

⁵ Or *samjñātā*.

are foreign to the Pāli Sutta Nipāta, but they are practically restricted to its earlier sections, the Urugavagga (suttas 4, 6, 7, 10), Cūlavagga (suttas 4, 5, 7, 12, 14), and Mahāvagga (suttas 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12). In its fifth, or last section, the Pārāyanavagga, which comprises eighteen suttas, it is only the 18th sutta which has a prose introduction, and in its fourth section, the Aṭṭhavagga, none of its sixteen suttas is introduced with a prose narrative. It is just in this fourth section that the Sanskrit version shows prose narrative introductions to the several *varga* (= Pāli *sutta*). What is particularly noteworthy is that in two of these prose introductions, viz. those of the 7th and 9th *vargas*, there is a specific reference to the verses of the (Pāli) Aṭṭhakavagga. Probably there was a similar reference to the introductory narrative of the 8th *varga*, which has disappeared with the damaged portion of the obv. ll. 1 and 2 of frag. II. In the 7th *varga* (frag. I, obv. l. 4), when the prose narrative comes to the point of introducing the verses, it says, "at this time he spoke this *arthavargīya sūtra*." Similarly, in the 9th *varga* (frag. IV, obv. l. 2) it says, "at this time he spoke this *arthavargīya gāthā*." Unfortunately the *gāthā* itself is utterly illegible, but no doubt it was a Sanskrit version of the 835th verse of the Pāli Māgandiya Sutta (PTS. ed., p. 163), for the Sanskrit text in l. 4 gives the purport of v. 836. The conclusion seems unavoidable that the Sanskrit text is a translation from some vernacular (not necessarily the existing Pāli) original; and that the translator, observing the absence of an introductory narrative, himself supplied that narrative, and pointed out the exact place where he came to the translation of the verses of his original text. It is significant that in this connexion he speaks of a "*sūtra*", not a "*varga*"; for it shows that his vernacular original (just as the existing Pāli text) used the term *sutta* where the Sanskrit translator uses the term *varga*; see frag. II, rev. l. 4.

2. But there are also other more or less serious differences. To dispose of some minor ones first: we have in frag. I, rev. l. 1, *ca sarebaśaḥ*; in frag. II, obv. l. 4, *pi sado*, for Pāli *parisaṃ*, where a double sandhi must be assumed in *kāmāpi* (for *kāmāḥ api*) and *sado* renders *parisaṃ*; *ibid.*, rev. l. 1, we have *vighāta* for Pāli *vivāda*. *Ibid.*, rev. l. 3, we seem to have a more serious difference. The Sanskrit version seems to read *tesān nu kin tvaṃ vada Sīhaśūra* (or *Sīhaśūra*) for Pāli *tesu tvaṃ kiṃ labhetha Pasūra*, and to suggest a different name. *Ibid.*, rev. l. 4, points to a similar difference in the use of *varga* in the Sanskrit version for *sutta* (*sūtra*) in Pāli. Far more important are some instances which show that the vernacular text underlying the Sanskrit version must, in some places, have differed considerably from the existing Pāli text. In frag. II, rev. l. 2, the last line of v. 831, *dr̥ṣṭvīm ca mānaṃ ca sametya mādhaḥ*, has no counterpart in the Pāli text. It would seem that the whole of that verse continued the description of the disputatious fool, and contained no advice to the non-disputatious wise. Again, a comparison of the exceptional length of the blank interval in frag. IV between obv. l. 6 and rev. l. 1, with the length of the blank in the same place in frag. II, suggests that the original vernacular text, underlying the Sanskrit version, must have been much shorter than the existing Pāli text. In the latter, both of the two verses 839 and 840 consist of six lines (as printed in the PTS. ed., pp. 164-5), while the usual number is four lines. This shows that there must be four redundant lines somewhere. Now four of the twelve lines of those two verses are duplicated, viz. those bracketed in my transcript (above, p. 716, n. 2). Their excision not only reduces the two verses to four lines each, but yields a perfectly good text. It would seem, then, that such a shorter vernacular text was the original of the Sanskrit translation. Further, for a similar reason, it seems not improbable that in place

of the two Pāli verses 841 and 842 the vernacular original of the Sanskrit version can have had only one verse. In some other cases it is not so much a difference in the text as in the sequence of the lines of the verses of the text. Thus, in frag. I, rev. l. 2, the remains of the Sanskrit version point to the lines of verses 821 and 822 having stood in the original vernacular text in the following order:—

Ekacariyaṃ dāhaṃ kayirā na nisevetha methunaṃ |
 etam ādinavaṃ ſatvā muni pubbāpare sadā ||
 Tenānyaṃ nēva maññetha nibbānasantike bhava |
 vivekaṃ yeva sikkhettha etaḍ ariyānaṃ uttamaṃ ||

Again, in frag. II, obv. ll. 4, 5, the order of the lines of the vv. 825–7 would seem to have been as follows:—

Pasaṃsakāma kusalā vadāna vadenti te aññasitā kathojjaṃ |
 balaṃ dahanti mithu aññamaññaṃ te vādakāma paṣaṃ
 vigayha || 825

Yutto kathāyaṃ paṣāya majjhe paṣaṃsaṃ icchaṃ vinighāti
 hoti ||
 apāhataṃmiṃ pana maṃku hoti nindāya so kuppati
 randhameṣi || 826

Upaccagā maṇṭi anutthupāti paridevati socati hīnavādo |
 yam assa vādaṃ parihīnaṃ āhu apāhataṃ pañhavimaṃsa-
 kāse || 827

In v. 827, moreover, the Sanskrit translation presupposes some variation in the reading and other peculiarities in the original vernacular text. The *t* before *paridevate* points to the final *t* of some preceding word; *dīnamanā*, for Pāli *hīnavādo*; and *anutthāyāṃ*, a semi-vernacular form for Skt. *anuṣṭhāyāṃ*, “in the standing behind,” “in the inferiority” of himself, “in his inferiority he bewails dejectedly.”

3. Some readings involve curious scribal blunders; e.g., in frag. I, obv. l. 6, *nāgghoṣaṃ* is clearly a *lapsus pennæ* for *nirgghoṣaṃ* (Pāli *nigghoṣaṃ*). In frag. II, rev. l. 2, we have the perfectly clear reading *dr̥ṣṭim*

udhāhya for the Pāli *dīṭṭhim uggayha*. The former makes no sense, and I can explain it only as a thoughtless blunder of the copyist induced by the immediately preceding *mādhah*; *udhāhya* should, no doubt, be *udgrhya*. Again, in frag. IV, rev. l. 2, we have the reading *vadeta brāhma*. The Pāli version shows that the reading should be *brāhmaṇo*, and this is confirmed by the fact that the line as it stands is short by one syllable. The blunder may be due to the initial *m* of the following word *mṛṣā*.

4. Attention may be called to the very rare word *madgībhūta* in frag. I, obv. l. 1. The only other place where it is known to occur are two passages in the Divyāvadāna, p. 633, ll. 24, 27; and p. 636, l. 7, where, however, it has the form *madgubhūta*. Its meaning must be "become confounded", as may be deduced from the phrase *visva[rībhūtā]*, "become soundless," or (in the Divyāvadāna) *tuṣṇībhūta*, "become silent," with which it is joined. Its base is *madga*, which itself, however, has been found only once, in the name *Purumadga*, apparently meaning "very languid", and the etymology of which is unknown. If it should be a compound of *mad* and *ga*, the alternative *madgu* would be a semi-vernacular form, similar to, e.g., Pāli *addhagū* for Sanskrit *adhvaga*.¹

The word *nāga* which occurs in the Pāli verse 845 (*ante*, p. 717) is found often in early Buddhist literature as an epithet of the houseless wandering monk. Its meaning is explained in the two verses 518 and 522 of the Sutta Nipāta (PTS. ed., p. 96). Verse 518 asks *nāgo ti katham pavuccati?* "why is he called *nāga*?" and v. 522 replies *āguṃ² na karoti kiñci loke, nāgo tādi pavuccate tathattā*,

¹ The M. W. Sanskrit Dictionary, rather arbitrarily, takes *madgubhūta* to be a false reading for *mañkhubhūta*. It appears to be connected with the $\sqrt{\text{mand}}$ (*mad*), "be languid."

² *Āgu* for *āgas*, as *sajju* for *sadyās*, probably through intermediate *o* in *āgo*, *sajjo*. See Müller, *Pāli Grammar*, pp. 6-7.

"he commits nothing blameable in the world; for that reason such a one is called *nāga*." *Nāga* therefore means "blameless", being derived from *na* and *āga* (for *āgas*, cf. *śira* for *śiras* in *Mrgaśira*, etc.). It must not be confounded with *nāga*, "elephant," which is sometimes used with the meaning "eminent, chief", but in that case always at the end of a compound; the Śabdakalpadrūma says, *uttarapadaasthite śreṣṭhaḥ*. *Nāga*, with the meaning "blameless", occurs in the Sutta Nipāta also in verses 421 (*nāga-saṅgha-purakkhato*, "attended by the congregation of the blameless" or the bhikṣus),¹ 573 (as an epithet of the bhikṣus), 1058 (as an epithet of Buddha). See also Childers' Pāli Dictionary, s.v. *nāga*, where from the Pātimokkha is quoted *ete nāgā mahāpaṇṇā*, "these blameless very learned (monks)."

5. As it happens, the prose narrative introducing the 9th varga, which is absent from the Pāli Māgandiyasutta, occurs in other Buddhist works, in a Sanskrit as well as in a Pāli recension. The Sanskrit recension is in the Divyāvadāna, where it forms, in the Cowell & Neil edition, the 36th section, on pp. 515-20 and 528 ff. In abstract it runs as follows:—

Buddha, wandering in the Kuru country, came to the place Kalmāśadāmya. There lived at that place a brāhman parivrājaka, called Mākandika, with his wife Sākali. They had a daughter who, on account of her extraordinary beauty, was named Anupamā, "the Incomparable," and whom Mākandika had determined to give in marriage to none but one of equal or greater beauty. One day when Mākandika was out to gather flowers and firewood, he saw Buddha, who was resting from his begging tour at the foot of a tree, and was struck by his attractive appearance.

¹ In this verse Fausböll (in SBE. x, p. 68) translates by "chiefs", as if the phrase referred to the king; but, as the technical *saṅgha* shows, it refers to Buddha, to whom, attended by his congregation of monks, the king promises to give wealth.

Returning home he told his wife of his discovery of the man whom he considered worthy of his daughter. His wife proposed to have a look at him; so they both went, and seeing Buddha from afar she quoted to her husband a stanza to the effect that such a holy man was not likely to be enamoured of a young woman. She suggested that they had better return home. Mākandika, roughly disagreeing, opined that even a devotee was open to the sexual impulse. However, going home, Sākali dressed up her daughter, and all three went back to interview Buddha. The latter, in the meanwhile, had moved on to another grove of trees. Mākandika, seeing him there in the act of preparing a spread of grass, suggested to his wife that he was preparing it for her daughter. Thereupon she quoted the following stanza (No. I):—

*Raktasya śayyā bhavati vikopitā dviṣṭasya śayyā sahasā
nīpīḍitā |
mūḍhasya śayyā khalu pādato gatā suvītārāgeya nisevitā
nv iyaṃ ||*

i.e., The bed of one in love is tumbled; that of one in hate is violently pressed down;
the bed of a fool, again, is trodden by his foot; but this is a bed used by one quit of passion.

She again suggested to return home, but Māgandika, again disagreeing, and now noticing Buddha's footprints, said to his wife, "See, these are the footprints of thy son-in-law." She now quotes another stanza (No. II)—

*Raktasya pūmsaḥ padam utpāṣaṃ syān nīpīḍitaṃ dveṣa-
rataḥ padam ca |
padam hi mūḍhasya viśṛṣṭadehaṃ suvītārāgasya padam tv
ihēdṛṣaṃ ||*

i.e., The footprints of a man in love should be wide-spaced; and those of one in hate, pressed down;
the footprints of a fool point to an erratic body; but those here look like the footprints of one quit of passion.

She suggested returning, and he disagreed as before. At this moment there came from Buddha the sound of clearing his throat (*utkāśana-śabda*). On Mākandika calling his wife's attention to it, she spoke the stanza (No. III)—

*Rakto naro bhavati hi gadgadasvaro dviṣṭo naro bhavati
hi khakkhaṭāsvaraḥ |
mūḍho naro hi bhavati samākulasvaro Buddhō hy ayaṃ
brāhmaṇadundubhisvaraḥ ||*

i.e., The voice of a man in love is stammering; that of a man in hate is harsh;

the voice of a fool is flurried; but this Buddha has the drumming voice of a brāhman.

Again she suggests returning, and he roughly disagrees. Buddha now saw Māgandika from afar, and Māgandika, noticing that they were being observed, said to his wife, "There is thy son-in-law, he is looking our way." Whereupon she spoke the stanza (No. IV)—

*Rakto naro bhavati hi cañcalēkṣaṇo dviṣṭo bhujagaghoraviṣo
yathēkṣate |
mūḍho naras saṃtamasiva paśyati dvija vitarāgo yuga-
mātradarśi ||*

i.e., A man in love has an unsteady eye; a man in hate eyes one as does a poisonous snake;

a foolish man sees as one in a dark place; a dispassioned man, O brāhman, sees only the length of a yuga.

She suggests returning, and he roughly disagrees, as before. Buddha now walks to and fro. Māgandika, seeing it, says to his wife, "There, thy son-in-law is walking to and fro"; and she quotes the stanza (No. V)—

*Yathāśya netre ca yathāvalokitam yathāśya kāle sthita eva
gacchataḥ |
yathāiva padmaṃ sthite jale 'śya netraṃ viśiṣṭe vadane
virājate ||*

i.e., As in the eye can be seen with what feelings one looks; as one who walks stops in the course of time;

as a lotus in still water, so the eye shines forth in a distinguished face.

Once more she suggests returning, and he roughly disagrees, quoting the case of the sage Vasiṣṭha, who succumbed to temptation. So now Māgandika went up to Buddha and tempted him with the beauty of his daughter. Buddha, beholding her, reflected, "If I say to her civil words, she will only become excited with passion; so I will say to her rude words," and thereupon spoke the following stanza (No. VI)—

*Drṣṭā mayā Mārasutā hi vipra tṛṣṇā na me nāpi tathā
ratiś ca |*

*chando na me kāmagneṣu kaścit tasmād imām mātṛapuriṣa-
pārṇām ||*

Praṣṭum hi yattām api nōtsaheyam |

i.e., Māra's daughters I saw, O brāhman; but there was no desire in me, nor passion;

nor any wish for sexual enjoyment; therefore her, a fill of urine and excrements, even if she were prepared for me, I could not endure.

Māgandika replied with the following stanza (No. VII):

*Sutām imām paśyasi kiṁ madīyām hīnāṅginīm rūpaguṇair
viyuktām |*

*chandaṁ na yenātra karoṣi cārau viviktabhāveṣu iva
kāma-bhogi ||*

i.e., Why dost thou look upon this daughter of mine as a vile-bodied woman, bereft of beauty's graces, in that thou evincest no desire for this lovely object, like one (i.e. Vasiṣṭha) did who, in the midst of his abstraction, enjoyed sexual pleasure?

Buddha rejoined with the following three stanzas (No. VIII)—

*Yasmād ihārthī viṣayeṣu mūḍhaḥ sa prārthayed vipra
sutām tavēmām |*

*rūpōpapañnām viṣayeṣu śaktām avitarāgo 'tra janah
pramūḍhaḥ ||*

*Ahaṃ tu Buddhō munisattamaḥ kṛtī prāptā mayā bodhir
anuttarā śivā |*

*padmaṃ yathā vārikaṇair aliptam carāmi loke 'nupalipta
eva ||*

*Nilāmbujam kardamavārimadhye yathā ca paṅkena vanō-
paliptam |*

*tathā hy ahaṃ brāhmaṇa lokamadhye carāmi kāmeṣu
viviktaḥ ||*

i.e., Because it is a fool that desires sensual pleasures ; he might,
O brāhman, demand this thy daughter

with her beauty and her skill in sensual pleasures ; a great
fool is he who is not quit of passion.

But I am the Buddha, a sage true and learned ; I have
obtained knowledge incomparable and gracious :

like a lotus with no drop of water adhering, even so
I wander through the world undefiled.

Like a blue water-lily in the midst of slimy water remains
undefiled with mud :

even so, O brāhman, I wander in the midst of the world,
pure of sexual enjoyment.

In consequence of Buddha's rude refusal, the affection of Mākandikā's daughter was turned into implacable hatred. Her father now took her away to Kauśambi (pp. 528 ff.), and there married her to Udayana, the king of Vatsa, who, in return, made him one of his chief ministers. Now follows a long story — not relevant, however, to the Sutta Nipāta verses — describing an intrigue of Anupamā, by which, as her revenge on Buddha, she contrived the destruction of her co-queen, Syāmāvatī, who was a devoted adherent of Buddha, in a conflagration of the royal palace in the absence of the king, though eventually she repented of her evil deed and became a convert to Buddha.

The Pāli recension is found in the PTS. edition of the Commentary on the Dhammapada, vol. i, pt. ii, pp. 199-203, repeated in a practically identical form in

vol. iii, pp. 193-9. According to this recension, the girl was the daughter of a brāhman of the Māgandīya sect; her mother was known simply as Māgandīyā, or "a woman of the Māgandīya sect"; and her father's younger brother (*cūlapitā*, lit. junior father, uncle) was similarly known only as *cūlamāgandika*, or "a junior Māgandika man". On account of her great beauty, the father determined to wed her only to a person worthy of her. One day, meeting Buddha on his begging tour, and deeming him worthy to marry his daughter, he went home to announce his discovery to his wife. In the meantime Buddha moved on to another place. Māgandīya, on his return with his wife, missing Buddha, but noticing his footprints, pointed them out to his wife, who, seeing them, quoted the stanza (No. II)—

*Rattassa hi ukkuṭṭikam padam bhava dutṭhassa hoti
sahasānupīṭitam |
maḷhassa hoti avakaḍḍhitam padam vivattacchadassa
idam idisam padam ||*

i.e., The footprints of one in love are wide-spaced; those of one in hate are violently pressed down;
the footprints of a fool are dragging; these are like the footprints of one quit of desires.

Māgandīya roughly told her to "shut up". Then, looking about, he saw Buddha, and going up to him offered him his daughter. Buddha refused her, and by way of explanation quoted the stanza (No. VI) about his earlier attitude towards Māra's three daughters, in the exact form as it stands at the beginning of the Māgandīyasutta in the Sutta Nipāta (PTS. ed., v. 835, p. 163). On hearing it, Māgandīya's daughter, deeply offended with Buddha's rude description of her as "a fill of urine and excrements", conceived a violent hatred to him, and resolved to compass his destruction, but her parents, becoming converts to Buddha, adopted the life of a pravrajaka, entrusting their

daughter to the "junior Māgandika". The latter, taking her to Kośambī, married her to king Udena, who made her his chief wife. Of Anupamā's subsequent revenge on Buddha, the Pāli recension knows nothing.

Of the two recensions, the Sanskrit one agrees much more nearly with what survives of the story in our fragment. While the Pāli recension gives only one (No. II) of the four stanzas which are quoted by Māgandiyā's wife, our fragment contains remains of all the four stanzas as given in the Sanskrit recension of the Divyāvadāna. The beginning (*raktasya*) of the first stanza is on l. 4 of the obverse of frag. III. The end of the second (*°drīṣaṁ padam for īdrīṣaṁ pa°*) is on l. 2 of the reverse. The beginning of the third (*rakto naro bhavāti hi gadgadasvaro*) is on l. 3, and the beginning of the fourth (*rakto naro bha°*) on l. 5 of the reverse. Particularly striking is the mention in our fragment (rev. l. 2) of the incident of the sound of clearing the throat (*utkāśanaśabda*), which was heard between the third and fourth stanzas, exactly as it is related in the Divyāvadāna recension (p. 517, ll. 25, 26), while the Pāli recension makes no mention of it whatsoever. On the other hand, the word *avakṛṣṭa* in our fragment (obv. l. 5) agrees more nearly with the Pāli *avakaddhita* than with the Sanskrit *pādato gatā* of the Divyāvadāna.

Also the name Māgandiyā, as our fragment has it, agrees with the Pāli recension rather than with the Divyāvadāna, which has Mākandikā. The latter would seem to be intended for a metronymic from Makandikā,¹ while the former seem clearly to imply a reference to the Māgandiyā sect, as to which see Professor Rhys Davids' *Dialogues of the Buddha*, p. 220 (SBB., vol. ii), and which is much more probable.

¹ There is, however, in it also something reminiscent of the comic story in the Kathāsaritsāgara (ed. Tawney), vol. i, p. 102, of the ascetic in the city of Mākandikā.

As regards the stanzas (Nos. VI, VII, VIII) which contain Buddha's conversation with Māgandiya, and which form the contents of the Māgandiyasutta in the Sutta Nipāta, the evidence, unfortunately, is rather indistinct owing to the mutilations in our fragments. The stanza (No. VI) about Māra's daughters is in the Pāli recension (loc. cit., vol. i, p. 202; vol. iii, p. 199) identical with the Sutta Nipāta verse 835, while in the Divyāvadāna recension (*ante*, p. 726), though the same in substance, it is rather different in detail. Māgandiya's reply is much mutilated in our fragment IV, obv. l. 4, still it seems to have been substantially identical with the Sutta Nipāta verse 836, though differing in detail, while the Divyāvadāna version of it (No. VII) has only a very faint resemblance, and in the Pāli recension it is absent altogether. Buddha's rejoinder in three stanzas (No. VIII), also, is altogether absent in the Pāli recension; but in our fragment IV there seems to be an indication that something like it did exist in the fragmentary Sanskrit recension of our manuscript. For at the end of the obverse, l. 3, we have the mutilated word *arthōpa*, which probably should be completed *arthōpāda*, "production of meaning, explanation." The surviving context says: "Then the Blessed One, on that subject, on that topic, [gave] another explanation." It may be suggested that this "other explanation" was some statement (now lost) equivalent to those three stanzas of the Divyāvadāna, though more concise, because the missing portion of the folio is too small to admit three stanzas. Moreover, this hypothetical statement must have come in between verses 835 and 836, not after verse 836 as in the recension of the Divyāvadāna. In the latter the sequence is as follows: (a) Buddha's refusal of Māgandiya's daughter, and its justification by reference to his earlier treatment of Māra's daughters (stanza VI), corresponding to verse 835 of the Sutta Nipāta; (b) Māgandiya's reply

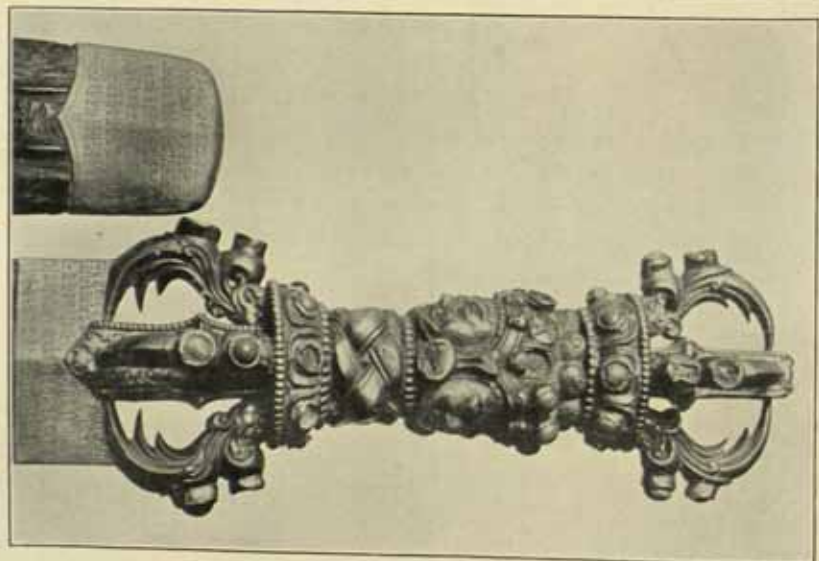
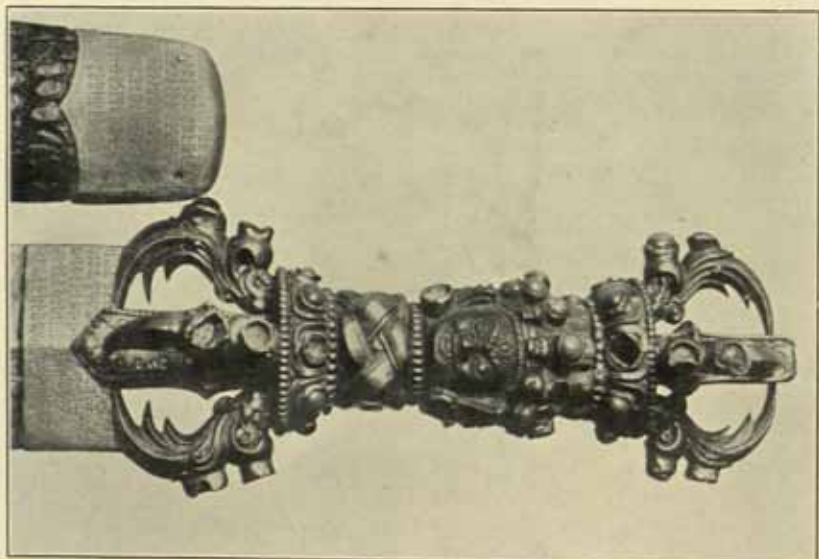
(stanza VII), corresponding to verse 836; (c) Buddha's rejoinder in three stanzas (VIII), the contents of which virtually express the sentiments contained in verses 837-47; accordingly the latter verses are omitted. The sequence in the mutilated recension, preserved in our fragments, may be suggested to be as follows: (a) Buddha's refusal, and justification, corresponding to verse 835, but missing in fragment IV, obv. l. 2; (b) his further explanation (*anya arthôpāda*), corresponding probably to Divyāvadāna's (c), indicated in fragment IV, obv. l. 3; (c) Māgandiya's reply, corresponding to verse 836, partly preserved in obv. l. 4; (d) Buddha's rejoinder, and exposition, identical with verses 837-47, which are omitted in the Divyāvadāna. This evidence, such as it is, gives one the impression that the introductory prose narrative about Māgandiya is the Sanskrit translator's own composition, and is of very early date; further, that the recension of that narrative which we have in the Divyāvadāna, is derived from that translator's composition, but with a somewhat altered sequence of its parts in order to suit the omission of the verses 837-47.

6. On the fifth fragment there are the remains of a prose narrative introduction referring to a conversation between Mrgaśīras, a parivrājaka, and Gautama (Buddha). The only Mrgaśīras who appears to be known to Buddhist tradition is a Thera, of whom two verses (*śloka*) are included in the Theragāthā, viz. verses 181-2 (in the PTS. edition, p. 24). Dharmapāla, in his commentary on the Theragāthā, the Paramattha Dipanī, explains that Mrgaśīras was a brāhman of Kośala, who had his name from being born under the homonymous nakṣatra. Becoming tired of domestic life, he turned a parivrājaka, and made his living by the practice of the skull-spell; that is, by professing to be able to tell the character of the rebirth of a dead person by tapping the latter's skull with his nails. Hearing about Buddha's activities, he

went to call on him, and told him of his divining power. They had a conversation on their respective "skill" (*niṣṭhā*). Buddha demonstrated to him the futility of his skill by asking him to exercise it on the skull of a deceased bhikṣu. Of course he failed to do so, and Buddha telling him that he knew he would fail, Mṛgaśīras asked him how that was; and on Buddha telling him that the reason was his knowing that the bhikṣu was an arhat and as such not subject any longer to being reborn, Mṛgaśīras acknowledged the superiority of Buddha's knowledge, and consented to join his order.¹

I suppose there cannot be much doubt that the narrative of our fragment and that of Dhammapāla's commentary refer to the same Mṛgaśīras. And the further fact that both Mṛgaśīras' verses 181-2 in the Theragāthā and the verses 846-61 which constitute the tenth sutta, the Purābheda-sutta, in the Sutta Nipāta (PTS. ed., pp. 166-8), are ślokas, may be taken as rendering it probable that the narrative in our fifth fragment is the introduction to the tenth varga or the above-mentioned Purābheda-sutta. In that case our fifth fragment follows immediately upon the other four fragments, which contain the seventh, eighth, and ninth vargas; and we have thus fragments of five consecutive folios of a Sanskrit version of the Sutta Nipāta.

¹ Dhammapāla's commentary on the Theragāthā is not yet published. The above given abstract is itself founded on an abstract by Mrs. Rhys Davids in her Translation of the Theragāthā, *The Pearls of the Early Buddhists*, vol. ii, p. 138.



A Nepalese Vajra

XIX

A NEPALESE VAJRA

BY L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN AND F. W. THOMAS

THE three texts deciphered below appear on a vajra, the property of Mr. G. D. Sofoulis of Shanghai, a photograph of which has been lent to the Egyptian and Oriental Society of Manchester by Mr. F. Evans.

According to the description received the vajra is 37 inches long and from 1½ to 2 inches wide. It weighs about 5 lb. The blade is made of steel, which is 28½ inches long and is pointed and sharpened on both sides. The inscriptions and the handle are made of pure Chinese or Indian gold and with twenty-four pieces of red and blue stones (corals and others), some of which are lost.

Texts I and II, front and back, contain five lines. Text III, at the end of the handle, written on both faces, contains eight lines. The inscriptions are in the old Nepalese script, and their chief interest lies in the old form of the characters, several of which are wanting in Bühler's and Bendall's tables.

A vajra is an instrument of protection against evil or "angry" deities; it must be provided with *mantras* and mystical syllables (*hrīm*, etc.), which are not wanting in this piece, and with invocations to Buddhas and protectors of every description.

TEXT

I. FRONT

[] om vajratikṣṇa duḥkhachedaprajñājñānamūrtaye¹
jñānak[ā] (2) ya vāgīśvara arapacan[ā]ya te namaḥ []
om he he tiṣṭhati [] (3) bandha bandha dhārāya dhārāya
virundha² virundha yajñā da(4)tta ūṣṇā maṇi svāhā [] um
masora³ maseri³ (5) ahe⁴ pariśa ye haṃ [] . . . huṃ vaṃ ho []

¹ Perhaps *duḥkhaccheda*°.

² The first *virundha* is doubtful.

³ ??

⁴ *aheṃ*?

II. BACK

om̐ sarvanakṣatravyākaraṇi svāhā || om̐ tāre tu¹ tāre tu(2)re
svāhā || um̐ piśāci paṇṇaśabari sarvajvarapraśamaṇi (3)
svāhā || om̐ vajrapāṇi hūm̐ um̐ nilambaradhara vajrapā(4)ṇi
hūm̐ phaṭ || om̐ yamāntaka hūm̐ phaṭ || om̐ (5) hrīḥ hrīḥ
vikṛtānana hūm̐ phaṭ ||

III. END OF THE HANDLE

(a) om̐

(b) hūm̐

[om̐]namassamantabuddhānām
namas samantadharmānām²
namas sa[mantasa]

śghānā[m]³ om̐ sitātapatra⁴
om̐ vimale om̐ śaṅkare um̐

aṅgira vajra uṣṣṣa cakrāvartī
sarvalaukikabhā[ya]

pra[tiyantramūlakarmaḥ] ban-
dhatām ta[ḍatām] kilatām vā
ma[ma]

h[i]te yena kena cit kṛtam tat
sahantu chinda chinda [chi]

nda viri viri giri miri mārā
mārā hūm̐ hūm̐ hūm̐ hūm̐

hūm̐ hūm̐ hūm̐ hūm̐ phaṭ phaṭ
phaṭ || om̐ śrīmahākālāya [hūm̐]

ph[āṭ] || um̐ śrīḥ mahākālāya
śāsana-upakāriṇi

paścimakālo yaṃ idaṃ ratna-
trayāya apakāriṇi[

[v[]pratiḥjñā[m] smarasi dadā
idaṃ duṣṭam khakhakhāhi[

mārā mārā mārā gṛhṇa⁵ gṛhṇa
bandha 3 hana 3 dāha 3 dā[

canam ekata mārāya hūm̐
phaṭ || um̐ indrāya ya[māya]

va[ruṇāya] kuverāya isānāya
agnaye nai[rṛtāya]

vāyave prthivīsūryacandra-
brahmayamama[
um̐ supraṭiṣṭh[ita]vajrāya
svāhā ||

tā[ya] sāntisvapnāyatam̐ k[]

¹ There is little doubt that we have to read *tāre ture tāre ture*.

² *dharmānām* = *dharmānām*.

³ The space seems short for three akṣaras.

⁴ *sitātapatre*?

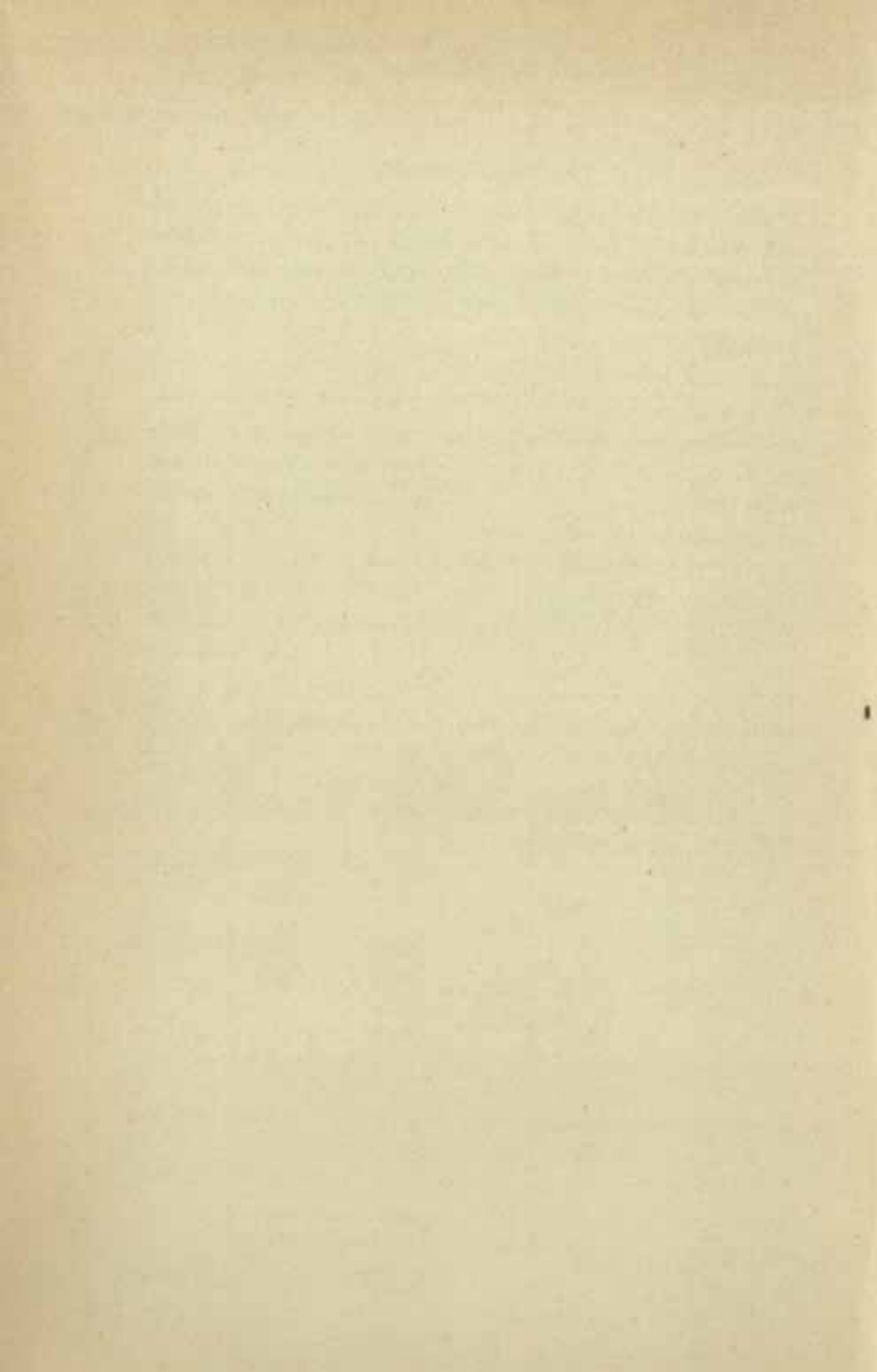
⁵ Perhaps *gṛhṇa*; cf. *dadā*.

INTERPRETATION

Text I.—The two first lines = Nāmasaṃgīti, v. 27 (ed. Minaev, p. 140). A-ra-pa-ca-na is the mystic name of the five heavenly Tathāgatas. *Om̐, he, ūm̐, hūm̐, vaṃ,* *ho* are mystical syllables of invocation. *Masora* . . . are obscure. *Bandha!* do bind! *dhāraya!* do bear! are common in such texts.

Text II.—Invocation to Tārā, "who explains all constellations." Invocation to the female Ogress with leaf-garments, who heals all fevers. Invocation to Vajrapāṇi with blue garment, to the Destroyer of the Death-god, to Distorted-face.

Text III.—Homage to all Buddhas, to all Laws, to all Churches. Invocation to the Goddess of the White Umbrella. Mantras and mystic syllables to incite this goddess(?) to bind, to strike, to kill enemies. Homage to Mahākāla (= Śiva), protector of the Law; may he destroy the enemies of the Law. Invocation to the familiar gods Indra, Varuṇa . . . to the Earth-Sun-Moon . . . Homage to this well-established vajra.



XX

THE CHINESE NUMERALS AND THEIR NOTATIONAL SYSTEMS

PART II

By L. C. HOPKINS

WITH this Part we attack the series of the Normal Numerals, together with those characters which have been singled out, as homophones of more elaborate structure, to serve as Accountants' or Bankers' alternative forms, less liable to fraudulent alteration.

ONE, — *i*

There can be very few characters in the Chinese dictionary, besides those for the first three numerals, that have never varied in appearance from the beginning. But — *i*, 二 *erh*, and 三 *san* have never changed. As they were in the days of Noë, or his Oriental contemporaries, so they remain to-day, short lengths of one, two, or three horizontal lines, representing probably primitive notches on wood or bamboo, or perhaps, as we have already seen suggested, pieces of those materials used as tallies and counters.

There would be nothing more to say upon this token, and we might pass on to the next numeral, were it not that it has been provided already in ancient times with two other representative symbols in 弌 *i* and 壹 *i*. It must appear strange that the simplest and perhaps the oldest of all Chinese characters should have two alternative forms, not simpler ones, for that would have been impossible, but ampler and more elaborate, yet so it is.

But in calling them "alternative forms" of — *i*, let me make clear what is meant. Neither of these forms was composed in the first instance to be the written counterpart of the syllable *i*, one. They served as the graphic


tokens of quite other words, words having the same sound as *i*, one, but of different and unrelated meanings to the latter.

The first of these characters is cited by the *Shuo Wen* dictionary as an "ancient form" of *i*, one, and appears in the Lesser Seal shape as 𠄎. Outside the *Shuo Wen*'s pages there exists almost no evidence of such a form, none of first-class authority that is, from bronzes or the Honan bones, and only about two examples are quoted in such works as the *Liu Shu Tung* 六書通 and the *Kuang Chin Shih Yün Fu* 廣金石韻府. Nevertheless, we need not believe that Hsü Shên, the author of the *Shuo Wen*, whose good faith is established, though his judgment cannot always be accepted, invented his example. I suspect that 𠄎 *i* may be a mere variant of 𠄎 *i*, though the former is usually said to be a phonetic compound of 𠄎 *i*. This last word has the meaning of "aiming at", imaged originally as an arrow with a thread attached, so that a bird so hit could be retrieved. It is thus used both in the *Book of Odes* and, metaphorically, in the *Book of History*. And that such a practice did exist, certain forms on the Bronzes, and also on the Honan bones, seem clearly to show. We find there an arrow depicted with what is evidently meant to represent a thread unwinding from the shaft. Thus we have 𠄎 on H. 769,

and 𠄎 in 雉 *chih*, pheasant, which occurs repeatedly in the *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i* of Lo Chên-yü, e.g. ch. 2, p. 11. The difficulty is to reconcile the modern form of 𠄎 *i*, to aim at, with the modern form which should result, *mutatis mutandis*, from the above-named components, and have given some such figure as 𠄎 or 𠄎. But such hypothetical modern forms more nearly resemble 𠄎 *I*, the barbarous neighbours of the ancient Chinese (a character really of quite other origin), than they resemble, or can

be made to account for, our character 弋. In short, the form of this latter ill agrees with its best-known meaning. For the character has another meaning, the only one mentioned by the *Shuo Wen*, namely a peg or perch, and it is such an object that the *Shuo Wen* describes the character as depicting. Possibly in the main Hsü is correct, though his analysis of the strokes and their significance is unconvincing.

The second alternative form of 一 is 壹 *i*. This is a well-accredited character, occurring with the sense of "one" or "once", both in the *Odes* and the *Li Chi*, if we may accept their present texts as authentic.

No one surely would ever guess the contours of its pictographic youth from the wrinkled ruin of its ultimate senescence. But the history of the character is, on the whole, clear. It is the outline of a lidded vase, on the body of which is added the character 吉 *chi*, good luck. Among the many revelations of the Honan bone inscriptions, we have a perfect drawing of such a lidded vase, or 壹 *hu*, in a fragment illustrated by Lo Chên-yü in his *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i*, ch. 5, p. 5, where it appears as .

Now if we look up the character 壹 *i* in the *Shuo Wen*, we find a most unsatisfactory explanation. It is (or it seems to be) one of those explanations that explain nothing, and especially throws no light upon the real meaning of this word *i*, which was thus betokened by a vase bearing the sign for good luck upon it. The definition in the text is 專壹也 *chuan i yeh*, that is, "壹 *i* is *chuan i*." Now to one trying to learn what a certain word means, it is but a stony response to his appeal for intellectual nourishment to offer him a phrase of which that very word forms half. If a Chinese, ignorant of the meaning of the word "buff", referred to a dictionary and found it explained by the words "buff-coloured", he too might nurse a grievance.

However, the phrase 專壹, which is also written 專一, is a well-known one, and means "sole, exclusive, absolute". It is therefore an illustration only of the *borrowed* or secondary sense of 壹 *i*, not of its original meaning. Yet there was another sense which must have been, and we know indeed was, familiar to Hsü Shên, and by which we can account for the form of the character. This sense is "pent up, concentrated, condensed", and is paralleled by our own colloquial metaphor "bottled up". Now we can see why the figure of a *covered* vase or jar was taken as the basis of this character. Why the addition of the character 吉 *chi*, good luck, was made, is a more difficult point. It opens up more than one curious and interesting inquiry, but they are beyond the scope of this paper.

Two, 二 *erh*

This character, like the last, has never varied. Like the last also, there are alternative forms. Of these, the *Shuo Wen* calls 弌 (a) "*ku wen*" form. So long ago as the thirteenth century, Tai Tung, the author of the *Liu Shu Ku*, had disputed the statement. "In my opinion," he says under the character 一 *i*, "弌 cannot be older than 一, and besides, the construction with 弌 has no point." Later Chinese authorities, however, have shown that Hsü Shên, in using the expression 古文 *ku wên*, ancient form, may have meant *an* ancient form, one of those which native archaeologists have styled 古文奇字 *ku wên ch'i tzü*, unusual or aberrant characters. And it is perfectly true that however far we go back in Chinese epigraphy, we shall find examples not merely of variants of one type, but occasionally of actual variations in type. Moreover, what closes discussion is that I have had the good fortune to find in unmistakable shape, in my own collection of Honan bones, an instance of this *ku wên* script, in the character 𠄎, on H. 757.

The second alternative form is 貳 *erh*. It needs but little attention. The word involved, the word behind the character, is nothing but a special application of the word *erh*, two, double, or second. It is used both in the *Odes* and the *Book of History* in the senses of seconding, supporting, or backing, and in the dissimilar sense of division into two, double in aim, or doubtful, that is "of two minds". As for the character itself, it is a compound of 式 plus 貝 *pei*, a shell. This element was probably added to suggest the sense of "value, resources", for, however it came about, the shell was in ancient China the recognized symbol for wealth, and the organs of wealth, money, or commodities. The "shell" is therefore here a pure ideograph and symbol, serving to contribute only a generalized idea, without the phonetic implications it would have if standing alone as an independent character and word-sign.


THREE, 三 *san*




This is the last of the series of numeral signs that have never changed.

As with *One* and *Two*, the *Shuo Wen* gives us an ancient variant form 弌, which may, I think, be accepted, though no example can be cited from early Bronzes, nor, so far, from the Bones.

There is also for this numeral an alternative and borrowed form 叁, whose origin would not be guessed from this much sophisticated version. The latter is the modern accountants' full and formal mode of writing the figure 3, but is itself a contraction of 參, given by Kanghsi as the *ku wén* of the modern character 參, variously pronounced *shén*, *ts'an*, *ts'én*, and *san*. This alleged *ku wén* represents an older 參, the shape in which 參 *shén* appears in the *Liu Shu Ku* 六書故, and *Liu Shu Chéng* 六書正譌 of the thirteenth century. So far it is plain sailing, for the three circles

in the upper part are the old symbol for *hsing*, stars, and the lower part is *san*, three. We shall see the bearing of that in a moment. But the form we have been tracing is really a by-form, and not the main type of the character. This is in modern writing 參 *shén*, in the *Shuo Wen*'s

Lesser Seal it is , and in three of the best attested

and best executed ancient examples from Bronzes it presents the variants , , and . And it is now

we want a palæographic Sherlock Holmes to discover for us why this strange and complex shape has been chosen to write *shén*, the Chinese name for a group of stars, approximately our constellation of Orion.

The *Shuo Wen* has no doubts. The character, it writes, is from *hsing*, stars, and 參 *chén* as phonetic. This may be the true account, and I should not criticize any one who accepted it as enough. But for my part I have long had the feeling that, though plausible, it is hardly satisfactory or adequate. I am about to examine the question, and to propose what I had supposed to be an entirely novel solution, but which since I reached it I find has been previously stated by that distinguished scholar Tuan Yü-ts'ai 段玉裁, in his edition of the *Shuo Wen*, s.v. 參 *shén*. But I will give my own reasons in my own words.

If we scrutinize the Lesser Seal shape of the character,

 *shén*, we find the lower part consists of , the

Lesser Seal of 參 *chén*, which the *Shuo Wen* analyses as a compound of 參 *shan* with 人 *jén* as phonetic. The meaning of this compound character 參 *chén* is defined as "thick hair", and a passage is quoted from the *Odes* in illustration, 參髮如雲 *chén fa ju yün*, which Legge, following the Chinese commentators, translates, "Her black

(sic) hair in masses like clouds." But the text of the *Odes*, as we have them, does not write 𠂇 but 𠂇 *chén*. And except this, there exists in Chinese literature no other instance of the use of 𠂇 as an independent character. At any rate Kanghsi cites none at all. Yet it is a common element in composition, as a phonetic. It looks as if Hsü Shên, the author of the *Shuo Wen*, being in presence of a form the true significance of which was unknown to him, assigned a sense to it out of his internal consciousness, as I fear he has done in a good many other cases.

What has seemed to me a more likely origin for 𠂇 as a character suggested itself partly from the fact that 參 *shên*, which it helps to compose, corresponds to our constellation of Orion, and partly that the older shapes of the component 𠂇 require but little modification to become a true though uncompleted outline of the Orion star-group. This will appear from the two figures that follow. The first is an outline of Orion with the names of the stars involved. The second is my suggested original figure of 𠂇 *chén*.

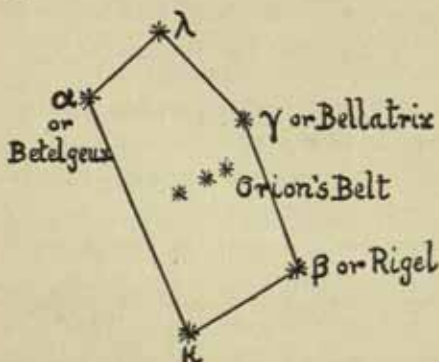


FIG. 1.

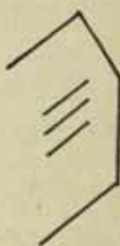


FIG. 2.

One point of criticism that may be raised at once is that the three stars of the Belt are not correctly represented in Fig. 2 as a collinear group, but as three parallel lines, meeting the outline, it is true, if produced, at the same

angle as the Belt does. Possibly this was not always so. In any case the three lines may well have been considered appropriate to suggest the Three Stars, perhaps also the name of the whole constellation, if *shan* or *san* rather than *shén* were nearer the ancient sound.

So far my own notes. I add the pith of Tuan Yü-ts'ai's note under 參 *shén*. Quoting from chapter 27 of Ssu-ma Ch'ien's *Historical Memoirs* the words, "*Shén* is the White Tiger. The Three Stars in a straight line are the Steel-yard," Tuan comments, "for 三 represents the Three Stars, and what is outside [viz. the Lesser Seal element 阝] represents the boundary outline 畛域 *chén yü*."

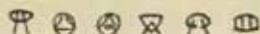
FOUR, 四 *ssü*

The Lesser Seal is 𠄎, a form already occurring in the fourth of the Stone Drums.

With Four we reach the point of transition from those numeral signs that in both senses tell their own tale, to those that need an interpreter; from those that are what they seem, to those that are not what they seem to be, nor mean what they seem to say; in fact, from self-explaining signs, to composite characters borrowed for their homophonic value. But though in a general way this is known to be so, it is not always possible to decide the original graphic significance of the borrowed character, nor to isolate that precise *word*, or unit of the spoken language (being a body of sound vitalized by an inhering sense), to suggest and represent which the original character was designed. This is particularly difficult in the case of the symbol 四 *ssü*, early forms of which differ considerably, as may be seen below. Are these all variants of one type, or have we to do with two types? I am inclined to think there is only one.

Here are various recorded early examples from bronzes

and old coins, and one, the first, found in the *Shuo Wen*, where it is called a, or the *ku wén*, or ancient form.



No. 1 is probably a late Chou dynasty form, and is confirmed by a square-footed *pu* coin, illustrated in the *Hsü Ch'üan Hui* 續泉匯, Section 元 Yuan, p. 5, by the form 𠄎. Of the same date seem to be Nos. 2 and 3, a single example of each of which has been recorded. They are obviously very nearly related to 𠄎 the Lesser Seal, and the modern form, but have in one case one, and in the other two, extra strokes. Nos. 4 and 5 are found on certain coins of the Ming Knife series, and should perhaps be considered as crudely written variants of No. 1. No. 6 is also from coins of the city of Lin Tzū in Shantung Province,¹ and is a simpler version of the modern character. It persisted at any rate into the Early Han dynasty, for we can see numerous examples on the wooden slips excavated by Stein, and illustrated in Chavannes' monumental work.² I cannot fix a more precise date for any of these variants than "somewhere in the Chou dynasty", B.C. 1122-255.

What is certain is that, on the Honan bones invariably, and on the early Bronzes with only the two exceptions afforded by Nos. 2 and 3 of the variants above shown, the numeral *four* is denoted by four parallel horizontal strokes. We may affirm, then, with little risk of being contradicted by future discoveries, that the sign 四 *ssü* was unknown as a symbol for *four* previously to the middle of the Chou dynasty.

What, we must now ask, is the graphic significance of the character 四? What did its earliest shape represent? This is a question I have put to myself now

¹ See the plate in Mr. Ramsden's paper on "The Ancient Coins of Lin Tzū", in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, ser. iv, vol. xv.

² See e.g. on No. 45, plate iii, *Documents Chinois découverts par Aurel Stein*.


for many years, without reaching a satisfactory answer. Three explanations have been proposed. One is that of the *Shuo Wen*, which may be called the official or received account. It is expressed in the words "象四分之形, *hsiang ssü fén chih hsing*, a picture (or symbol) of four quarters". The commentators have to explain the explanation. They say the rectangular outline is the four quarters, and the contained lines)(represent "division". This is absurd. If you divide 4 by any number, the quotient is not, at any rate, 4. Moreover, would any people already having \equiv to denote the numeral, abandon that simple and self-evident sign for an elaborate and muddling symbol of a square containing two curved lines which they might either read as "eight" or, *ex hypothesi*, as "division"? I trow not.

Terrien de Lacouperie put forward a solution that was at least on the right lines, inasmuch as it was a search for a homophonous character. But I am unable to concur in his choice. He held in the essay previously referred to,¹ that "the sign for FOUR in its oldest shape is most likely an alteration of a character now written 𠄎 *tse*, 'regulation of affairs.'" The character he refers to (radical No. 341 of the *Shuo Wen*) is in the Lesser Seal written 𠄎; its real sound is uncertain, and is variously described as *tsi* or *k'ing*. Lacouperie must have had in view, I imagine, a form 𠄎 cited by the *Liu Shu T'ung* from the *Yün Tai Pei* or Stele of the Cloudy Terrace, but under the character 四 *ssü*, and he must then have equated this variant of *ssü*, four, with the form 𠄎 "*tse*, regulation of affairs".

But when Lacouperie wrote there was no evidence that this alleged character 𠄎 ever had an independent existence. It occurred only in composition, and was in fact not a character at all, but an analytic inference, or,

¹ *The Old Numerals, etc.*, p. 21, n. 55.

to borrow a phrase from the folklorists, a "projection" of lexicographical "group-thinking".






A third solution was suggested by my late friend Dr. F. H. Chalfant, in his fascinating work *Early Chinese Writing*, plate xxix. He there expressed his opinion that the Chinese numeral forms from 4 to 9 inclusive were 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9 lines united. I am unable to accept such a view for any of these. In the case of 4 he supposes an original  "gradually connected in cursory style". It is perhaps the least unlikely of the whole group.

We must, then, admit a total, if provisional, ignorance of the pictographic origin of 四 *ssü*.

Coming to the alternative or accountants' character for *four*, we find 肆 *ssü* in use. This word *ssü* appears to mean "to display", "to set" or "lay out", but various other senses (or perhaps other words) are found thus written. The significance of the character *quä* character is obscure. It consists of two elements, neither of them phonetic, one being 長 *ch'ang*, long, and the other 聿 *yü*, a writing pen, in the modern version, 逮 *tai*, to overtake, in the Lesser Seal. But evidence that the word was thus written before the Ts'in dynasty seems wanting.

It was the complex and darkling nature of this character that attracted the favourable regard of fastidious accountants to whom the simple and the the obvious are displeasing.

FIVE, 五 *wu*

The prototype of the modern character 五 is a diagonal cross confined above and below by horizontal lines, thus, . It thus singularly resembles our Roman numeral X. All other early Chinese forms, e.g. , , and , are contractions or modifications of this, with the very doubtful exception of , one instance of which is cited from a bronze, but probably does not stand for 5 at all. Perhaps it would be prudent to leave a loophole for myself by saying that what I call the hour-glass variant

𠄎 may eventually prove to be even older than the 𠄎 form, though it must be added that on the Honan bones—our most ancient original documents—5 is always written 𠄎 or X, and never 𠄎 or 𠄎. With regard to the five parallel diagonal strokes given above, exactly similar symbols occur on the Bones, in most cases followed by the character 日 *jih*, sun or day. It seemed natural, therefore, to read the two signs as 五 日 *wu jih*, five days or the fifth day. Further analogous combinations occurred with 𠄎 and 𠄎 as the first member. These then seemed to be 四 日 *ssü jih*, four days, and 三 日 *san jih*, three days. It was odd, however, that nowhere else on these inscriptions were 3, 4, and 5 thus written. But Lo Chên-yü, in his *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih* 殷虛書契考釋, p. 26, gives his reasons for thinking that these several groups of diagonal parallel strokes are all early forms of 彤 *yung*, only found in the expression 彤 日 *yung jih*, which is used in the *Book of History* as the supplementary or off day of a sacrificial festival.

But whichever of the old shapes we may hold to be the most primitive, it is clearly based essentially on two diagonal lines, whether straight or curved, crossing one another, and the question we have to meet is, why should such a design have been chosen to represent the numeral *five*.

Tai Tung, the author of the *Liu Shu Ku*, writing at the close of the Sung dynasty, answered this question as follows: "From One to Four [numerals are written] by aggregation of strokes; above that number this method is insufficient, and Five being the half of the numeral series (數之半 *shu chih pan*), a stroke from the left and a stroke from the right were made to cut each other cross-wise as the sign of the lesser integer (小 成 *hsiao ch'êng*). At the present day country folk in weighing things, and carpenters in taking measurements, when they reach the half of the series [viz. Five], make a cross-notch thus, X."

But if 𠂇 is the older form this explanation will not do, as it leaves out of account the upper and lower boundary lines.

Lacouperie, in the essay already referred to (p. 21, n. 55), thought that the sign "for FIVE was adapted from 父 *ngai*, grass cut". But *wu* and *ai* or *i* are not homophones and never were, so that one of them could not have been borrowed to write the other.

The following is an attempted explanation of the normal form 五 *wu*, anciently 𠂇, and is based on one of Wu Ta-ch'êng's researches in *Tzŭ Shuo* 字說, or Characters Explained.

There has always been a word *wu* (*mutatis mutandis* in the different dialects), meaning "cross" or "across", "thwart" or "athwart". This word is now written 午 *wu* in such expressions as 交午 *chiao wu*, crossed, or 午貫 *wu kuan*, crossed horizontally. Here 午, which was originally the figure of a pestle, is "borrowed" to write the word "crossed", because it was a convenient homophone.

Now Wu Ta-ch'êng in his *Tzŭ Shuo*, p. 14, gives his explanation of another word 𠂇 *hu*. He first quotes from an old seal an inscription in old characters, which in modern script would run, as he thinks, 𠂇陽都左司馬 *Hu-yang-tu tso ssŭ-ma*, or Left Controller of the Horse of Hu-yang-tu. The first character is written 𠂇. This character, but in the form 𠂇, is given in the *Shuo Wen* as meaning "cheval de frise". Wu Ta-ch'êng quotes from the *Chou Li* the phrase 設柵𠂇再重 *shé pi hu tsai ch'ung*, which Biot, vol. i, p. 115, translates, "ils placent les barrières et les doubles barrières." (Wang Yün 王筠 in his edition of the *Shuo Wen* remarks that whether singly as *hu*, or doubly as *pi-hu*, both expressions mean "cheval de frise".) Wu Ta-ch'êng remarks that 𠂇 "exactly represents two ends crossing each other", and again, "two cross-pieces." The same author in this note

further suggests that 𠄎 *wu* was the original scription in the above passage, and he considers that in the several phrases now written 梧邱 *wu ch'iu*, 抵梧 *ti wu*, and 枝梧 *chih wu*, all the syllables written 梧 should have been 𠄎 and gives his reasons. He also adds the following observation: 漢隸五字作五故改五爲吾而𠄎字廢矣 *Han li wu tzu tso wu ku kai wu wei wu erh wu tzu fei i*, "When the modern writing of the Han changed the numeral *five* into 五, then they changed 五 [in the characters of the above three phrases] into 吾, and the old character 𠄎 *hu* [in some dialects *wu*] became obsolete."

This statement of Wu Ta-ch'êng will be seen to imply (1) that there was once an old character 𠄎 *hu*, which has become first 𠄎, and then 𠄎; (2) that the original shape of the character 五 *wu*, five, was two pieces of wood crossed diagonally.

Such was my own belief, and here I might have stopped, having shown reasons for tracing the character 五 *wu*, five, to a picture of a *cheval de frise* or some similar arrangement of twisted wood, such as a hurdle.

But it will be noticed that Wu Ta-ch'êng mentions in the above passage that 五 was changed into 吾. He certainly cannot mean that the latter character did not exist before Han dynasty times, as will at once be seen by consulting another work of his, the *Shuo Wen Ku Chou Pu* 說文古籀補. There we find an ancient variant of 吾 *wu* (cited from the well-known *Mao Kung Ting*, or Caldron of Duke Mao), which is thus written 𠄎; another from the Stone Drums, in combination, 𠄎; another, also in combination, 𠄎. Hence I think, on the evidence of the bronze inscriptions alone, we must have concluded that a fuller form of 吾 *wu* was 𠄎, which would give 𠄎 as the oldest form of the hurdle or *cheval de frise*, and hence the most primitive scription of the numeral *five*.

And here I ought really to pass on to the next numeral, *six*. For what I desire to add does not concern the numerals at all. But having reached a discovery of a curious kind, I trust the natural instincts of a pioneer may be pardoned if I now proceed to publish it as an excursion by the way.

1. There is in the *Shuo Wen*, under its 374th radical,

𠂔 *cho*, a character written in the Lesser Seal 𠂔. Hsü Shên states that it is pronounced "like 窩 *hsieh*", probably in his time *su*, and that it is the name of a beast. Wu Ta-ch'êng in the Appendix to his *Shuo Wen Ku Chou Pu*, p. 14, gives two forms, the first of which is 𠂔, composed, he says, of 𠂔 *cho*, plus 五 *wu*, plus 酉 *yu*. He thinks it is an ancient form of the *Shuo Wen*'s character given above. Note that this involves the equation of 𠂔 with 吾 *wu*.

2. There appears as a place-name on the Honan bones a remarkable character. It fills space equal to that occupied by two or three ordinary characters. I have at least ten examples and Lo Chên-yü has others. It is thus written 𠂔, and would strictly answer, as Lo transcribes

it, to a modern 𠂔. But there can be no doubt that it corresponds to the character just quoted from Wu Ta-ch'êng's Appendix. If it does, we have in the lower part of it an older form of 吾 *wu*, which now appears as a wine-vase, 酉 *yu*, with a curious top, possibly meant for a wickerwork handle. The vessel is shown both in the compound character above, and once alone, in Lo's *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i*, ch. 6, p. 39, as 𠂔. This form, then, I hold to be a very early phase of the character 吾 *wu*. Above it, as the upper element, is the profile outline of some

animal. Now 鹿 *lu*, deer, is often written 𧢲 on the Bones, agreeing, except for the horns, with the upper half of this new character from the Bones. The lower part of *lu*, deer, and of the upper element of the new character, is perverted (or pervertible) into the character 比 *pi*. There remains the head 𧢲. It wants very little alteration to turn this into 𧢲. We should then have 𧢲 as the modern form of our tall compound of the Bones. But (3) 昆吾圓器也 *k'un-wu yuan ch'i yeh* is the definition of the character 壺 *hu*, vase, given in the *Shuo Wen*. This is usually taken to mean "a round vessel of K'un-wu"; and K'un-wu is said to have been a semi-legendary personage, who first made pottery. But Wang Yün 王筠, one of the latest editors of the *Shuo Wen*, is not satisfied with this explanation, and makes two sentences of the words, thus, "K'un-wu; a round vessel." He says that *K'un-wu* is another name for *hu*, vase, but that he is ignorant where the term came from. In support, he quotes a recent writer (近人 *chin jên*), a certain Chên Pin 陳斌, who in a book called the *Hsiao Hai Ch'ang* 小海唱 writes, 昆吾不如壺 *K'un-wu pu ju hu*, "K'un-wu are not as good as *hu*," but, adds Wang-Yün, "I do not know the allusion."

My suggestion is, accordingly, that 𧢲, written thus vertically (as Hsü Shên wrote his explanatory text, under the Lesser Seal character of each entry word in the original), is the erroneous transcription in modern form of the 𧢲 character, which, as we saw, he said was "pronounced like 窩 *hsieh*", but which, according to the *Tsi Yün Dictionary*, was also pronounced *wu* (or *ngu*) or *yü*. It must not be forgotten that Hsü Shên wrote everything but his entry characters (and any old forms he cited) in the current writing of his time, the Han li

漢隸. Thus he might well have written 魯, meaning the single word *hsieh* (or *wu*), and his editors might easily have supposed he had written, or meant to have written, the two words *k'un-wu*.

Assuming, then, that in his definition of 壺 *hu* he actually wrote *hsieh* (or *wu*), what did he mean by that? On the Bones this character is always found as a place-name, and I suggest that the true definition of *hu*, vase, was really, "The round ware of Hsieh (or Wu)."

SIX, 六 *liu*

The Lesser Seal form 𠂔 is so like the alleged *ku wén* shape of 四 *ssü*, four, that it differs only by the little stroke at the top. Wang Yün, in his edition of the *Shuo Wen*, under the 402nd radical, 𠂔 *ta*, great, says that the Lesser Seal form of 六 *liu*, six, first appears in a weight of Wang Mang the Usurper, the Han scholars desiring to avoid confusion with 𠂔, the *chou wén* form of 大 *ta*.

The more ancient forms of this numeral are fairly numerous. Lo Chên-yü (*Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih*, p. 16) cites 𠂔, 𠂔, 𠂔, 𠂔, and 𠂔 from his collection of Bones, and I can add 𠂔, 𠂔, 𠂔, and 𠂔 from mine.

I think there is no cause to doubt that Terrien de Lacouperie was right in his guess as to the ancient figure for *six*, thus illustrated above. He says (*Old Numerals*, etc., p. 21, n. 55), "for *six* it [viz. the sign for *six*] was the primitive character for 'mushroom', now fixed into 𠂔 *lok* by the addition of the determinative 艹 'a sprout'."

The *Shuo Wen* defines the former character by two synonyms, 菌 𠂔 *chün liu* and 地 𠂔 *ti hsin*, both referring to mushrooms¹. 𠂔 is an exact homophone of 六, and is said to consist of 艹 *ch'ê* plus 六 *liu*. The *Shuo Wen* gives the *chou wén* form of 𠂔 as 𠂔, which Tuan Yü-ts'ai in his edition considers as "depicting their shapes

¹ See Bretschneider's *Botanicon Sinicum*, vol. ii, pp. 87-8.

growing in quantities". All would be well with these explanations, which indicate some ideal form ∇ , but for the upper Ψ , which seems an integral part rather than an addition, and, if so, is not accounted for. None the less, on the whole I have long been a convert to Lacouperie's theory.

The alternative form 陸 *lu* or *liu* represents a word meaning a high plateau or tableland, and is composed of 阜, the combining form of 阜 *fou*, a mound, plus 壘 *lu*, apparently meaning *full of clods*. It serves well as an accountant's safeguard.

SEVEN 七 *ts'i* or *ch'i*

This figure 七 has a strange history. The Lesser Seal is 𠂔, and the Stone Classics in Three Scripts (三字石經 *San Tzū Shih Ching*) preserve the following variations of that scription, 𠂔, 𠂔, and 𠂔.

Wu Ta-ch'êng in his *Shuo Wen Ku Chou Pu* cites the following forms for the numeral *ts'i*, and the Japanese *Choyokoku Ji Kan* cites them from him without comment. They are 𠂔, 𠂔, 𠂔, and 𠂔. These, it should be noted, are all from old coins, and until Lo Chên-yü's work had appeared had been accepted as variants of 七 *ts'i*, seven. The latter author, however, had now better tell his own tale. He writes (YHSKKS, p. 16):—

"十. The ancient forms of 七 *ts'i* are all written 十, none are identical with the Seal form 𠂔. In the inscriptions on ancient bronzes the character *seven* is extremely rare. But on the reverses of the Small Pointed-foot *pu* coins, the numeral *seven* is always written 十, exactly the same as in the oracular sentences (卜辭 *pu ts'ü*, this is Lo's invariable term for the inscriptions on the Honan bones). So it continued straight onto the inscriptions of Han times, where we find in the 汾陰鼎 *Fên-yin ting*,

Caldron of Fên-yin, the characters 十. The Sung scholars 枚

erroneously read these as 二十 *erh shih*, twenty. The Grand Secretary, Yuan Yuan, fell into the same error in transcribing the inscription on the 大官銅壺 *Ta Kuan t'ung hu*, Bronze Vase of *Ta Kuan*. In the oracular sentences, wherever *ten* occurs it is written | (so it is on the *Small Pointed-foot pu* coins: original annotation by Lo); wherever *seven* occurs it is written +, quite unmistakably. The Han writers, however, wrote + for *ten* (usually † on ancient bronzes: Lo's note), and + for *seven*, distinguishing between the two by the relative length of the cross-stroke. Governor Wu Ta-ch'êng inserts in his *Shuo Wen Ku Chou Pu* the forms 𠂇, 𠂈, 𠂉, and 𠂊, from ancient coins, and treats them as *seven*, thus mistaking *nine* for *seven*.¹

In the main, I gladly accept Lo's opinion, with reservation as to certain details. To Lo belongs the credit of finding an explanation of the apparent total absence of the word *seven* from the Honan bone inscriptions, and of reducing the numeral *ten* therein from a seeming duality of + and | to the upright simplicity of the latter symbol. I would here call attention to an observation by Chavannes on p. 22 of his *Documents Chinois découverts par Aurel Stein*. He there observes, "On remarquera la graphie du mot 七 qui, à l'époque des Han, ne se distingue du caractère + que par la plus grande largeur du trait horizontal par rapport au trait vertical."

But I am obliged to take exception to two points in the above note of Lo Chên-yü. In the first place, I do not think the statement that on the *Small Pointed-foot pu* coins *seven* is always written + will bear scrutiny. I have made a careful examination of this series in the *Ku Ch'üan Hui*, and I agree with its editor that + often stands for *ten*. I will cite three examples. In vol. iii, section 元 5, p. 3, we have 𠂇, 𠂈, and 𠂉, viz., as the

¹ I have copied these four forms from the original shapes in the work named, 2nd ed., because they are printed slightly differently by Lo.

editor transcribes, 7, 8, 9, and 10. In vol. iv, section 元 7, p. 2, we have 卜, 𠂇, and 十, viz. 7, 9, and 10. In vol. iv, section 元 6, pp. 14-15, we have a complete series, with 𠂇, 𠂈, 𠂉, and 十, standing for 7, 8, 9, and 10.

Moreover, I believe my collection contains two instances where 十 does represent *ten*. One is an isolated couplet, 十. Owing to an apparent want of context, certainty is not possible, but it seems to stand for *eleven*. The other

(H. 714) is a very clearly cut 十. If this is not 十五牢

shih wu lao, fifteen victims, what is it?

Lo's statement of the case, then, appears just a little too sweeping. It is true for, say, 95 per cent of the 十 found on the Bones, but there seems to be a miserable remnant where the cross stands for *ten*.

The second point where I must differ from Lo Chên-yü lies in his criticism that Wu Ta-ch'êng has "mistaken" the trident forms for *seven*, whereas they ought to be *nine*. Lo's own collection appears to contain no examples of this type. I have four in mine, 𠂇, 𠂈, 𠂉, and 𠂊, followed in each case by 月 *yueh*, moon. But it is hard to make sure of the equation as between 7 and 9. On the whole, I believe that wherever the short arms are *not* curved the form is *seven*, where they are curved probably *nine*.

As to the pictographic origin of this character, I can make no suggestion. I incline to think, however, that the trident type is the older.

The alternative accountants' character is 柒 *ts'i*. Except as used for *seven*, it is very rare, apparently one of the phonetic compound class, based on 木 *mu*, wood, and 𣎵 *ts'i* for the phonetic. Kanghsi cites the Kuang Yün Dictionary of the eleventh century as stating that it is a vulgar scription of 漆 *ts'i*, varnish. Kanghsi then quotes from a work called the *K'ai Shan Tu* 開山圖, or *Pioneer's Chart*, that there is a brook to the west of

Ch'ang-an (otherwise Hsi-an-fu, the capital of Shensi) known as the *Ts'i Ch'ü* 柴渠. Finally, a passage from the *Shan Hai Ching* is extracted to the effect that "on the Kang Mountains the 柴木 *Ts'i-mu* grows abundantly". Bretschneider in his *Botanicon Sinicum*, vol. ii, p. 339, may have referred to this passage when he wrote of "稷木 *Tsi mu*, a tree mentioned in the *Shan hai king*", that he had not found this term. Perhaps his 稷 should be 柴

EIGHT, 八 *pa*

The writing of this numeral has remained essentially the same as far back as we can trace it. The Lesser Seal is)(. In the *Stone Classics in Three Scripts* we have two slightly varied forms,)(and)(. But on the early bronzes and on the Honan bones the earliest shapes are)(,)(,)(,)(,)(.

This very ancient and hopelessly simple character is symmetrical and probably symbolical. It seems to have as its artistic objective something split into two. Perhaps in primitive times it represented the same *word* that is now indicated by 捌 *pa*, to break, split, divide, used by accountants as its alternative form. This was first thus used by 徐氏 *Hsü shih*, who, as I am informed by Professor Giles, is the Elder Hsü, or 徐鉉 *Hsü Hsüan*, A.D. 916-991.

Kanghsi under the entry 捌 has the following important note, which Lacouperie translated imperfectly in the paper already referred to, p. 23. It should, however, run, "In the inscriptions of the Ts'in dynasty, only 一 *i*, 二 *erh*, and 三 *san* are altered. From and including 四 *ssü*, four, upwards, they still employed the original characters. Mr. Hsü was the first to add 捌 *pa* [as a numeral]. The modern, fully altered series from 1 to 10 [our 'alternative forms'] has not the antiquity of the Ts'in dynasty."

What we can say of these alternative forms, however,

is that the Tang dynasty documents, e.g. Nos. 969 and 970, reproduced in Chavannes' *Documents Chinois découverts par Aurel Stein*, plates xxxiii and xxxiv, furnish examples of them all.

NINE, 九 *chiu*

The Lesser Seal form is 𠂇, but when we regard the earlier and rather chameleon-like variations of the old bronzes and the Honan bones, we see that they all appear, in a stylized and linear manner, to represent the hand and bent arm. The following are the main variants: 𠂇, 𠂇, 𠂇, 𠂇, 𠂇, 𠂇, and 𠂇. These are from the Bronzes.

From the Bones we have: 𠂇, 𠂇, 𠂇, 𠂇, 𠂇, 𠂇, 𠂇, 𠂇, and 𠂇. Let us note that in the early Han period, first century B.C., we find such shapes as 𠂇 and 𠂇 still in use.¹

(For certain dubious shapes see what has been said under SEVEN.)

Lacouperie thought that the old form of *nine* "was an alteration of 𠂇 *chiu* [he calls it *ku*], 'ancient'". It is possible, but the early forms of the latter character are obscure.

On the whole I incline to the conjecture that a more likely explanation is that 𠂇 was a very early mode of writing what is now written 𠂇 *chiu*, a homophone, meaning among other things "to control", "regulate".

The alternative or accountants' character is 玖, *chiu*, apparently the name of a sort of quartz.

TEN, 十 *shih*

The Lesser Seal is 十, but on the older bronzes we find the forms 𠂇 and 𠂇, of which the first is a stylized contraction of the second.

¹ See Chavannes, *ubi supra*, Nos. 71 and 93, plates 4 and 5.

On the Honan bones, however, we have already seen that Lo Chên-yü lays it down that *ten* is always (I should say nearly always) written with a straight vertical stroke, thus |. Except in special cases, the enumeration of things more in number than 10 and less than 20 can be shown either vertically, as \perp = *eleven*, Σ = *fifteen*, $\overset{\cdot}{\cap}$ = *sixteen*, or horizontally, as \boxplus = *fifteen*. The special exception is in the dating of months, where there operates a temporary gravitation of two or three characters into an apparently integral group. Thus $\frac{1}{10}$ is *shih yueh*, the tenth month. But this may also be written $\frac{1}{10}$ or $\frac{1}{10}$. The eleventh month may be $\frac{11}{10}$ or $\frac{11}{10}$. The twelfth month is found written $\frac{12}{10}$, or $\frac{12}{10}$, or $\frac{12}{10}$, or $\frac{12}{10}$. And we also find an intercalary month, called the thirteenth, written $\frac{13}{10}$ or $\frac{13}{10}$. I have verified all these examples cited by Lo.

Assuming that of these three variants $\frac{1}{10}$, $\frac{1}{10}$, and $\frac{1}{10}$, the latter is the oldest, for the first two would easily flow from the third in practice, but the third, being more difficult to write, is most unlikely to be a derivative of either the first or the second, what can be the explanation of such a sign to express the numeral *ten*?

I believe the clue to be followed is furnished by this spindle-shaped sign. I interpret this as an outline of a leaf. The term for a leaf is *yeh*, now written 葉. This word, though normally in all modern dialects, except the Annamese, commencing with the semi-vowel *y*, or the vowel *i*, still preserves an older pronunciation in the sound *shé* (Pekinese) or *shíp* (Cantonese), retained in the name of Shê hsien 葉縣, a District of Honan.

In the rhymes of the *Odes*, 十 *shih*, ten, 葉 *yeh*, leaf, and 拾 *shih*, to collect, are all included in the entering tone of Tuan Yü-ts'ai's seventh category. They were not only rhymes, but homophones, all having the approximate sound *shíp* or *shép*, and the picture of a single leaf would

consequently have suggested itself as a natural form to represent *ten*, a word having in Chinese the same sound, though etymologically (it may be) quite unrelated.

The alternative or accountants' form is 拾 *shih*, to collect, pick up, a character evidently of the suggestive compound class, for neither of its halves supplies the sound, so that we must regard it as intended to suggest the action of the verb, the closing (合 *ho*) of the hand (手 *shou*) over some object.

It seems quite possible that the true and original sense of 十 *shih*, ten, and 拾 *shih*, to pick up, are identical, and that *ten* in Chinese was a mere noun of multitude, and meant a handful. If so, we have really one word written in two ways, one (拾) of much later date than the other.

We have now examined the notation of the Chinese numerals from one to ten. There remains a short supplementary list in the characters for *twenty*, *thirty*, *forty*, a *hundred*, a *thousand*, and *ten thousand*.

The signs for the first three of these differ from all others by consisting of a single complex to represent in each case *two* words. Thus, 廿 stands really and originally for *erh-shih*, "two-tens," and so with 卅 for *san-shih*, thirty, and 肆 for *ssü-shih*, forty. Why, then, are these three dissyllabic words spelt in Kanghsi's Dictionary (under the radical 十) as if they were monosyllables, thus, 如拾 *yü-shap* = *yap* = 20, 悉查 *sih-hop* = *sop* = 30, and 先立 *sin-lap* = *sap* = 40 (I use the less corrupted and more illuminating Cantonese sounds)?

It is because, owing to the elision of the initial sibilant of *shap*, ten, in each case, the respective combinations of *i-'ap* = 20, *san* or *sa-'ap* = 30, and *ssü-'ap* = 40, have become welded together, with hardly any further change, into three single syllables. But in truth these are merely vulgar colloquial corruptions, and may in this paper be ignored.

TWENTY, 廿 *erh shih*

Notice the junction of the two 十 *tens* at the foot. We shall see that this is no innovation, but appears in the oldest forms of *thirty* and *forty* also. Such a union would be natural if my supposition that 十 *ten* was originally the picture of a leaf is correct. For then a spray of two, three, or four leaves would logically represent the numerals 20, 30, and 40.









The Lesser Seal form is practically the same, 𠂔, and this shape goes back unexpectedly far, for in my collection of bones (H. 433) we have 𠂔 = 27, and 𠂔 = 24. We meet it again in the early part of the Han dynasty; see, for instance, Nos. 63 and 92 of the Stein documents, plates iii and v.

A still simpler construction occurs in U, which is sometimes found on old bronzes (see Wu Shih-fên's *Chün Ku Lu Chin Wên* 據古泉金文, vol. viii, p. 57, and vol. ix, p. 48), and on the Honan bones (see Lo Chên-yü's *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i* 殷虛書契, vol. ii, p. 19, and vol. iii, p. 23). But a more common ancient variant found on the Bronzes, but not yet, I think, detected on the Bones, seems to support my theory of the leaf, and to explain also how | and 十 have both flowed from the same contour. This variant is 𠂔 or 𠂔 or 𠂔, which point, I hold, to a primitive 𠂔, which first became stylized into 𠂔, and was then either more cavalierly altered to 𠂔, or gradually reduced to two simple straight strokes, U.

There have existed also as early as the Ts'in dynasty, and later, in the Stone Classics of T'ang times, the forms 𠂔 for 20 and 𠂔 for 30.







THIRTY, 卅 *san shih*

The Lesser Seal is written 𠂔. The Stein documents of early Han date show 𠂔 and 𠂔 (see Nos. 68 and 93 on plates iii and v).



On the early bronzes we find the forms , , , , and , while  is the sole variant on the Honan bones (see the *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i*, vol. i, p. 35). These all appear to point back to, or to be reconcilable with, an archaic pictogram of a spray of three leaves, . And I may observe parenthetically that from this same pictogram of a spray of three leaves was derived, I am convinced, the character  *shih*, a generation, the oldest forms of which are virtually identical with the old forms of the numeral 30. Why this should be so is not clear to me, unless it could be shown that the etymological sense of this word *shih* is spray or shoot.

FORTY, *ssü shih*

This character is not given in the *Shuo Wen*, but in the Stein documents it occurs, practically as above (see, for instance, Nos. 41, 71, and 95 on plates iv and v). These examples are of early Han times.

On the bronzes the forms  and  are found, and on the Honan bones we find the same two variants in the *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i*, 4·8 and 2·27. These modes of writing 20, 30, and 40 are always employed, as Lo Chên-yü points out,¹ on the bones for numerals between 20 and 50. Thus,  is *erh shih jên*, 20 men;  is *erh shih wu*, 25;  is *ssü shih i*, 41; and  is *ssü shih pa*, 48.

HUNDRED, *pé*

A beginner at Chinese would, if asked, analyse this character as made up of  *i*, one, and  *pé*, white, for the phonetic. It is difficult to disbelieve such an account of it. But it is not the one given by the author of the *Shuo Wen*. The analysis in that work seems much less natural, but like other unsatisfactory statements therein must not be hastily dismissed.

¹ See his *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih*, p. 16.

There are in the *Shuo Wen* two of its radicals, Nos. 104 and 284, both of which in the modern shape would be represented in the same manner, as 白. In practice, however, no confusion can exist, as one of the characters is never found alone. The Lesser Seal forms of these two are 𠂔 *tzü* (No. 104) and 𠂔 *pé* (No. 284). The latter means "white", but it is not under this radical, but under 𠂔 *tzü*, that we find 𠂔, the Lesser Seal phase of 百 *pé*, hundred. This analysis has not passed unchallenged by later Chinese palæographers. Further, Hsü Shên added under 百 *pé* an alleged *ku wén* form 𠂔, apparently a combination of 一 *i*, one, and the full form of 𠂔 *tzü*, self. A single example of this has been found elsewhere, and is cited in the *Choyokaku Ji Kan*, ch. xvii, p. 23. Now let us see how the "documentary" evidence stands.

In the first place, there are many examples of the word *hundred* in the inscribed wooden slips of early Han date, excavated by Stein (see e.g. Nos. 68, 71, 79, 92, 93, 95, on plates iii, iv, and v of *Documents Chinois découverts par Aurel Stein*), where we have 𠂔, 𠂔, 𠂔, 𠂔, 𠂔, 𠂔. These are all plainly 一 *i*, one, plus 白 *pé*, white.

Going back to the evidence of the ancient bronzes, it is strange to find only three examples in Wu Ta-ch'êng's *Shuo Wen Ku Chou Pu*, 𠂔, 𠂔, and 𠂔. These seem rather to support the *Shuo Wen*. But neither Wu nor the *Choyokaku Ji Kan* cite any examples from the bronze known as the Yü Ting, 孟鼎. The inscription on this will be seen in facsimile in the *Chün Ku Lu Chün Wen*, vol. ix, p. 33, and is remarkable. Besides the coalesced combination 𠂔, viz. 六 百 *liu pé*, 600, in one passage, there occur the groups 𠂔 *ssü pé* and 𠂔 *erh pé*, in each case followed by 人 *jén*, men. These are, stroke for stroke, nothing but 四 白 and 二 白, seemingly "four white" (men) and "two white" (men), but are of course used to express the homophone *pé*, hundreds, and Wu

Shih-fên so transcribes them in the modern version supplied by him. There seems no escape from the conclusion, then, that it was a matter of indifference at that date whether the word *hundred* was written with the homophonous characters for "white", or with the special character 𠄎 or 𠄏 devoted to this numeral. A curious variant found on some ancient bronzes has *two* horizontal strokes above, thus 𠄐 and 𠄑, but they do not represent 二 *erh*, as might at first be supposed. This same variant occurs in two slightly differing versions, on a fragment in my collection of bones, H. 742, thus, in one case, 𠄒, and 𠄓 in the other. But caution is advisable here, and it is possible that the first of these, at any rate, may stand for 二百 *erh pé*, 200 (see what Lo says below).

Let us now turn to Lo Chên-yü's entry on 百 *pé*, on p. 17 of his *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih*. Lo first cites the two forms 𠄎 and 𠄏, from the plates of the first part of his work, and continues: "In the oracular sentences, in enumerations, *one hundred* is written as *hundred* (記數一百作百), from and including *two hundred*, a line is added above 百 *pé*, with which it is combined, thus: 二百 *erh pé*, 200, is 𠄐 (on p. 4 of *chüan* 4), 300 is 𠄑 (on p. 31 of *chüan* 3), 500 is 𠄒 (on p. 9 of *chüan* 7); so also on the old bronzes."

Can we discover the pictographic origin of either 百 or 白?

The only possible origin I can suggest is connected with the character now written 柏 *pé*, in which I conjecture the element "wood" is a later addition. The meaning of 柏 is a tree of the cypress kind, perhaps the *Thuja arbor-vitæ*, and the ancient form of 白 being 𠄎 or 𠄏, may really be the curtailed sketch of a cone with its scaly surface and stalk above, perhaps pointing back to some such earlier shape as 𠄐. Such an origin would serve to account for 𠄎, 𠄏, and 𠄐.

The alternative accountants' form for *hundred* is 佰 *pé*, and is applied specially to a sum of a hundred *cash*, but it is also used as the head of a hundred soldiers. Obviously it is only *pé*, hundred, with a differentiative augment. It seems to appear first on Han dynasty seals.

THOUSAND, 千 *ts'ien* or *ch'ien*

The Lesser Seal is 𠂔, but in the rather later wooden slips of the Stein excavations, those I mean dating from the early part of the Han dynasty, say B.C. 100 to A.D. 1, the shape is nearly the same as the modern form, as we see in 𠂔, 𠂔, and 𠂔 (see Nos. 43A, 60, and 62 on plates i and iii of Chavannes' *Documents Chinois*, etc.).


From an old seal of the same dynasty, reproduced by 吳式芬 *Wu Shih-fén* in his 封泥考略 *Féng Ni K'ao Lio*, vol. i, p. 45, we recover the nearest approach to the Lesser Seal type in the form 𠂔. *Ts'ien* in the older bronzes is written 𠂔, 𠂔, and 𠂔.










On the Honan bones we find it reversed in 𠂔 (H. 760 and 773), and in 𠂔 (*Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i*, ch. 6, p. 46), and normal in 𠂔 (*YHSC.*, ch. 8, p. 5).








As Lo Chên-yü points out (*Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih*, p. 17), when multiples of *thousand* are to be expressed, the numeral indicating the multiple is so written as to form a combined character with 千 *ts'ien*, and this both on bronzes and bones. Thus, on the Yü Ting (*Chün Ku Lu Chün Wen*, vol. ix, p. 42) the number 3081 is written 𠂔. On the bones we have 3000 written both 𠂔 (*Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i*, ch. 6, p. 34) and 𠂔 (ch. 6, p. 38), and in ch. 7, p. 15, occurs the complicated compound 𠂔 for 5000. I can propose no pictorial origin for 千 *ts'ien*. The alternative form is 𠂔, which follows the example of 佰 *pé* in being applied to a *thousand cash* and to the head of a thousand troops.

TEN THOUSAND, 萬 *wan*





With this we enter the last stage of the numeral characters, the examination of which has been the aim of the present paper. But "the sting is in the tail", and we shall feel the irritant point of it in our terminal study. Let us follow first the character backwards from its present shape.



The *Shuo Wen* gives its Lesser Seal version as , and defines it as 蟲也 *ch'ung yeh*, an insect, and states the composition thus: 象形從宀 *hsiang hsing ts'ung jou*, "a pictogram; composed with *jou*."

Owing to the borrowing of this character at an early date to express a homophonous and very common word *wan*, ten thousand, we find large numbers of examples in early inscriptions on the bronzes, but the following are the essential variations of type: (1) , (2) , (3) , (4) , (5) , (6) , (7) , (8) , (9) , arranged purposely on a scale of diminishing complexity of the cross-piece in the lower part, for a reason that will appear. They are taken from Wu Ta-ch'êng's *Shuo Wen Ku Chou Pu*, vol. ii, p. 87.





When we turn to the Honan bones examples are by no means common. But I can quote from my own collection (H.) and that in the British Museum (C.), the subjoined instances:  (H., cowrie B). Compare this with  (SWKCP., vol. ii, p. 87).  (H. 223 in combination). Compare with No. 5 above.  (H. 568 in comb.). Compare with  (SWKCP., vol. ii, p. 87).  (H. 310 in comb.),  (C. 1994 in comb.).



The succeeding four variants occur in combination with the radical 水 *shui*, water, and compose a character cited

in Kanghsi from the Stone Drums, and said to be a scription of 漫 *man*. They are shown in the *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i Ka'o Shih*, p. 9, and in *chüan* 2, p. 11, and ch. 5, p. 31, of the *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i*, where they occur as place-names. They are , , , and , and it should be noticed that they are without the characteristic cross-piece of the bronze examples. They lead directly to the only form cited by Lo Chên-yü under 萬 *wan*, viz.

. This occurs as a place-name in his ch. 3, p. 30. But a closely similar form in my collection (H. 471) is , and seems to occur as a numeral.

And now two questions present themselves for solution. What is the graphic significance of this pictogram—as it evidently is; what does it aim at representing? And secondly, why is the thing thus represented selected to write the word *wan*, meaning ten thousand?


On the first point let us hear what Lo Chên-yü has to say. He writes (YHSKKS., p. 17), after quoting the *Shuo Wen*'s entry that *wan* is an insect, and that the character is composed with  *jou* (usually rendered "a beast's footprints"), and is a pictogram: "It is not said *what* insect, but in the oracular sentences, and on the ancient bronzes, the forms , , etc., all depict a scorpion, 蝎 *hsieh*, and are not 'composed with *jou*'. On the bronzes sometimes written .

On the Stone Drums first appears as , having lost its primitive shape. Tuan Yü-ts'ai writes (in his edition of the *Shuo Wen*), 'composed with  *jou*, a beast's footprints, for this insect's four feet (*sic*) resemble those of a beast,' which is all based on the later shape of the character, — an explanation very wide of the truth." So, then, Lo has no doubts

as to what the figure depicts. It is a scorpion; and certainly he must be right, the curving tail especially betrays the vicious little arachnid. Presumably, then, *wan*, ten thousand, having no other means of writing itself, borrowed a homophone to do so, as happened in so many other cases. But here comes the difficulty, one that is quietly ignored by the native scholars. There is no trace of any such word for scorpion as *wan* or *man* in the records of Chinese literature or the vocabularies of any existing dialect. The only possible explanation seems to be that *wan*, or probably *man*, represents an *obsolete* word for a scorpion. This must, presumably, also be the view of the author of the *Choyokaku Ji Kan*.

This excellent authority, under the entry 萬 *ch'ai*, a scorpion, first cites several examples alleged to be early instances of that character. The first of these, from the *Pé ku t'u*, is a striking pictogram, which I reproduce,



(But there is no context in this or the *Choyokaku Ji Kan*'s succeeding example. The pictogram *may* stand for *ch'ai*, but it might also be *wan*.) The author then goes on to cite a number of other forms, the first of which is , and observes that this and the remaining examples were "borrowed" to write 萬 *wan*, adding that we have here 形之假借 *hsing chih chia chieh*, the "borrowing of a shape". By this, of course, is meant the borrowing of the character of a word with one sound, to write a word with another sound, *but with the same sense*. Hence the Japanese author must believe that *wan* had once the meaning of scorpion.

I must not omit to mention another suggestion as to the origin of this character, which is tentatively put forward in the *Liu Shu Ku*. The author, Tai Tung, recalls the existence of the word 范 *fan*, a bee, and

wonders whether 萬 *wan* was not perhaps the original scription of the word afterwards written 范 *fan*. And certainly a "swarm of bees" would be most appropriate to suggest a very high number such as ten thousand. But apart from the discrepancy of the rhyme, and of the tone-series, between *wan* and *fan*, which do not agree in either point, it would be almost certain that a swarm would be symbolically suggested by the triplication of the character, as so often elsewhere in analogous cases. And a final, and it seems to me a fatal, objection to this view, is the characteristic and vivid curling of the tail in the pictogram, which does not suit for the bee, but to those who have seen how an angry scorpion behaves, is unmistakable.

There remains an element in the character, which is written 𠂔 in its Lesser Seal development, but in most of the variants shown in the earlier bronzes appearing as 𠂔, 𠂔, 𠂔, 𠂔, and finally 一. Lo Chên-yü seems to dispute this as a separate component, but I cannot quite concur with that view. Is it, I wonder, an attempt to represent the *sting* in the tail symbolically, and rather superfluously? At any rate, I can suggest no other explanation.

The following interesting passage is translated from a note in the *Choyokaku Ji Kan*, under the character 萬 *wan*, in illustration of a curvilinear version of a *swastika* found upon a Chinese tile of early Han date. It throws some, but not to myself enough, light on the problem why the Buddhist symbols *swastika* and *sauwastika* should have been introduced into Chinese writing as synonyms of the word *wan*, ten thousand:—

"㊦. From a Han dynasty tile. The *wan* of 子孫 千 𠂔 *tsü sun ch'ien wan*, 'posterity in thousands and myriads,' is thus written. The formation of the character is archaic (奇古 *ch'i ku*), and without doubt this [tile]

must be an object of the Western Han dynasty date [B.C. 206 to A.D. 23].

"In the *Fan I Ming I Tsi* 翻譯名義集 [published about A.D. 1151] we read: '𠄎, the word 萬 *wan* in western lands (西域 *hsi yü*). According to the *Hua Yen Ching Yin I* 華嚴經音義, "Sounds and Meanings of the *Vatamsaka Sutra*," 𠄎 is not really the word 𠄎. In the second year of the regnal period 長壽 *ch'ang shou* of the Great Chou dynasty [viz. A.D. 693, in the reign of the Empress Wu Hou], the sovereign designed this character [𠄎], placed it over the Imperial Portal, 天樞 *t'ien ch'u*, and declared its sound to be *wan* 萬.' According to this explanation, 𠄎 seems to be considered a Chinese character (依此說似以 𠄎 爲漢字者). However, [the same work] also quotes from the *Kao Tséng Chuan* 高僧傳, or Record of famous Buddhist Priests, the following passage: 'Of the four rules for translating, the second is to translate the sounds without translating the characters, for example, 𠄎 [thus here printed; 𠄎 *swastika* is meant], in the *Hua Yen Ching* 華嚴經, *Vatamsaka Sutra*. By this method, the word 萬 *wan* is used to translate, but the structure of the character is still in Indian script (以此方萬字翻之而字體猶是梵書).'

"According to this explanation, we can tell that the character 𠄎 first appears in the chapter Siddha [of the 梵章 *Fan Chang*, 'a syllabary in twelve parts attributed to Brahma,' see Eitel's *Handbook of Buddhism*, p. 126]. We have been told that Buddhism entered China about the end of the Ts'in and beginning of the Han dynasties. Now, on the evidence of this tile, it is abundantly credible that at the height of the Han dynasty Buddhist works were already current. But if so, then the Empress Wu also received this as an existing character. The story that she invented the symbol 𠄎 is altogether erroneous.

Later, also written 卐." Thus the author of the *Choyokaku Ji Kan*.

From this last symbol, the *swastika*, I suppose 卐, the vulgar scription of 萬 *wan*, to be derived.

These notes have grown under my hand in such unexpected measure, that I can only hope they may not prove correspondingly tedious to the reader.

XXI

THE EIGHT IMMORTALS

By W. PERCEVAL YETTS

ONE of the subjects beloved of Chinese artists is a venerable figure in an attitude of profound reverie shown as part of a wild and romantic scene of forest, crag, and torrent. Sometimes below his rocky hermitage there stretches a plain with far-off shadowy outlines of ordinary mortal habitations, of which the faint remoteness suggests the gulf separating him from mundane cares and vanities. Looking at such a one, instinct tells us that he feels, to use the words of Shelley, "as if his nature were resolved into the surrounding universe, or as if the surrounding universe were resolved into his being." He belongs to a strange race, variously named by Western writers Fairies, Immortals, Genii, Rishi. And here may it be remarked in parenthesis that neither "fairy" nor "immortal" is a term that exactly fits them; nor, indeed, does Arabic *jinn* or Sanskrit *rishi*. They are a race peculiarly Chinese and apart. Hence it would seem most appropriate to call them by their native name *hsien*, now commonly written 仙, a pictogram representing perfectly the essence of their cult—the primitive contact of man with Nature typified by the mountains. *Hsien*, therefore, they will be termed in these pages.

The painter's motive in using this figure might be explained by desire to symbolize the untarnished thought and feeling of early Taoism—something near akin to that passionate love of Nature instinctive in the Chinese mind. Perhaps he seeks thus to convey a hint of the emotion that inspires his brush; yet maybe he is conscious of no loftier purpose than to complete the scheme of composition. Whatever the reason, the frequent presence

of this figure in landscape as an integral part of the picture is a characteristic and significant feature of a form of art adjudged the highest achievement of the national genius.

Now, while *hsien* may be depicted without personal attributes merely as types of their kind, more often they appear as endowed with definite individuality. They are made recognizable by some distinguishing emblem (*pao pei* 寶貝) or peculiarity, so that the place of each in the legendary lore of Taoism can be identified. The number of *hsien* whose lives and exploits are recorded in the standard works on the subject reaches a formidable total; but for the purposes of popular representation a comparatively small throng of several score has been selected by common usage.¹ Among these latter the favourite and by far the most ubiquitous are the *pa hsien* 八仙, so well known to Western students and collectors under the title of The Eight Immortals. The purpose of this article is to give the generally accepted tradition surrounding this group of eight as exemplified in the works of Chinese artists and craftsmen. To do so within the space of a few pages it seems best to combine the writer's notes upon a large number of objects of art with extracts from some single widely known and representative book. Such a book is the *Lieh hsien chuan* 列仙傳. Its title is the same as that of a famous collection of short biographies attributed to the statesman, author, and magician Liu Hsiang² 劉向 of the first century B.C.

¹ Study of this still sufficiently numerous body in its relation to Chinese art has for many years pleasantly occupied the writer's leisure hours. What follows is a fragment of the results, publication of which has of necessity been postponed owing to the War. The exigencies of military service would have rendered revision of even this short article impossible but for the help of my friend Dr. Lionel Giles, who, though faced with similar difficulties, has kindly found time to make many valuable corrections. I wish also to acknowledge indebtedness to Mr. Chu Ch'i 朱琪, with whose aid some time since in Peking the translation of Chinese texts was first made.

² See Giles, *Biog. Dict.*, No. 1300.

The book translated here was compiled by a Taoist called Huan-ch'u 還初, probably towards the end of the Yüan period (A.D. 1206-1368). Unlike its older namesake it is illustrated, the fifty-five *hsien* whose lives it contains being portrayed in a corresponding number of woodcuts. The quality of the illustrations suggests that they, like the text, were derived from different sources, for they are of unequal merit. Some show skill and imagination, while others are poor affairs. The text is carelessly put together; many passages that can be traced to their origin are found to be misquoted or mutilated, and typographical errors are frequent. Perhaps these are sufficient reasons why it is not included among the 1,464 works comprising the official canon 道藏 described by Wieger.¹ What is most important for our purpose is the fact that this *Lieh hsien chuan* seems to have provided a sort of handbook of Taoist mythology to which reproducers of such themes have turned for information. Its convenient size, small price, frequent editions, and many illustrations explain its popularity and wide circulation.²

The names of The Eight Immortals, according to the generally accepted version, are as follows: Chung-li Ch'üan, Ho Hsien-ku, Chang Kuo, Lü Tung-pin, Han Hsiang Tzū, Ts'ao Kuo-chiu, Li T'ieh-kuai, and Lan Ts'ai-ho. It should be mentioned, however, that one or two in the list are occasionally replaced by other *hsien*.

Just when the Eight came first to be grouped together seems to be as great a mystery as the reason why these particular *hsien* should have been picked out for special honour. According to a passage quoted by Mayers, the tradition that establishes them as a definite unit is traceable to no higher antiquity than the Yüan period.³ One of them,

¹ *Taoïsme*, vol. i.

² A translation by Dr. Laloy of nearly all the first *chüan* was published in the *Bulletin de l'Association amicale franco-chinoise*, vol. v, No. 4, 1913.

³ *Chinese Reader's Manual*, pt. ii, No. 251.

Ts'ao Kuo-chiu, is said to have lived as late as the Sung. On the other hand, it seems certain that some group of *pa hsien* was recognized at a much earlier date, for in the dictionary *P'ien tsü lei pien* 駢字類編 there is mention of a T'ang book entitled 八仙傳; and besides, the famous "Eight Immortals of the Wine Cup" 飲中八仙 belong to the same period. It is a fact that single members of the group were painted as early as the T'ang—witness the masterly ninth century drawing of Lü Tung-pin reproduced in the first volume of *Ars Asiatica*, of which the authors remark that the date of the picture warrants the supposition that here we have an actual authentic portrait. At the present day it is rare to find representations of our group that can be attributed beyond doubt to a period earlier than the Ming; certainly I have never seen one.

CHUNG-LI CH'ÜAN

鍾離權

This *hsien* is generally bearded and corpulent, and is often shown half-naked. Artists do not as a rule attempt to reproduce all the curious physical features attributed to him in the following biography. He is to be recognized by his distinctive emblem, a fan 扇, which may be one made of feathers, as in the accompanying woodcut, or one roughly quadrangular with rounded corners and concave edges, made from the leaf of the fan-palm. The latter type of fan is often combined with a fly-whisk fixed to its distal end. Occasionally he appears with a two-edged sword, the *pao pei* of his pupil Lü Tung-pin (see p. 789).

Biography from *Lieh hsien chuan*, i, 34 seq. :—

Chung-li Ch'üan was a native of Yen Tai 燕臺. In later life he assumed the name (*ming*) of Chüeh 覺. He



CHUNG-LI CH'UAN

(From *Lieh hui chuan*.)

was also known by the style (*tsü*) of The Taoist Hermit 寂道, and by the pseudonyms (*hao*) The Philosopher Wang-yang 王陽子 and The Master Yün-fang 雲房先生.

His father was one of the small princelings of the second rank 侯, and he ruled his fief from the town of Yün-chung 雲中.¹

The birth of this sage was accompanied with strange phenomena in the shape of rays of light, scores of feet in length, whereat all those in attendance were much amazed.

The babe had a high dome-like top to his head 頂圓, a massive brow 額廣, large ears 耳厚, elongated eyebrows, deep-set eyes, a prominent nose 鼻聳, a square-shaped mouth, a large jaw, and lips and cheeks the colour of cinnabar. His nipples were set far apart, and his arms were as long as those of a three-year-old child.²

¹ Now Ta-t'ung Fu 大同府, in Shansi.

² Instances are numerous of distinguished persons exhibiting strange abnormalities at birth. The peculiarities credited to Lao Tzū, for example, make a formidable list. Obviously several of them refer to the aged appearance he presented when born. "His hair was white; his complexion yellow; his ears long 長耳; his eyes large and wide 鉅目" (probably 鉅 used for 巨 or 鉅); "his nose had a double bridge, and each ear three orifices; he had a fine beard and a broad forehead; his teeth had gaps between them; and his mouth was square-shaped. The soles of his feet were inscribed with characters, three on one and five on the other, and the palm of each hand had ten 足蹈三五手把十文" (*Lieh hsien chuan*, i, 1 seq.). Compare also the account of Lü Tung-pin (p. 790), and this passage from the book *Shui ching chi* 水鏡集: "Li T'ai-po had a figure like a tortoise on the soles of his feet. On the breast of Confucius were inscribed the characters 制件定世符, and on that of Śākyamuni a swastika."

The fact that several parallels to the above are to be found among the "Eighty Lesser Points of Beauty" 八十種好 possessed by a Buddha perhaps points to an Indian influence in these Taoist tales. For instance: "A massive brow, round and full 額廣圓滿; ears thick and long 耳垂厚長; a prominent nose 高鼻; arms reaching to the knees 手蹠腴相; hands, feet, and breast marked with lucky emblems 手足胸臆吉祥" (see De Harlez, *Vocabulaire*

Day and night he never uttered a sound till he was seven days old, when, springing to his feet, he exclaimed:

"My feet have wandered in the purple palace of the *hsien*¹ 紫府.

My name is recorded in the capital of the Jade Emperor² 玉京."

On reaching man's estate, he was given command of an expedition sent by the Han Emperor against the Tibetans; but, having suffered defeat, he became a fugitive riding alone through wild and mountainous country. Lost in a dense forest, he came upon a foreign priest with unkempt locks hanging over his face and garments made of straw. The priest led the way for several *li* till they came within sight of a village. "This is the abode," he said, "of The Master Tung-hua 東華先生, who has attained *Tao*.³ You can get a lodging here." Then, making a bow, he departed. Chung-li Ch'üan did not venture to knock on a door for fear of startling the villagers, but after some time he heard someone say, "This must be due to the blabbing of that blue-eyed foreigner."

Bouddhique Sanscrit-Chinois, p. 15 seq.). It might be as well to remark that in oriental iconography the term "long ears" refers specially to the size of the lower part of the pinna. The Chinese have a proverb: "Ears hanging to the shoulders, a most illustrious person."

¹ The celestial abode of good Taoists. "紫府即是仙宮 The purple mansion is the same as 'the palace of the Genii'."—Lockhart, *Manual of Chinese Quotations*, p. 471.

² The supreme deity in the pantheon of later Taoism.

³ 成道 or 得道 is an expression often occurring in these biographies. It is also used in Buddhist literature for attainment to that most exalted plane of enlightenment which constitutes Buddhahood. To quote Chuang Tzū, "*Tao* is without beginning and without end," and hence it follows that those who become one with *Tao* attain immortality, in other words become *hsien*. This is no place to attempt a discussion of the meaning of *Tao*, even if there had been anything left unsaid by the many distinguished sinologists who have dealt with the subject. The reader is referred to the writings of Rémusat, Julien, Chalmers, Watters, Legge, H. A. and L. Giles, Balfour, Parker, and De Groot. To indicate the elusive nature of *Tao* it is sufficient to quote the well-known words attributed to Lao Tzū himself: "Those who know about it do not speak, those who speak about it do not know."

Then there appeared an aged man, clad in white deer-skins and leaning upon a blackthorn staff, who addressed him in a loud voice. "Are you not the Han General Chung-li Ch'üan?" cried he, "and why have you not found a lodging with the foreign priest?" Hearing these words Chung-li Ch'üan was amazed, and recognized that this was no ordinary man. He reflected that having made his escape from deadly perils (lit. from the lairs of tigers and wolves 虎狼之穴), now was the time to direct his thoughts to the mysteries of immortality (lit. ideas of the *luan*¹ and crane² 鸞鶴之思).

¹ This fabulous bird seems to be interchangeable with the phoenix, *feng* 鳳, both in pictures and literature. It combines the physical characteristics of the pheasant and peacock. The *luan* is associated in Taoist lore with ideas of immortality. It figures among the retinue of the mysterious fairy queen Hsi Wang Mu 西王母, and some accounts describe an azure *luan* as heralding her approach to the Emperor Wu Ti of the Han 漢武帝, when she brought him the gift of seven magic peaches of immortality.—Pétillon, *Allusions Littéraires*, pp. 178, 510. See also H. A. Giles, *Adversaria Sinica*, i, p. 2 seq. Mei Fu 梅福, one of the *hsien*, was carried up to heaven on the back of a *luan*.—*Lieh hsien chuan*, ii, p. 10.

² Regarded as the patriarch among birds, for according to popular tradition it lives to a fabulous age. It is not surprising, therefore, that the crane is associated with *hsien*, and constantly makes its appearance in pictures with Taoist motives. Indeed, it is often called 仙鶴. Tung Wang Kung 東王公 and the God of Longevity 壽老 are seldom portrayed without one in attendance; and a frequent theme is Wang Tzū-ch'iao 王子喬 being carried heavenwards upon the back of a white crane. See also Lan Ts'ai-ho (p. 807). Perhaps the commonest representation of the crane in the class of picture we are considering shows the bird holding in its beak a rod or tally 籌, as, for example, it does in the accompanying woodcut of Chung-li Ch'üan. Such a combination is usually described by the phrase 鶴算添籌, which means "Heaven lengthens the span of life". An explanation of how it comes to have this meaning involves several classical allusions. In the first place a crane may be regarded as synonymous with heaven on account of this passage in the *Canon of Poetry*: 鶴鳴於九皋 聲聞於天. Then the idea of longevity conveyed by 籌 is derived partly from the structure of the character itself, and partly from a well-known anecdote illustrating the endless life of *hsien*. This little tale has several variations, but the one in the *Ch'ou ch'ih pi chi* 仇池筆記

And so his heart returned to the contemplation of *Tao*. He earnestly begged for the secret of transcending mortal limitations from the old man, who thereupon imparted to him not only an infallible magic process for attaining longevity, but also the degree of heat required to produce the "Philosopher's Stone" 金丹, and the Green Dragon¹ method of sword-play.² As Chung-li-Ch'üan was about to depart, having taken leave of the old man, he turned round for a last look at the village, and lo! it had vanished.

By and by he came across the Taoist adept Hua-yang 華陽真人,³ and received from him a pinch of the Great Monad⁴ 太乙, a fire charm, and some of the spiritual drug of immortality 內丹.

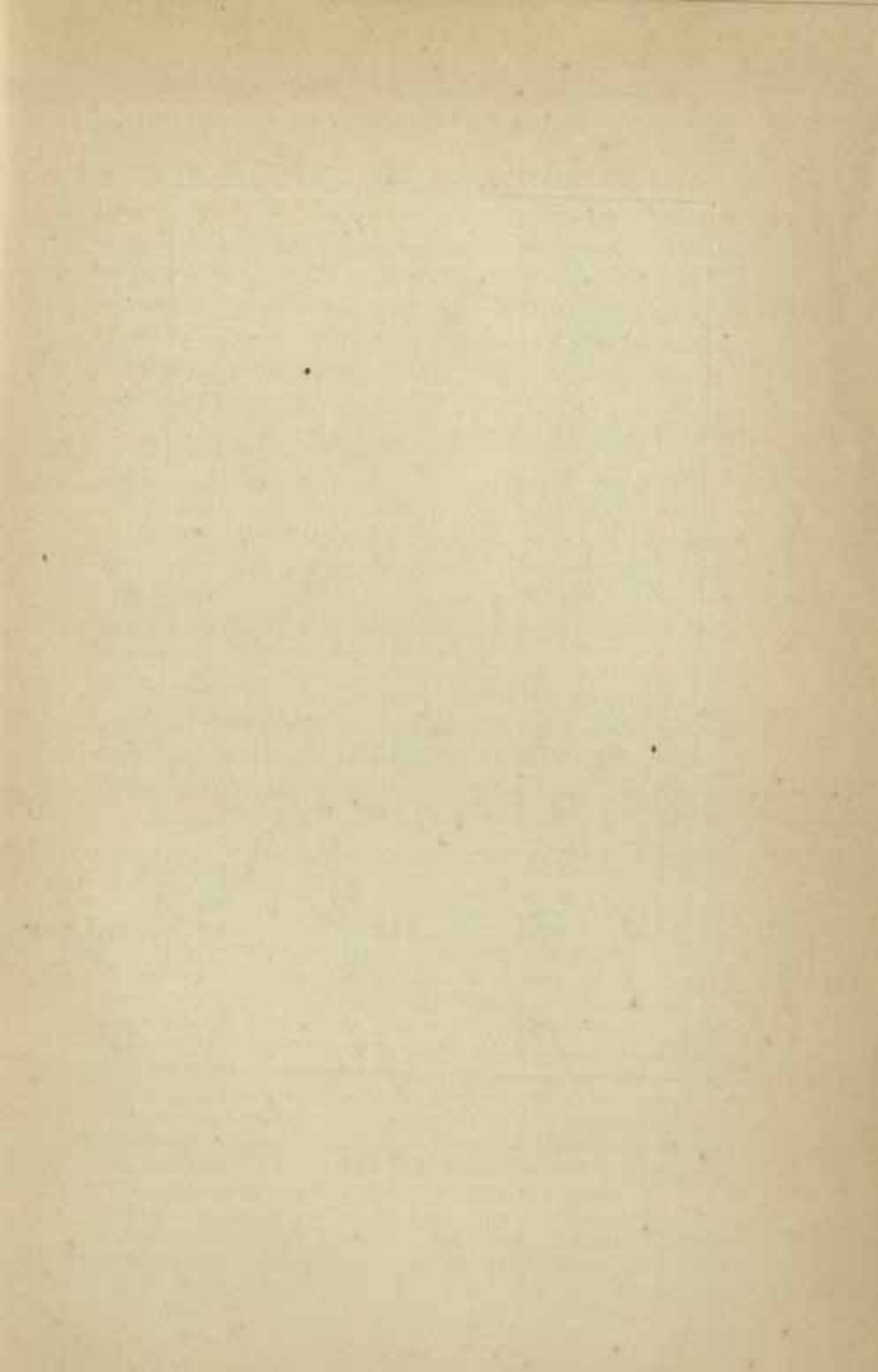
is expressed in as picturesque terms as any. Thus: "Once upon a time there were three ancient men met together, and someone asked of them how old they were. One replied: 'My memory fails me in counting the years, but this I do remember, that in my youth I had duties to perform under the direction of P'an Ku 盤古'" (A mythical being concerned in the creation of the world. See Mayers, *Chinese Reader's Manual*, No. 558). "Another said: 'Each time the sea has turned into a mulberry orchard I have thrown down a slip of bamboo 籌 to mark the event, and now I have ten rooms full of these tallies.'" (The sea turned into a mulberry orchard is a metaphor for cataclysms vast enough to change the configuration of the world, and hence for measureless epochs of time. Cf. *Lieh hsien chuan*, ii, 21.) "The third said: 'My tutor ate one of the peaches of immortality 蟠桃, and threw the stone down to the foot of the K'un-lun Mountains 崑崙' (in other words, the peach came from the gardens of Hsi Wang Mu), 'and now the tree that has sprung from it is as tall as the mountain itself.'"

¹ The Green Dragon is one of the Four Supernatural Creatures 四神, and is associated with the eastern quadrant of the vault of heaven. Perhaps here it has some astrological significance.

² The two-edged sword 劍 still forms part of every Taoist magician's equipment.

³ A sobriquet of the famous Taoist magician T'ao Hung-ching 陶弘景. See Mayers, *Chinese Reader's Manual*, pt. i, No. 711, and Giles, *Biog. Dict.*, No. 1896. The fact that historically he lived A.D. 451-536 in no way convicts the author of the *Lieh hsien chuan* of an anachronism; for *hsien*, of course, are independent of time.

⁴ "A cosmogonical term alluding to the condition of all things as *one*, before the evolution of the *Yin* and the *Yang*, the interaction of which gave birth to the phenomena of nature."—Giles, *Dict.*, No. 5341.



何仙姑



HO HSIEN-KU

(From *Lieh hsien chuan*.)

Chung-li Ch'üan wandered about in haphazard fashion till he reached the State of Lu¹ 魯, and dwelt for a while in the city of Tsou 鄒. Later on he retired to the K'ung-t'ung 崆峒 Mountains,² and took up his abode on the Red-gold 紫金 Peak, where the Four Grey-heads³ 四皓 had lived. There he found a jade casket containing the arcana of Taoism, and, having attained hsienship, departed this world.

HO HSIEN-KU

何仙姑

Ho Hsien-ku is shown as a comely girl sometimes dressed in elaborate robes, but more often wearing over a simple garment the leafy cape and skirt affected by the *hsien*. A large ladle 筴箇 is her recognized emblem. Its bowl, made of bamboo basketwork, is often filled with several objects associated with Taoist immortality, e.g., the magic fungus⁴ 靈芝 and peach⁵ 蟠桃; sprigs of bamboo and

¹ In modern Shantung. Famous as the birth-place of Confucius.

² "In Kansuh."—Giles, *Dict.*, No. 6597.

³ Four worthies who, to escape the troublous times at the end of the third century B.C., retired to a hermit life. See Mayers, *Chinese Reader's Manual*, pt. ii, No. 83.

⁴ This, the most ubiquitous object in Chinese art, has received various botanical names. (See Bretschneider, *Botanicum Sinicum*, Journ. Chin. Br. R.A.S., vol. xxv, p. 40, and vol. xxix, p. 418.) Its branches expand into flattened umbilicated extremities with scolloped edges. It is probably largely because of the resistance its wood-like substance offers to decay that it has been adopted as the emblem *par excellence* of immortality. There are records of its supernatural qualities having been recognized as early as the third century B.C. (see Chavannes, *Mém. Hist.*, vol. ii, p. 176 seq.), and to the present day it is sold by native apothecaries as a drug capable of prolonging life.

⁵ Any representation of the magic peach is a covert allusion to that enigmatical figure, Hsi Wang Mu, the Queen of Taoist Fairyland. See note, p. 779. Among the wonders of her mountain domain was the tree that bore but once in 3,000 years peaches the taste of which gave immortality.

of pine¹; and flowers of the narcissus² 水仙花. The place of the ladle may be taken by the more picturesque long-stalked lotus bloom; and sometimes she holds just a fly-whisk or the basket of wild fruit and herbs gathered for her mother.

Biography from *Lieh hsien chuan*, ii, 32, 33:—

Ho Hsien-ku was the daughter of Ho T'ai 何泰, of the town of Tsêng-ch'êng 增城縣, in the prefecture of Canton.

At birth she had six long hairs on the crown of her head. When she was about 14 or 15 a divine personage 神人 appeared to her in a dream and instructed her to eat powdered mica³ 雲母粉, in order that her body might become etherealized and immune from death 常輕身不死. So she swallowed it, and also vowed to remain a virgin.

Up hill and down dale she used to flit just like a creature with wings. Every day at dawn she sallied forth, to return at dusk, bringing back mountain fruits she had gathered for her mother.

Later on by slow degrees she gave up taking ordinary food.⁴

¹ Bamboo and pine, being evergreen, are emblems of longevity.

² The name the narcissus bears is sufficient reason why it should be included in this category.

³ For the meaning of 雲母 see note by Dr. Laufer in *T'oung Pao*, vol. xvi, p. 192. Perhaps a parallel may be found here between the alchemy of China and the West. Tale, a mineral often confused with mica, figures prominently in the writings of mediaeval alchemists, and as late as 1670 it was advocated as a mysterious preservative of youth and beauty by the Apothecary in Ordinary to the English Royal Household, N. le Febure by name, in his *Compleat Body of Chymistry*, pt. ii, p. 106 seq.

⁴ One of the first steps on the road to hsienship. Taoists are often said to have given up the ordinary diet of cereals. Some gradually reduce their food till they die of starvation. So emaciated is their condition that their bodies after death become mummified, and thus they

The Empress Wu¹ 武后 dispatched a messenger to summon her to attend at the palace, but on the way thither she disappeared.²

In the *ching lung* period (about A.D. 707) she ascended on high in broad daylight,³ and became a *hsien* 白日昇仙.

In the ninth year of the *t'ien pao* period (A.D. 750) Ho Hsien-ku reappeared, standing amidst rainbow clouds over a shrine dedicated to Ma Ku 麻姑. Again, in the *ta li* period (about A.D. 772) she appeared in the flesh on the Hsiao-shih Tower 小石樓 at Canton.

do actually attain a kind of corporeal immortality. Particulars of this aspect of Chinese eschatology are to be found in an article by the writer in JRAS. for July, 1911.

¹ The notorious woman who, through the possession of an extraordinary personality and a genius for intrigue, rose from obscurity to become the supreme ruler of China during the latter part of the seventh century. See Mayers, *Chinese Reader's Manual*, pt. i, No. 862; and Giles, *Biog. Dict.*, No. 2331.

² i.e. Ho Hsien-ku eluded the envoy. Chinese legend abounds in instances of summonses to Court being sent to hermit sages and others who had cut themselves off from worldly affairs. The recipients have almost invariably shown a consistent contempt for mundane honours by refusing to comply, and imperial curiosity as to their reputed wisdom or powers of magic has remained unsatisfied.

³ The actual period of the day or night when emancipation from earthly ties takes place and the final stage in becoming a *hsien* is completed is considered in Taoist lore to have a determining influence upon the subsequent career of the *hsien*. See, for example, the following passage from the *Chi hsien lu* 集仙錄: "When (after death) the body remains like that of a living man, the condition is that of release from the flesh, *shih chieh* 尸解; when the legs do not become discoloured nor the skin wrinkled—that is *shih chieh*; when the eyes remain bright and unsunken, in no respect differing from those of a living man—that is *shih chieh*; when resuscitation follows death—that is *shih chieh*; when the corpse vanishes before it is encoffined, and when the hair falls off before the mortal body soars (to heaven)—both of these are *shih chieh*. Most perfect is the release that takes place in broad daylight, but less complete is the release that occurs at midnight. When it takes place at dawn or at dusk, then the persons concerned are relegated to a terrestrial abode" (i.e. they will not reach the celestial paradise, but remain in haunts of the *hsien* on earth, such as the K'un-lun Mountains 崑崙, the Isles of the Blest 三仙山, and the Five Sacred Hills 五嶽).

CHANG KUO

張果

This member of the group is easily recognized by his *pao pei*, a curious object which to Western eyes resembles a diminutive golfer's bag containing two clubs. Actually it is a kind of musical instrument called a "fish-drum" 魚鼓, composed of a cylinder, often of bamboo, over one end of which is stretched a piece of prepared fish or snake skin. What look like two projecting golf clubs are the ends of long slips of bamboo used as castanets. They may be carried in his hand. Another attribute, distinctive of this *hsien*, is the white donkey upon whose back he rides. The association existing between the two is so close that frequently when Chang Kuo is represented unmounted (his ass presumably being tucked away in his cap-box), a miniature image of the animal may be seen amid a curling wreath of vapour emitted from the open end of his drum, or from the mouth of the calabash that forms part of the outfit of every *hsien*.

Biography from *Lieh hsien chuan*, ii, 28 seq.:—

Chang Kuo lived the life of a hermit on Mount Chung-t'iao 中條山 in Hêng Chou¹ 恒州, and used to wander, to and fro, between the River Fen² 汾 and the Chin³ 晉 territory.

He acquired the magic art of prolonging life 得長生秘. It was his custom to ride a white ass, travelling tens of thousands of *li* a day. Whenever he stopped to rest, he folded his donkey up, when it was no thicker than paper, and slipped it into his cap-box. Then as soon

¹ Corresponding to part of the modern prefecture of Ta-t'ung Fu 大同府, in Shansi.

² The chief river of Shansi.

³ A state, which ceased to exist about the middle of the fifth century a.c., comprising parts of the modern provinces of Shansi, Honan, and Chihli. It is still used as a literary name for Shansi.

張果



CHANG KUO

(From *Lieh hsien chuan*.)

as he wished to ride again he squirted water from his mouth over it, and transformed it back into a donkey.

The Emperors T'ai Tsung 太宗 (A.D. 627-49) and Kao Tsung 高宗 (A.D. 650-83) of the T'ang summoned him to Court, but he refused to go.¹ The Empress Wu² also sent for him to leave his mountain retreat, but he feigned death in front of the Tu-nü Shrine 妬女廟. The season then being blazing hot, in a very short while his body gave forth the odour of putrefaction and begot worms, whereupon the Empress was convinced that he was really dead. Subsequently someone saw him again on the Hêng Chou mountain.

In the twenty-third year of the *k'ai yüan* period (A.D. 735) the Emperor Ming Huang³ 明皇 commissioned a eunuch secretary, by name P'ei Wu 裴晤, to ride post haste to Hêng Chou to fetch him. Chang Kuo went to the Eastern Capital,⁴ where he was installed in the Chi-hsien Palace 集賢院, and treated with all possible courtesy and respect. The Emperor plied him with questions about the *hsien*, but he gave no reply.

He was an adept at regulating the breath⁵ 息氣.

¹ See note, p. 783.

² See note, p. 783.

³ Sixth Emperor of the T'ang dynasty, during whose reign from 712 to 756 there figured many characters famous in Chinese history. At first a beneficent ruler and patron of arts and literature, later he neglected affairs of state to indulge in dissipation, becoming a mere tool in the hands of his concubines and eunuchs.

⁴ Lo-yang 洛陽, the modern Ho-nan Fu 河南府.

⁵ Breathing exercises form an important part of the physical training followed by Taoists in their quest for longevity. As described to the writer by a certain aged man, who certainly bore in his person testimony to their efficacy, they consist in a series of deep inspirations alternating with periods during which the air is held in the lungs. The old Taoist explained how the air followed a route comprising the entire circuit of the body. The practice of regulating the breath is, of course, not peculiar to the cult of *Tao*, and it may have been borrowed from Buddhism, or at any rate from India. For a note on this subject containing references to Buddhist literature, see R. F. Johnston, *Buddhist China*, pp. 245-6.

and for days together would go without food, drinking frequent potions of wine. The Emperor having bestowed upon him some wine, he declined it, saying, "Your servant is able to drink no more than two pints, but he has a disciple who can manage ten." Ming Huang was pleased and gave orders for him to be summoned. All of a sudden a small Taoist priest 道士 flew down from the roof of the palace. Aged about 15 or 16, he had a handsome face and an engaging personality. The Emperor having ordered him to be seated, Chang Kuo protested, "My disciple should remain standing while in attendance upon Your Majesty." This pleased the Emperor still more, and he presented some wine to the disciple, who managed to drink off a small *tou*¹ 斗 of it. Chang Kuo then called a halt, exclaiming, "Pray give him no more, or it will exceed his limit." Nevertheless, Ming Huang insisted upon presenting him with more, the result being that he became drunk, and the wine welled up out through the crown of his head, dislodging his cap, which fell to the ground. Instantly he was transformed into a golden wine-cup. The Emperor and the imperial concubines alike were amazed and amused to see the Taoist disappear and nothing left in his place but a golden cup. On examination it proved to be one belonging to the Chi-hsien Palace, and just capable of holding a single *tou* of wine.²

The Emperor addressed Kao Li-shih³ 高力士, saying:

¹ The *tou* is a measure containing 10 pints.

² This magical performance on the part of our *hsien* was doubtless intended to have an allegorical significance, and goes to prove that he was tactful enough to adapt himself to his surroundings. Considered in the light of his bibulous history it suggests an interesting feature of the Taoist cult.

³ Chief of the palace eunuchs. He was given the post of Prime Minister by the dissolute monarch. Kao Li-shih appears as frequently in pictorial art as he does in historical anecdote. He was the high official whom the Emperor compelled to go down on his knees and pull the boots off Li T'ai-po, after the poet had delighted the Court with some verses penned in a fit of alcoholic inspiration. And he it was who,

"I have heard it said that he who can drink aconite¹ without suffering harm is a marvellous being. Since the weather now is cold, let Chang Kuo have some in his wine." They did so, and having drunk three lots Kuo collapsed, exclaiming, "This wine is not good." He then lay down to sleep. Presently his teeth were observed to grow black and to recede into the gums; whereupon he looked round, and, taking a *ju-i*² 如意 from one of the bystanders, he knocked them out and wrapped them up in his girdle. Then he brought out some ointment which he rubbed upon his gums, and slowly a new set of teeth appeared as white and glistening as jade.

Whilst the Emperor was hunting at Hsien-yang³ 咸陽 he killed a large deer, and was about to tell his chief steward to have it cooked, when Chang Kuo said: "This is a supernatural 仙 deer; it is fully a thousand years old. Long ago in the fifth year of the period *yüan shou* (B.C. 118), during the reign of the Han Emperor Wu,⁴ I was with the imperial retinue when they were at the time of the Emperor's downfall, had the lot assigned him of strangling the famous beauty and chief imperial concubine, Yang Kuei-fei.

¹ 量 is written here in error for 薑.

² The real history and significance of this object remains shrouded in mystery. The earliest known representations of the type so familiar to all acquainted with Chinese art are to be found in paintings of the T'ang period. In modern times the *ju-i* has been used as a gift in token of good will, conveying the wish that the recipient may realize all his desires. Professor H. A. Giles considers that the *ju-i* was originally a kind of blunt sword (*Chinese Pictorial Art*, p. 159; *Adversaria Sinica*, vol. i, pp. 320, 321, 328). Dr. Laufer has written a comprehensive survey of the subject (*Jade*, p. 335 seq.), and suggests that the *ju-i* may have grown out of one of the early emblems of the Chou period, and that in the beginning it was a symbol of light, generative power, and fertility. Of the three *ju-i* appearing in plate lxviii of Dr. Laufer's book, fig. 1 has its handle decorated with the emblems of our Eight Immortals; and the object described by the author as "the sacrificial vase *tsun*" is surely no other than the "fish-drum" of Chang Kuo.

³ A *haien* city in the prefecture of Hsi-an Fu 西安府, capital of the empire under the T'ang, and now the capital of Shensi.

⁴ Notoriously credulous and easily imposed upon by Taoist cranks and magicians. A keen sportsman, he enlarged the Shang-lin Hunting Park, which had been begun in the third century B.C.

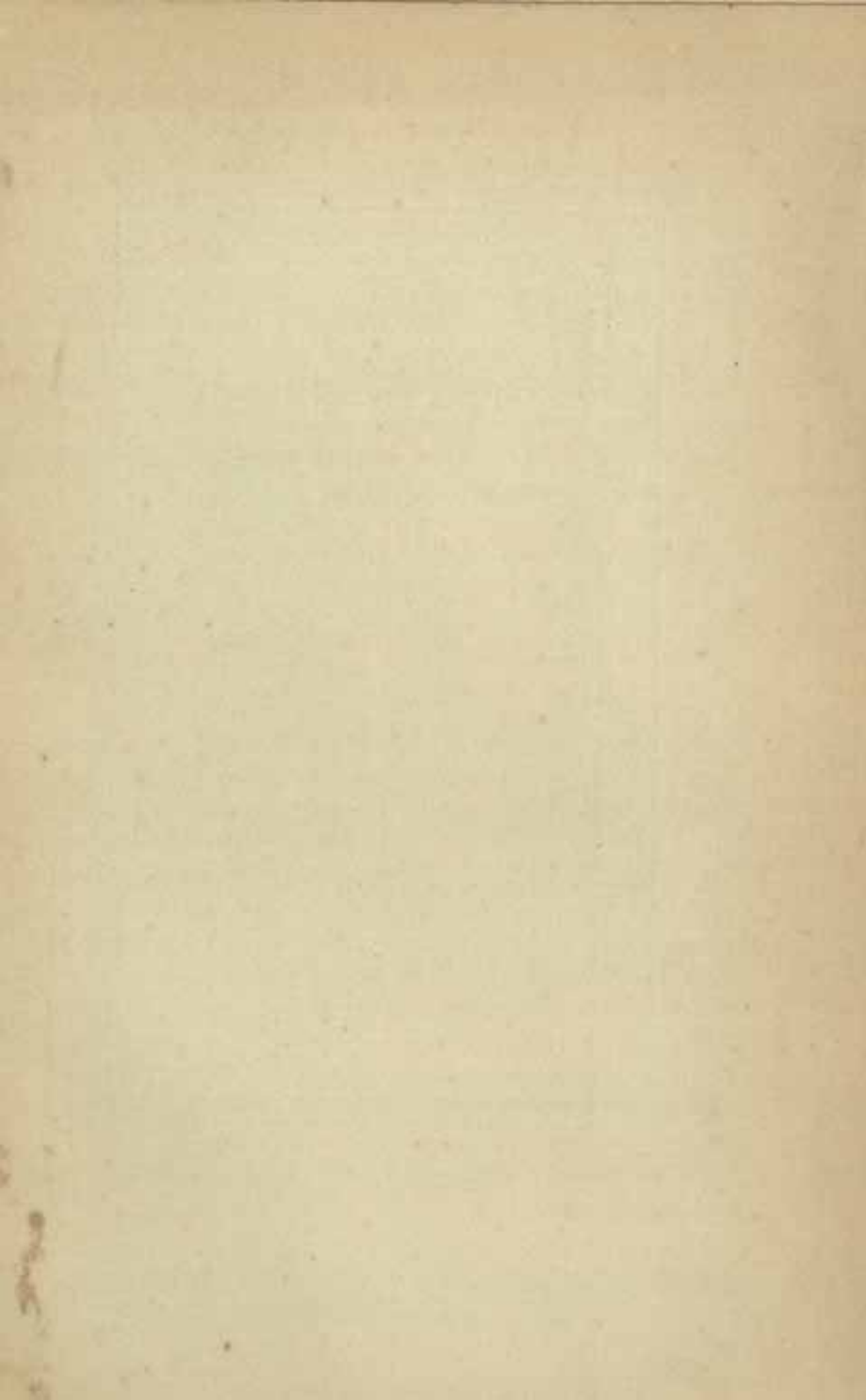
hunting in the Shang-lin Park 上林. We caught this deer and let it go again." The Emperor remarked: "Deer are plentiful, and it was a long while ago. How could it possibly have survived such a long succession of ages?" Chang Kuo replied, "At the time when Wu Ti had the deer released he caused an inscribed bronze plate to be attached to the base of its left antler." Thereupon an examination of the deer was ordered; and, indeed, it did have a bronze plate, more than two inches long, only the characters had become obliterated.

The Emperor inquired of Yeh Fa-shan¹ 葉法善 whether he knew who Chang Kuo was. "I do know," he replied, "but death might be the penalty of my telling, therefore I dare not speak. If Your Majesty is willing to protect me (by pleading on my behalf) with your cap doffed and your feet bared,² then I will venture to tell you." The Emperor having consented, Fa-shan said, "At the time when cosmos was being evolved from chaos, the spiritual essence of a white bat . . ."; the sentence was broken off unfinished, for blood gushed from his seven channels of sense, and he fell prostrate upon the ground. The Emperor hurried to Chang Kuo's abode, where he removed his cap and bared his feet, and declared that he himself was the one to blame. Chang Kuo calmly replied: "That young fellow talks too much. If I allowed him to go without punishment, I fear he might divulge the secret of the universe." The Emperor having again and again implored forgiveness, Chang Kuo squirted water from his mouth over the face of Fa-shan, who forthwith came to life again.

After that the Emperor treated Chang Kuo with still greater honour, and decreed that his portrait should be

¹ One of the magicians largely patronized by this emperor.

² The notion that on an important occasion the hair should hang loose and the feet should be bare is possibly based on the fear that any knot or constriction, whether on the head or feet, might impede the attainment of success. Cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3rd ed., pt. ii, p. 310 seq.



呂洞賓



LÜ TUNG-PIN

(From *Lieh hsien chuan*.)

placed in the Chi-hsien Palace. He also conferred upon him the title Master of Taoist Mysteries 通玄先生. But Chang Kuo repeatedly submitted that he was old and in failing health, and at length his prayers led to his being sent back to Hêng Chou.

At the beginning of the *t'ien pao* period (about A.D. 742) Ming Huang sent a messenger to summon him to the capital again, but immediately on receiving the news he died. His disciples buried him. Subsequently, when the coffin was opened it was found to be quite empty.¹

The Emperor had a shrine built, called the Ch'i-hsia Kuan 棲霞觀, in which votive offerings were made in his honour.

LÜ TUNG-PIN

呂洞賓

The Patriarch of Hsien 仙祖, best known as Lü Tung-pin, is represented a dignified elderly man generally clothed in the dress worn by the scholarly class. His emblem is the magic two-edged sword 劍, which he carries in his hand or slung on his back. He is the literary member of our group; and, while in some localities regarded as the patron saint of jugglers and magicians,² he is more widely looked upon by barbers as their special protector.³ In the last capacity he is called in Peking the Patriarch Lo⁴ 羅祖. So far as my observation goes this *hsien* occupies the place of chief importance and popularity among The Eight Immortals. He is portrayed more frequently than any other single member of the group; and, in addition

¹ Chang Kuo being immortal, death of course was merely feigned as a subterfuge to escape returning to Court.

² Grube, *Zur Peking's Volkskunde*, p. 68.

³ See De Groot, *Les Fêtes Annuelles à Émoui*, vol. i, p. 170, for some interesting remarks on this subject.

⁴ Grube, loc. cit.

JRAS. 1916.

to innumerable notices of him to be found in general Taoist literature, there are at least two large works entirely devoted to his life and doings. Shrines in his honour are to be found all over China—a statement that does not apply to any of the other seven.

Biography from *Lieh hsien chuan*, ii, 22 seq.:—

Lü Yen 呂巖, whose literary name (*tzü*) was Tung-pin, lived under the Tang dynasty, and was a native of the town of Yung-lê 永樂縣, in the prefecture of P'u-chou¹ 蒲州. He was also called (*hao*) Shun-yang 純陽.

At the moment when his mother gave him birth an unearthly perfume pervaded the house, and strains of celestial music were wafted from the sky, and a white crane from heaven flew down between the curtains of her bed and was seen no more. Even when a newly-born infant his frame was strong as metal, and his muscles hard as wood. The crown of his head formed a high dome resembling a crane's; his back was arched like that of a tortoise; his eyes were as brilliant as those of a phoenix; and his eyebrows extended on either side to meet the hair round the temples.²

While still a child he was very quick at learning, being able to memorize thousands of lines a day. His language was fluent and couched in classical terms. In height 8 ft. 2 in.,³ he resembled Chang Tzū-fang⁴ 張子房. At the age of 20 he had not yet taken unto himself a wife.⁵

¹ In Shansi.

² Cf. the following from *Shui ching chi* 水鏡集: "The Patriarch Lü's eyebrows stretched back as far as the hair round the temples, and his cheek-bones were high and prominent 顴骨插天."

³ The foot of ancient China is reckoned to have been about eight of our inches.

⁴ Another name for Chang Liang 張良, a prominent figure in the history of China of the third century B.C. In his latter years he renounced the world and became a Taoist. See Giles, *Biog. Dict.*, No. 88.

⁵ The customary age for men to get married being 19.

The Patriarch Ma¹ 馬祖 saw him at the beginning of his career, when he was still in swaddling-clothes, and exclaimed: "His bodily frame is that of no ordinary mortal. Eccentric in character, he will hold aloof from worldly affairs; whatever hovel he happens upon he will make it his home; whenever he sees a goblet of wine he will partake of it. Mark well my words."

By-and-by Tung-pin wandered to the Lu Range² 廬山, and there met by chance the Taoist adept Huo-lung 火龍真人, who instructed him in acquiring supernatural invisibility by the magic sword method 傳天遁劍法.

During the *hui ch'ang* period (A.D. 841-6) of the T'ang he went up twice for the third or doctor's degree, but failed. At that time he was 64 years of age.

Once having wandered into a tavern at Ch'ang-an³ 長安, he watched a Taoist priest 羽士, dressed in a black cap and white gown, scribbling without apparent effort the following stanza upon the wall:—

*"Whenever I would rest I grasp a cup of wine,
Oblivious of all else in this great capital.
So vast are heaven and earth that I remain unknown,
An old man wandering by himself among mankind."*

Impressed and attracted by his strange appearance and extreme old age, as well as by the grace and spontaneity of his poem, Tung-pin made him a bow and inquired his name. The old Taoist replied: "I am The Master Yün-fang (*alias* Chung-li Ch'üan, q.v.), and my home is upon the Crane Ridge 鶴嶺, of the Chung-nan 終南 Mountains. Can you accompany me in my wanderings?"

¹ See Giles, *Biog. Dict.*, No. 1485.

² These beautiful mountains are close to the Treaty Port of Kiukiang on the Yangtse.

³ At that time the capital of China.

Without actually agreeing to this proposal, Tung-pin put up at the same inn with Yün-fang. Now, while the latter was with his own hands attending to the cooking of a meal, Tung-pin, reclining on a pillow, soon became oblivious of his surroundings and fell into a deep sleep.¹ He dreamt he went up to the capital as a candidate at the triennial examination and passed at the top of the list. Starting his career as a junior secretary to one of the Boards, he rapidly gained promotion to the Censorate and the Han-lin College, and eventually reached the position of Privy Councillor, having occupied in the course of his unbroken success all the most sought-after and important official posts. Twice he was married, and both wives belonged to families of wealth and position. Children were born to him; and he witnessed his sons take to themselves wives, and his daughters leave the paternal roof for their husband's homes. And all these multitudinous events had happened before he reached the age of 40. Next he found himself Prime Minister for the space of ten years, wielding immense power, and it corrupted him. Then suddenly, without warning, he was accused of a grave crime. His home and all his possessions were confiscated, and his wife and children separated. He himself, a solitary outcast, wandering towards his place of banishment beyond the mountains, found his horse brought to a standstill in a snow-storm, and no longer able to continue the journey.

At this juncture Tung-pin with a heavy sigh waked out of his dream, and lo! the meal was still being prepared. With a laugh Yün-fang sang these words:—

"The yellow millet simmers yet uncooked

While you have journeyed to the Realm of Dreams."²

¹ Here follows the famous Yellow Millet Dream 黃粱夢. A similar story is related of Lu Shêng 盧生. See Giles, *Biog. Dict.*, No. 1429.

² 到華胥. This is an allusion to the fabulous land visited by King Mu 穆 of Chou as described in the third book of Lieh Tzu; see L. Giles, *Taoist Teachings*, p. 58 seq.

Whereat Tung-pin was much astonished. "Sir," asked he, "pray, what can you know about my dream?" The other replied: "In that dream of yours just now you climbed not only up but also down every rung in the ladder of worldly glory; you both plumbed the uttermost depths of misery and scaled the dizziest heights of splendour. Fifty years were past and gone in the twinkling of an eye. What you gained was not worth rejoicing over, what you lost was not worth grieving about. Some day there will be a Great Awakening, and then we shall know the truth."

From a pedlar of copper ware Lū Tung-pin once brought some pots, which when he had taken home he found all to be made of gold; yet such was his unworldliness that he went in search of the pedlar in order to return them to him.

[During the period of probation as to his fitness to become a *hsien* Tung-pin underwent a number of ordeals or tests.] Of these the eighth¹ in order of time occurred when he bought some magic drugs from a crazy professor of *Tao*, who used to wander about selling them in the streets, muttering to himself that whoever partook of his wares would instantly die, but would attain *Tao* in some future existence. The Taoist warned him: "The only thing for you to do now is to make speedy preparation for your death." Yet Tung-pin swallowed the stuff without more ado, and no harm befell him.

The ninth ordeal to which Tung-pin was subjected happened one spring-time when all the country round was flooded, and he in company with the rest of the inhabitants were seeking safety in boats. Just as they reached the middle of the waters a violent storm burst upon them, and the waves rose high, lashed into fury by

¹ The order in which they appear in the text of the *Lieh hsien chuan* is adhered to in this translation, though their sequence is perplexing. The first test is described below, p. 795.

the wind. All were in a panic except Tung-pin, who remained in his seat calm and unconcerned.

On the tenth occasion Tung-pin was sitting alone in his house, when without warning there appeared to him an innumerable host of demons in weird and terrifying shapes, all seemingly determined to beat him to death. Yet he was not in the least dismayed. Then a sharp word of command came from the sky, and the whole crowd of devils vanished. The voice was followed by some one who, descending from above, clapped his hands and laughed with delight. This turned out to be Yün-fang. "I have subjected you to ten ordeals," said he, "all of which have left you unscathed. There can be no doubt you will succeed in attaining *Tao*. I will now disclose to you the mysteries of alchemy 黃白之術, in order that the knowledge may enable you to benefit mankind. When for 3,000 years you shall have carried out this meritorious work for the sake of others and thus completed your period of probation, and shall have spent in addition eight centuries in researches on your own behalf, then, and not till then, will come your salvation." Tung-pin asked: "Pray, when¹ will my conversion take place?" "Only after 3,000 years shall have passed," the other replied, "will you be restored to the state of your original physical purity." At which Tung-pin coloured up with vexation and exclaimed: "Alas! with the prospect of having to wait 3,000 years, how can I maintain my zeal all those ages?" "Your courage," Yün-fang rejoined with a smile, "will carry you not only over 3,000 years but 3,800."

Next he took Tung-pin to the Crane Ridge, and imparted to him there the profoundest truths and mysteries of Taoism, including the secret of supernatural

¹ The text has 庚辛. These two 天干 serve as time marks to denote the season when the element metal starts its annual reign, i.e. the beginning of autumn. See Forke, *Lun-hêng*, ii, p. 467.

power. Also he presented him with a small quantity of the "Philosopher's Stone" 靈丹. While these two were thus engaged there arrived upon the scene two *hsien*, each reverently bearing in both hands a golden tablet 簡, the emblem of his office 寶符. They announced to Yün-fang an edict of the Supreme Ruler of the Universe 上帝, nominating him guardian of the Golden Gate of the Ninth Heaven; and they added that the world of mortals was but one vast dream (i.e. illusory and impermanent).

Impressed by this incident, spiritual enlightenment came to Tung-pin. So, falling on his knees before Yün-fang, he entreated him for the magic secret of transcending the limitations of this earthly sphere. To try him still further Yün-fang answered: "Your character is not yet fully established. Before you can bring salvation to mankind, many generations shall come and pass away." And having uttered these words he straightway vanished.

After that Tung-pin abandoned his semi-official position as one of the literati for a life of retirement, and it was during this period that Yün-fang subjected him to the ten ordeals.

The first occurred when Tung-pin had returned home after a long journey to find all his household stricken with mortal sickness. Nevertheless, instead of giving himself up to vain sorrow, manfully he set about making preparation on a lavish scale for the funeral, when lo! and behold! they all rose up alive and well.

The second time Tung-pin was put on his trial he was negotiating the sale of some of his belongings, and had come to a definite agreement about the price. This notwithstanding, the dealer wished to cancel the bargain and pay only half the stipulated sum. Tung-pin acquiesced, and handing over the goods, walked away, without showing anger or even engaging in dispute.

The third ordeal took place at the time of the New Year. As Tung-pin was leaving his house he was accosted

by a beggar demanding alms, to whom he handed both coin and gifts in kind. But the beggar remained dissatisfied, with threats demanding more and making use of the most abusive terms; yet Tung-pin with a smiling face again and again gave him what he asked.

The fourth time Tung-pin was put to the test, he was looking after some sheep in the mountains. A hungry tiger came upon them, with the result that the flock scattered in all directions. But Tung-pin interposed his own person between the tiger and the terrified sheep. The tiger gave up the chase, and slunk away.

The fifth ordeal took place while Tung-pin had retired to a mountain retreat to study books, with no other home than a simple hut of reeds. One day there came to his door a very paragon of feminine grace and loveliness, who scintillated with such beauty that she was positively dazzling. She explained she was a newly married bride on the way to visit her parents, but had lost the road. Would he allow her to rest a short while in his hut? Tung-pin granted her request, and she then tried in endless ways to tempt him from the path of virtue; but all in vain.

Tung-pin's character was put to a test the sixth time when on returning home from a walk in the country he found that during his absence thieves had carried away all his goods and chattels, and left the house bare. Not even then was his equanimity disturbed. He just set himself to earn a livelihood by tilling the ground, and one day when at work with his hoe he unearthed gold pieces to the number of several score. Yet he took not a single one, but quickly covered them all up again.

The seventh trial of Tung-pin was on the occasion of his meeting the *hsien* Yün-fang, who addressed him thus: "In obedience to the summons of the Supreme Ruler of the Universe I am on the way to present myself before his throne. If you behave virtuously during your abode

among men, and thus acquire merit, you will in time reach a plane similar to mine." Bowing again Tung-pin answered: "My aim is not only to emulate you, sir, but to bring salvation to every living creature in this world. Only when this end has been achieved shall I be willing to ascend on high." Yün-fang then gradually rose in the air till he passed out of sight among the clouds.

After Tung-pin had succeeded in mastering *Tao* as taught by Yün-fang, and the magic sword method of becoming invisible as practised by Huo-lung Chên-jên, he took to wandering along the banks of the Rivers Yangtse and Huai 淮, and testing the power of his magic two-edged sword in order to rid the country of the evil wrought by the *chiao* dragon¹ 蛟, at times becoming invisible to mortal eyes. During the constant journeyings of his last 400 years of life on earth he visited, without being recognized, places so far apart as Hsiang-t'an² 湘潭, Yo³ 岳, O⁴ 鄂, Liang-ché⁵ 兩浙, P'ien⁶ 汴, and Ch'iao 譙. He used to call himself Hui Tao-jên 回道人, "the man who reverted to *Tao*."⁷

During the *chêng-ho* period of the Sung (A.D. 1111-17) there appeared in the palace demons even in broad daylight, who plundered the treasury of gold and silver, and also kidnapped some of the imperial concubines.

The Emperor purified himself by fasting, and humbly offered supplications to heaven for the space of sixty days without ceasing. One day he fell asleep and saw in his dream standing outside the Tung-hua 東華 Gate of the palace a Taoist adept 道士, wearing upon his head

¹ In causing inundations.

² Now the capital of Hunan.

³ Yo-chou Fu, at the entrance of the Tung-t'ing Lake, Hunan.

⁴ Now the capital of Hupeh, on the bank of the Yangtse, just opposite Hankow.

⁵ Now the province of Chehkiang.

⁶ Now the capital of Honan.

⁷ This is a pun, the character 回 being composed of the same two elements that make up the first character of his name, Lū 呂.

a green lotus-cap,¹ and upon his back a dark crane's-down robe. In his hand he carried a crystal *ju-i*.² Bowing to the Emperor, he said: "Your servant has been sent by the Supreme Ruler of the Universe 上帝 to control these demons." Then he summoned an officer resplendent in golden armour, who seizing the demons tore them in pieces and swallowed them till none were left. In answer to the Emperor's query as to the identity of this gallant warrior the Taoist replied: "He is no other than Kuan Yü³ 關羽, whom Your Majesty invested with the title Revered and Immortal Prince 崇寧真君." The Emperor thanked the officer repeatedly, and then asked him where was Chang Fei⁴ 張飛. Kuan Yü replied: "Every generation Chang Fei becomes reincarnate in the person of some male child. At the present time, in order to serve Your Majesty, he is being reborn in a family called Yo 岳, living at Hsiang Chou⁵ 相州."

Asked by the Emperor what was his name, the Taoist replied: "Your servant is called Yang 陽, and was born on the 14th day of the 4th month."⁶

The Emperor awoke from his dream, and having looked up the records, knew that the Taoist was really Tung-pin. Henceforth the demons remained permanently expelled from the palace. An imperial edict ordered that in all the shrines dedicated to Tung-pin throughout China he should be known by the title The Pure One of Subtle Intellect 妙通真人.

¹ A kind of small coronet made to represent a lotus-bloom.

² See note, p. 787.

³ The most renowned of China's military heroes. Died in A.D. 219. Countless shrines exist in his honour throughout the country, where he is worshipped as God of War. See Giles, *Biog. Dict.*, No. 1009.

⁴ He, together with Liu Pei 劉備, shared many of the exploits of Kuan Yü. See Giles, *Biog. Dict.*, No. 51.

⁵ In Honan.

⁶ This day is still kept as the anniversary of Lü Tung-pin.—Grube, *Zur Pekinger Volkskunde*, p. 68.



HAN HSIANG TZŪ

(From *Lich hsien chuan*.)

To enumerate all the supernatural powers and magic deeds of Tung-pin is an impossibility.

Some years later the father of the future Yo Wu-mu¹ 岳武穆 had a vivid dream, in which he learnt that it would fall to the lot of this son to be the reincarnation of Chang Fei, and therefore he afterwards named him Fei.

HAN HSIANG TZŪ

韓湘子

The recognized *pao pei* of The Philosopher Han Hsiang is a flute 簫. Sometimes he is represented carrying a pair of long castanets, and sometimes a small furnace or crucible 丹爐 in token of his skill as an alchemist. Pictures often show him garbed in the leafy cap and deer-skin kilt worn by *hsien*; and generally near by is to be seen the peach-tree from which he fell and so ended his mortal existence. With obvious desire to keep on good terms with the Confucianists, Taoist writers and painters have made the most of his relationship with Han Yü 韓愈, and it is not uncommon to find the famous scholar depicted in close proximity to The Eight Immortals, holding a scroll on which is written his protest against the extravagant honours paid to one of the Buddha's bones by the Tang Emperor Hsien Tsung 憲宗.

Biography from *Lieh hsien chuan*, i, 27 seq.:—

The Philosopher Han Hsiang, also known (*tzü*) as The Pure Sage 清夫, was the nephew of Han Wên Kung² 韓文公. His disposition was wild and irresponsible. He used to wander about in company with The Master Shun-yang.³

¹ Posthumous name of Yo Fei, another famous soldier. See Giles, *Biog. Dict.*, No. 2501.

² Prince of Literature, the posthumous title of canonization given to Han Yü.

³ One of the names of Lü Tung-pin, q.v.

It was through a fall from a peach-tree that his mortal body died, and he was freed from the bonds of earthly existence (that is to say, became a *hsien*).

When he paid his uncle a visit, and the latter urged him to apply himself to study, Han Hsiang replied, "You and I have different ideas of study." And in order to make his meaning clear he composed the following lines:—

*"In a cave mid mists and torrents by green-clad peaks I live;
I sip the dew at midnight that stars the earth like gems,
I make my food the rosy clouds that flush the coming dawn.
I play the Green Jade Melody upon a seven-stringed lute,
And melt in fiery alembics fine-powdered pearls and white;
Within my Precious Cauldron the Golden Tiger dwells;
I grow the Magic Fungus to feed the Snow-white Crows,
With Nature's creative powers my bottle-gourd is stored,
I slay the evil demons with my magic three-foot blade;
Wine fills the empty goblet when I speak the wizard word,
And flowers spring up and bloom in the twinkling of an eye;
Show me the man who doth these things in the way that
I have told,
And I will gladly talk with him of the hsien who ne'er
grow old."*¹

¹ This poem resembles in many ways the writings of mediaeval alchemists. Both schools, Eastern and Western, use the same fantastic jargon, and I venture to think that it is as difficult, perhaps as impossible, to give an adequate rendering of Han Hsiang as to unravel the mysteries of—say Paracelsus. Having made this statement I offer the following remarks for what they are worth. The pearl is closely associated with *yin* 陰, the female principle in nature, because of the well-known relationship existing between the pearl and the moon—ancient idea not confined to the Chinese. See De Groot, *Les Fêtes Annuelles à Émoui*, p. 127 seq. It is for that reason that the pearl is chosen as a talisman against fire, for fire is merely an active display of the opposing principle *yang* 陽. Pearls, as well as jade and gold, taken internally are said to confer immortality. See De Groot, *Religious System of China*, vol. iv, pp. 331, 332. The Precious Cauldron 寶鼎 is said to represent the mortal human body. The Golden Tiger 金虎 perhaps stands for the male or creative principle in nature. Gold is

Having read the poem Wên Kung exclaimed, "What! can you usurp the creative powers of Nature?" and then handed him an empty goblet, which Han Hsiang successfully caused to become full of excellent wine. Next, a small heap of earth having been scraped together, in a very short time there shot out from it a cluster of blue flowers, from the midst of which was extruded this couplet written in characters of gold:—

*"Lost on the far Ch'in Mountains 秦嶺, I cannot find
my way;*

*Snowdrifts cover the Lan Pass 藍關, and my horse
can do no more."*

To Wên Kung, who read it without understanding its meaning, Han Hsiang remarked, "Some day you will find these words come true."

Not long afterwards Wên Kung was banished to a post at Ch'ao-chou¹ 潮州, in punishment for the violent remonstrance he addressed to the Emperor about the Buddha's bone.² While on the road thither a snow-storm overtook him. All at once someone approached, struggling through the storm, who turned out to be Han Hsiang Tzu. "Do you remember the couplet in the flowers?" asked he. Wên Kung then inquired what the name of the place was, and was told "the Lan Pass". This struck him

associated with the sun as opposed to pearls with the moon, and of course the transmutation of other metals into gold was the chief aim of alchemistical researches in China as elsewhere. Tiger, the King of Beasts 獸中王, is an emblem full of significance. "He is seven feet in length, because seven is the number appertaining to Yang, the masculine principle, and for the same reason his gestation endures for seven months."—Mayers, *Chinese Reader's Manual*, pt. i, No. 182. It is rather disconcerting to find, however, that the sister pseudo-science of *fêng-shui* regards the tiger as representing yin. The three-legged crow is an ancient symbol for the sun.

¹ Near Swatow.

² This polemic, famous as a literary composition, is called *Fo ku piao* 佛骨表.

dumb with astonishment; and after a while he exclaimed, "I will complete that poem for you."

Han Yü's lines run thus:—

*"At dawn a sealed memorial presented to the throne,
... etc., etc."*

They may be found in the published collection of his works.¹

That night they both stayed at an inn beside the Pass, and Wên Kung satisfied himself that Han Hsiang was no charlatan. At parting Han Hsiang handed the other a calabash full of a drug, one single grain of which, he declared, would, when swallowed, counteract the malarious vapours of the place to which he was journeying.

Wên Kung appeared downhearted, so to cheer him up Han Hsiang told him, "You will soon be back again, not only in good health, but also reinstated in your former office." Wên Kung asked, "Shall we two ever meet again after this?" "That I cannot foretell," replied Han Hsiang Tzū.

TS'AO KUO-CHIU

曹國舅

Ts'ao Kuo-chiu is represented as an old bearded man wearing a cap, and, as a rule, carrying a pair of clapper castanets 簡板, his distinctive attribute. The tradition that credits him with royal birth and allots him to

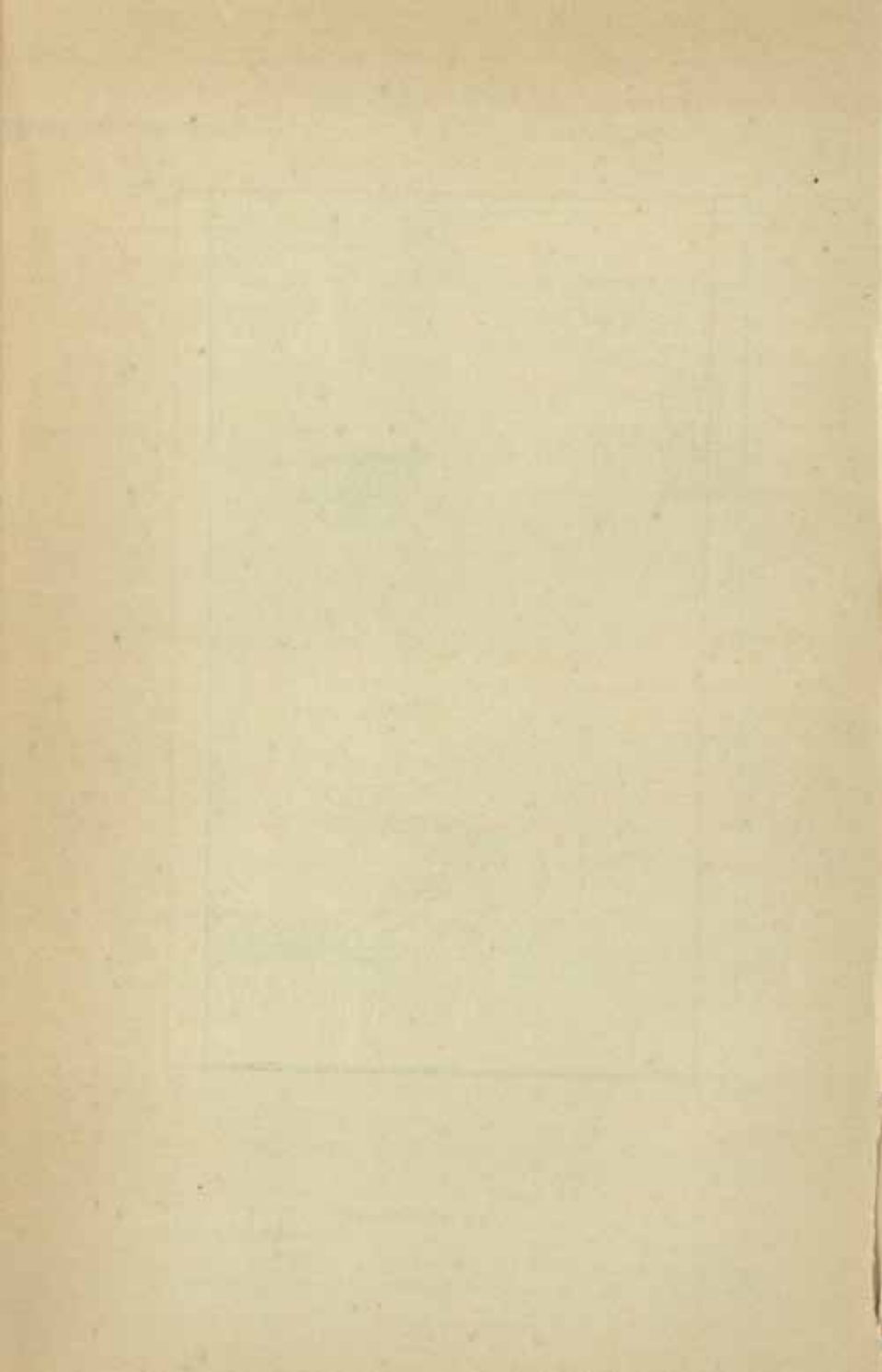
¹ The complete poem, included in many anthologies of Chinese verse, is as follows:—

*At dawn a sealed memorial presented to the Throne,
At eve condemned to banishment eight thousand li away.
To end an evil practice for the Emperor's sake I tried,
Nor did I treasure dearly my few remaining years.
Lost on the far Ch'in Mountains, I cannot find my way,
Snow-drifts cover the Lan Pass, and my horse can do no more.
Thoughtful was the motive that brought you from afar,
To bear my body homewards from these malarious streams.*



TS'AO KUO-CHIU

(From *Lieh hsien chuan*.)



the eleventh century is considered to be of doubtful authenticity.¹

Biography from *Lieh hsien chuan*, ii, 36 :—

Ts'ao Kuo-chiu was the younger brother of the mother² of one of the Sung emperors. He was so deeply ashamed of the conduct of his younger brother in illegally putting people to death that he sought concealment in a mountain cavern, where he engaged in spiritual meditation and the study of Taoist principles 精思玄理. He wore rustic clothing and a cap of grass-cloth. Frequently he would go without food for ten days at a time.

Once he happened to meet the two *hsien* Chung-li and Shun-yang,³ who questioned him, saying: "Sir! we have heard you are going in for cultivation. What is it you are cultivating?" He replied: "I am cultivating *Tao*." They asked: "Where is *Tao*?" Kuo-chiu pointed up to heaven. "Where is heaven?" they said. Kuo-chiu pointed to his heart. The two *hsien* remarked, laughing: "Your heart is one with heaven, and heaven is one with *Tao*. You have indeed arrived at a profound understanding." Then they imparted to him the secret of reverting to a condition in perfect harmony with nature 還真, and induced him to join the company of *hsien*.

LI T'IEH-KUAI

李鐵拐

The Master with the Iron Crutch 鐵拐先生 offers a striking contrast to the other members of the group. Hideous, hairy, deformed, and scantily clad in filthy rags,

¹ Mayers, *Chinese Reader's Manual*, pt. i, No. 763.

² The empress referred to is famous as one of the women who ruled China successfully. She acted as regent during the illness of her son, the fifth emperor of the line (A.D. 1064-7).

³ See pp. 776, 790.

he is the type of that repulsive legion haunting to the present day every city in China, and preying upon a long-suffering public, which is moved to the giving of alms not so much by pity as by feelings of horror and fear. His recognized emblem is the bottle-gourd or calabash 葫蘆 that forms part of the equipment of every *hsien*; and to the gourd is generally added a more distinctive object, his crutch. A mysterious vapour—a kind of *fata Morgana*—floats upwards from the mouth of the gourd, and in its midst is seen the image of the sage's *hun* 魂, which may appear in nondescript shape as in our woodcut, or in the guise of a miniature double of his bodily self. Sometimes the *hun* is replaced by a spherical object representing the "Philosopher's Stone" 仙丹, 金丹, or 寶丹.

Biography from *Lieh hsien chuan*, i, 12:—

In the form with which nature endowed him, the sage Li T'ieh-kuai was a fine man of imposing presence.

While yet of tender age he heard *Tao*. Choosing a mountain cave for his abode, he set himself to the cultivation of mental and physical purity as taught by the Taoists 修真. Li Lao Chün 李老君 (Lao Tzu) and The Master Wan Ch'iu 宛丘先生 used often to come down from heaven to visit his rocky hermitage in order to instruct him in the subject of his studies.

One day T'ieh-kuai was going to meet Lao Chün by appointment on Hua Shan¹ 華山, and so he gave a pupil of his the following instructions: "My *p'o* 魄," said he, "will remain here while my *hun*² goes upon a journey.

¹ In Shensi. The western one of the Five Sacred Hills.

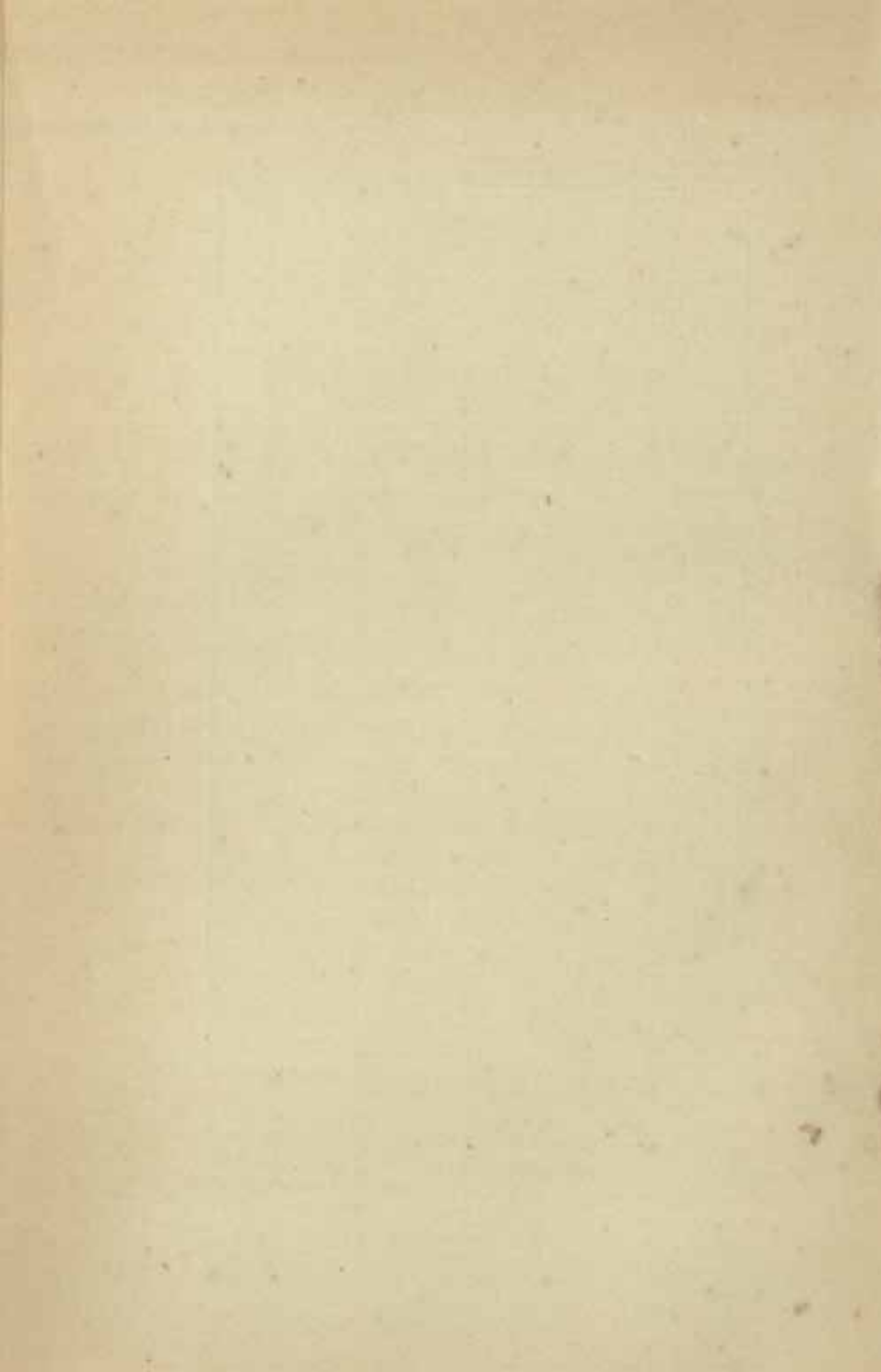
² These are the two parts which the Chinese believe together constitute every person's soul. The *p'o* is the visible personality indissolubly attached to the body, while the *hun* is its more ethereal complement also interpenetrating the body, but not of necessity always tied to it. The *hun* in its wanderings may be either visible or invisible; if the former, it appears in the guise of its original body, which actually may be far away lying in a trance-like state tenanted by the *p'o*. And not only is

鐵拐先生



LI T'IEH-KUAI

(From *Lich hsten chuan*.)



If by chance in seven days' time my *hun* has not returned, you may then burn the *p'o*."

The pupil received an urgent message to visit his sick mother, and, impatient of delay, burnt his master's body on the sixth day. The following day in due course T'ieh-kuai returned to find his *p'o* gone, and no habitation left for his *hun*,¹ till he espied lying near by the corpse of one who had died of starvation. Into it the wandering soul entered, giving it new life; and that is the reason why Li T'ieh-kuai, instead of his original handsome appearance, has now the loathsome shape of a cripple.

LAN TS'AI-HO

藍采和

Legend relating to this *hsien* is so uncertain that even the question of sex seems to be left to the fancy of the artist. Lan Ts'ai-ho is variously portrayed as a youth, an aged man, or a girl; in modern pictures generally as a girl. The accompanying woodcut seems hardly consistent with the biography it illustrates; for the text suggests a male, and such, therefore, we will call him. His distinctive emblem is a flower-basket 花籃, often carried slung on a hoe over his shoulder. The basket contains various flora associated with ideas of longevity, e.g., the magic fungus²; sprigs of bamboo, of pine,³ and of flowering

the body duplicated under these conditions, but also the garments that clothe it. Should the *hun* stay away permanently, death results. This subject was discussed in a most interesting paper by Professor H. A. Giles, read before the China Society in 1907, and published in *Adversaria Sinica*, vol. i, pp. 145-62. See also De Groot, *Religious System of China*, vol. iv.

¹ This story has many points of resemblance with that of Hemotimus of Clazomenae. See Pliny, *Natural History*, vii, 52.

² See note, p. 781.

³ See note, p. 782.

and leafless plum;¹ chrysanthemums;² and a red-berried plant³ called "myriad years green" 萬年青. Sometimes Lan Ts'ai-ho is drawn as described in the *Lieh hsien chuan*—a ragged unkempt being with one foot bare,⁴ carrying castanets and a string of cash.

Biography from *Lieh hsien chuan*, ii, 16 seq.:—

Where Lan Ts'ai-ho came from is not known. His usual garb was a single ragged gown with six black wooden buttons and a waist-belt more than 3 inches wide; on one foot he wore a boot, while the other went bare.⁵ In summer he had his gown padded with cotton-wool, and in the winter he used to sleep in the snow, and from him there arose clouds of vapour like steam.

Whenever he begged for alms in the public thoroughfares he carried hanging by a string a large pair of castanets more than 3 feet long. When he was drunk he used to sing and caper, so that old and young alike followed to watch him. In a half-crazy way he sang songs, which he improvised as he went along, all of which

¹ Because it shows extraordinary vitality in producing in early spring flowers from apparently lifeless branches.

² Being one of the last flowers to flourish in late autumn they are credited with unusual vitality. Chrysanthemum seeds enter into the composition of several Taoist nostrums.

³ Other plants with red berries also used in this connexion are the "heavenly bamboo" 天竹 and *kou-ch'i* 枸杞, the former because of the spiritual significance conveyed by its name, the latter because it is used as a drug for the prolongation of life.

⁴ In view of possible confusion it may be mentioned that a popular representation of the Buddhist patriarch Bodhidharma shows him also with one foot bare. The patriarch, however, has curly hair and beard indicating his Indian origin.

⁵ Possibly there is here something more than a mere record of the careless ways and disregard for ordinary conventions characteristic of *hsien*. The statement may have a hidden and symbolic meaning. Bare feet may have been regarded as helping in some magic way towards freedom of the soul—a parallel to the motive underlying a custom in ancient Greece, described by Sir J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3rd ed., pt. ii, p. 310 seq.

藍采和



LAN TS'AI-HO

(From *Lieh hsien chuan*.)

had meanings relating to hsienship 神仙意, and were therefore unintelligible to ordinary mortals. On receiving money he used to string the cash upon a piece of cord, which he trailed behind him as he walked. At times the cash would get scattered and lost, leaving the cord bare; but he paid no heed. Sometimes he gave his money to the poor, sometimes he spent it with fellow-tipplers.

He roamed all over China. People when they reached hoary old age noticed that his face and general appearance remained just the same as when they had seen him in their childhood.

Many years had passed, and Lan Ts'ai-ho was drinking wine in a tavern at Hao-liang 濠梁, when suddenly the sound of reed-organ 笙 and flute was heard, and in a trice he soared up into the sky mounted upon a crane. Having dropped down his shoe, gown, girdle, and castanets, he gradually rose till he passed out of sight.

XXII

SALIVAHANA AND THE SAKA ERA

By J. F. FLEET, L.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

INSCRIPTIONAL records show that from some time in the ninth or tenth century A.D. the era of B.C. 58, the chief reckoning of Northern India, became known by such names as the time called Vikrama, Vikrama-kāla, i.e. "the time or era of Vikrama," Vikrama-samvat, the years of king Vikrama, the years founded by Vikramāditya, the years elapsed since the time of king Vikrama.¹ The same source of information shows that, at a later time, the Śaka era of A.D. 78, which, though it too was of northern origin, became the chief reckoning of Southern India, came to be known by such names as Śālivāhana-Śaka, i.e. "the Śaka or era of Śālivāhana," the Śaka or era of the glorious and victorious king Śālivāhana, the years of the Śaka or era established by Śālivāhana.² And the popular belief, as presented, for

¹ See Professor Kielhorn's examination of this question in the *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 20 (1891), p. 404 ff. His earliest instance of the word *vikrama* being used in connection with the era, in a not quite clear sense, namely, in the expression *vikram-ākhyā kāla*, "the time called *vikrama*," is one of the year 898, in A.D. 842, from an inscription at Dhōlpūr (p. 406, No. 10). His earliest instance of the era being plainly attributed to a king Vikrama was a literary one of the year 1050, in A.D. 993 (*ibid.*, No. 40). An earlier instance is known now from the Ēklīgī inscription, which is dated in the year 1028 of king Vikramāditya, in A.D. 971: JBBRAS, vol. 22, p. 166.

² The exact expression Śālivāhana-Śaka is mostly confined to dates recorded in prose. In dates in verse, other ways of introducing the name Śālivāhana were followed, and the shorter form Śālivāha was sometimes used, to suit the metre: see, e.g., Professor Kielhorn's List of the Inscriptions of Southern India in *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 7, appendix, Nos. 465, 475, 503, 519, 1004, 1005. This clipped form is also found occasionally in prose: see, e.g., *ibid.*, No. 527. Compare Sātavāha as the shorter form of Sātavāhana: see p. 817 below, note 5.

It seems very likely that, when the expression Śālivāhana-Śaka was introduced, the word *śaka* had already acquired its secondary meanings

instance, in the introductory passages of some of the Pañchāṅgs or Hindū almanacs from which I have given extracts in this Journal, 1911, p. 694, is that the Vikrama era was founded by a king Vikrama reigning in B.C. 58 at Ujjain, in Mālwa, and the Śaka era was founded by a king Śālivāhana reigning in A.D. 78 at Pratishthāna, which is the present Paithān, on the Gōdāvarī, in the Nizam's territory.

This popular belief is fiction. But there are, of course, grounds of some kind for this use of the name Śālivāhana: and the object of this paper is to bring together clearly what we can determine as to the time when the name first became connected with the era of A.D. 78; the circumstances in which the connection was made; and the detail in the history of India on which it rests.

Professor Kielhorn had this matter under consideration in 1897,¹ and, in respect of one point, arrived at the conclusion that "the name of Śālivāhana, as that of a personage famous in Southern India, was prefixed to the ordinary *Śakē* and *Śaka-varshē*, 'in the Śaka year,' simply in imitation of the name of Vikramāditya in the Vikrama dates." With this conclusion we agree.

As regards the time when the name Śālivāhana was thus introduced, Professor Kielhorn had before him, as giving the earliest known instances, six dates, as follows:—

1, 2. A stone inscription from Kurgōd of the time of the Western Chālukya king Sōmēśvara IV, dated in

of 'era, year', the first of which it has, for instance, in the term *śaka-kārakāḥ*, "founders of eras:" see JRAS, 1911, p. 694.

In the present day, the usual style of dating is, for the era of B.C. 58, *Samvat 1973*, "(in) the year 1973," and for the era of A.D. 78, *Śakē 1833*, without the use of either name, Vikrama or Śālivāhana: it is doubtful whether, in the latter expression, the word *śaka* conveys to most people any meaning beyond that of 'year'.

¹ See his remarks in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 26, p. 150.

A.D. 1173 and 1181,¹ the dates in which were given by a Paṇḍit to Col. Colin Mackenzie and were published by Colebrooke as being—

1. "The year of Śālivāhan 1095, in the Vijaya year of the cycle," etc.; and—

2. "The year of Śālivāhan 1103, of the cycle Plava," etc.

3. A copper-plate record from Thāṇa of the time of the Dēvagiri-Yādava king Rāmachandra, dated in A.D. 1272,² the date of which was given by a Paṇḍit to Mr. Wathen and was published by the latter as being—

śrī-Śālivāhana-Śakē 1194 Aṅgirā-nāma-saṁvatsarē, etc.

4. A stone inscription at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa, dated in A.D. 1278,³ the date of which, according to the published version, is—

śrī-vijay-ābhyudaya-Śālivāhana-Śaka-varshaṁ 1200neya
Bahudhānya-saṁvatsarada, etc.

5. Another copper-plate record from Thāṇa, also of the time of the Dēvagiri-Yādava king Rāmachandra, dated in A.D. 1289,⁴ the date of which was given by Mr. Wathen's Paṇḍit and was published as being—

śrī-Śālivāhana-Śakē 1212 Virōdhi-saṁvatsarē, etc.

6. A copper-plate record from Harihar of the time of king Bukkarāya I of Vijayanagara, dated in A.D. 1354,⁵ the date of which is—

śrī-jay - ābhyudaya - nṛipa - Śālivāhana-Śaka 1276neya
Vijaya-saṁvatsarada, etc.

The dates 1 and 2 were rejected by Professor Kielhorn as suspicious; and very rightly so, as we shall see. Accepting

¹ For references to publication, etc., see Professor Kielhorn's List of the Inscriptions of Southern India, *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 7, appendix, No. 253; the reference there to *Colebrooke's Essays*, vol. 2, should be to p. 240 (2nd ed.).

² Kielhorn's Southern List, No. 370.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 976.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 379.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 455.

the others, he had A.D. 1272, from No. 3, as the earliest established instance of the use of the name of Śālivāhana with the era. And with reference to the point that it is in records of the Chaulukyas of Gujarāt, of the eleventh and following centuries, that the earliest most plain use is found of the name Vikrama with the era of B.C. 58, he expressed the conclusion that "the addition of the name [Śālivāhana] to the current phrases [Śakē and Śaka-varshē] was especially suggested by the dates of the Chaulukyas of Anhilvād, with whom we know the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, in whose dates we first find the name Śālivāhana, to have been in close contact."

This conclusion, however, so far at least as it traces the introduction of the name of Śālivāhana to the time of the Yādava kings of Dēvagiri, is now capable of improvement, in the light of a better knowledge of the bases of it.

The facts about the six dates on which Professor Kielhorn based his views are as follows:—

1, 2: the Kurgōd dates of A.D. 1173 and 1181. The original stone bearing the record which contains these two dates is in the Indian Museum at Calcutta. The actual wording of the dates is—

1. Saka-varsha 1095neya Vijaya-samvatsaradha, etc.; and—

2. Śaka-varsha 1103neya Plava-samvatsurada, etc.¹

The name Śālivāhana does not occur in either of them, but was introduced gratuitously by Col. Mackenzie's Paṇḍit. Accordingly, these two dates, set aside by Professor Kielhorn as suspicious, go out of court altogether.

3: the Thāṇa date of A.D. 1272. Ink-impressions of

¹ I quote from ink-impressions which I had made many years ago. Dr. Barnett is editing the record from my ink-impressions, with a facsimile, in the *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 13 or 14.

the record containing this date, made by or for Mr. Wathen, came to light some years ago;¹ and we know now from them that the actual wording is—

śrī-Śākē 1194 Aṃgirā-saṃvatsarē, etc.²

Here, also, the name Śālivāhana does not really occur, but was introduced gratuitously, along with the word *nāma*, by Mr. Wathen's Paṇḍit. Accordingly, this date, also, goes out of court.

4: the Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa date of A.D. 1278. I learnt about a year ago from Mr. R. Narasimhachar, Officer in charge of Archæology in Mysore, that the published reading of this date is not correct, and that the true wording is—

śrī-jay-ābhyudayās = cha Saka-varuṣaṃ 1200neya
Bahudhānya-saṃvatsarada, etc.

Here, again, the name Śālivāhana does not really occur, but was introduced gratuitously by the person who supplied the reading of the record. Accordingly, this date, too, goes out of court.

5: the Thāṇa date of A.D. 1289. The original plates bearing the record which contains this date have long been lost sight of; and no ink-impressions of them have come to light. In view, however, of the facts in the case of No. 3, the Thāṇa date of A.D. 1272, and of the point that there is no extraneous evidence carrying back the use of the name Śālivāhana in dates to the time and territory to which the record belongs, we can hardly doubt that in this case, again, that name did not stand in the original text, but was introduced gratuitously by Mr. Wathen's Paṇḍit. Accordingly, we dismiss this date, also.

¹ The record is being edited from these impressions, with a facsimile, by Dr. Barnett in the *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 13 or 14.

² We have here the derivative *śāka*, 'of or belonging to the Śakas', which afterwards acquired the meaning of 'year': see, e.g., note 2 on p. 815 below.

6: the Harihar date of A.D. 1354. As can be seen in the photograph from which I edited this record,¹ the actual wording is as given on p. 811 above, and the name Śālivāhana really does stand in this date.

This date of A.D. 1354, in a record of king Bukkarāya I of Vijayanagara from Harihar in the Chitaldroog District of Mysore, is, as far as I am aware, the earliest known certain instance of the use of the name of Śālivāhana in a date.² And though it is of course not the case that this style of dating was used in all of the Vijayanagara records, still it is found in a large proportion of them; and the earliest instances of it come from this series of records. It may be added that nearly all of these instances come from the Kanarese parts of the Vijayanagara territories.³ These facts seem fairly conclusive as to the time and locality in which the use of the name Śālivāhana in this way had its origin.

It remains to consider the personal idea which underlies this connection of a king Śālivāhana with the Śaka era; a point which Professor Kielhorn did not go into.

¹ *Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*, No. 22: or Dixon's collection of photographs (1865), No. 2.

² It may be noted that the given year is Vijaya, Śālivāhana-Śaka 1276 (current), = A.D. 1353-54; and the given *tithi* is Māgha śukla 15, falling in February, A.D. 1354. Another copper-plate record of Bukkarāya I, from Potaḡānahalli in the Tumkūr District of Mysore, seems to give the next instance, slightly later in the same year A.D.: according to the published text, *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 12 (Tumkūr), Pg. 74, it is dated in the year Jaya, Śālivāhana-Śaka 1277 (current), = A.D. 1354-55, with the details Vaiśākha bahula 10, falling in May, A.D. 1354.

³ Among ninety-three records of the Dynasties of Vijayanagara included by Kielhorn in his *Southern List of Inscriptions*, Nos. 454 to 546, ranging from A.D. 1340 to 1693, thirty-five (including the record of A.D. 1354, No. 455) are dated in this way; and nearly all of them are of the class of official records. Of miscellaneous records dated in the same way, there are eighteen in the same List, ranging from A.D. 1553 onwards: see No. 992 and nearly all of the following entries as far as No. 1013: these, again, are almost all from the Kanarese districts.

Epigraphic research has shown that the connection is certainly not based on the existence of a real king named Śālivāhana reigning in A.D. 78, any more than is the connection of the name Vikrama with the other era based on the existence of a real king Vikrama reigning in B.C. 58: also, that there is no reason for thinking that it commemorates any real king Śālivāhana of later times.¹

It is certainly in Southern India that we must look for the origin of the connection; if only because the earliest instances of the use of the name Śālivāhana in dates come from the south.² And we find the clue in the point

¹ No such ruler has been traced in any of the records of Southern India: and in Northern India the name Śālivāhana, or anything like it, has been found, as the name of real persons, only in—

(1) a copper-plate record from the Chambā State, of about the middle of the eleventh century, which mentions a king Śālavāhana as the father of the then reigning king Sōmavarman; see Kielhorn's *List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, Epi. Ind.*, vol. 5, appendix, No. 593; and now see also Vogel's *Antiquities of Chambā State*, p. 192: and—

(2) a Rōhtāsgarh inscription of A.D. 1631, which mentions a Tōmara prince Śālivāhana who flourished at Gwālīor in or just before that year; see Kielhorn's *Northern List*, No. 318.

² In fact, the only inscriptional instances quotable from Northern India seem to be four, as follows:—

(1) A Dēōgaḍh inscription of A.D. 1424, in which the date is given as the expired year 1481 of king Vikramāditya and *Śakē śri-Śālivāhanāt 1546*: Kielhorn's *Northern List, Epi. Ind.*, vol. 5, appendix, No. 285.

(2) A Chambā inscription of A.D. 1660, in which the date is given as the year 1717 of king Vikramāditya, the Śāstra year 36, and *śri-Śālivāhana-Śakē 1582*: *ibid.*, No. 329.

(3) An Udaypūr inscription of A.D. 1713, in which the date is given as the year 1770 since the time of king Vikramāditya and *Śaka-varshasya* (read more probably *varshasya*) *Śālivāhana-bhūpatēh 1635*: *ibid.*, No. 323.

(4) A Jaisalmēr inscription of A.D. 1797, in which the date is the year 4898 expired from the time when Yudhishthira ascended the throne (i.e., Kaliyuga 4898), the year 1854 from the reign of Vikramārka, and *Śālivāhana-Śakāt śakē 1719*: see *JRAS*, 1911, p. 694.

Professor Kielhorn has given in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 20, p. 152, No. 7, a literary date of A.D. 1675, apparently from Kashmir, which runs:—*Śri-Vikramāditya* *]-śākāh 1732 śrimad-Chhālīvāhana-śākāh 1597 śrimad-Auraṅga-śāha-śākāh 18 śri-Saptarshi-chāra-matēna saṁvat 51. In addition to presenting the use of the name Śālivāhana, this date illustrates well the use of the derivative *śaka* in the sense of 'year': as also does the Jaisalmēr date, No. 4 above.

that Hēmachandra (12th century) in his Prākṛit Grammar, 1. 211, as an instance of the change of *t* to *l* teaches the name Sālāvāhana as a later form of Sātavāhana.¹ We cannot doubt that Hēmachandra had in mind, in his Sātavāhana—Sālāvāhana, the family-name of the kings whom we mention in the next paragraph.² And we can hardly fail to recognize in Śālīvāhana another later form of that name, attributable very likely to some influence of the Sanskrit word *śālī*, 'rice'.

We thus derive the name Śālīvāhana from the family-name, Sātavāhana, of a branch of the great Sātakarṇi kings, who ruled over the Dekkan for some four and a half centuries with the limits of about B.C. 225 and A.D. 225, and one of whose capitals was Pratiśṭhāna, Paiṭhaṇ. We must note, however, that the Sātakarṇi kings had nothing to do with the foundation of the Śaka era, which had its origin in the western parts of Northern India, and did not even use the era in their records.

We must make here, in passing, some remarks on the correct spelling of the personal and family names of these kings.

The forms Śātakarṇi, Sātavāhana, with the palatal sibilant, used by some of our writers on Indian history and antiquities, are wrong. There is no question of an original Sanskrit *ś* represented by *s* in Prākṛit. In Sanskrit texts the forms are distinctly Sātakarṇi, with

¹ He also teaches, under 1. 8, Sālāhana as a contracted form of Sālāvāhana. Regarding Hēmachandra, compare Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's remarks in his *Early History of the Dekkan*, in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, vol. 1, part 2, p. 169: but it is Sātavāhana, Sālāvāhana, that the grammarian teaches; not Sātavāhana, Śālīvāhana.

² In his *Abhidhānāchintāmaṇi*, verse 712, Hēmachandra gives Hāla as a synonym of Sātavāhana; and in his *Dēśnāmamālā* he gives Hāla as a synonym of Sālāhana in 8. 66, and Kuntala and Chaurachindha as synonyms of Hāla in 2. 36 and 3. 7. The names Hāla and Kuntala are instructive, since they are given in the Purāṇas in their list of the kings in question, but as the names of two separate persons: see Pargiter's *Dynasties of the Kālī Age*, p. 36.

the dental *s*, in the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman of A.D. 150,¹ and in the Tālgund inscription of Kākusthavarma of the period A.D. 500–550,² and Sātavāhana, again with the dental *s*, in Bāṇa's verse.³

We could not have a better guide than these instances: especially instructive are the two inscriptional passages, —one of which comes from the time when the Sātakarṇi dynasty was still reigning,—because the readings in inscriptions remain, and cannot be tampered with by copyists as in the case of literary works. But the original spelling was preserved in much later times, too; as is shown by some of the literary references which I give just below.⁴ It was also followed in Kashmir, where, as we learn from Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarangīnī* (A.D. 1148–49), the family-name Sātavāhana was borrowed as the personal name of an ancestor, five generations before about A.D. 1000, of the Lōhara dynasty.⁵ And Jinaprabhasūri (about A.D. 1300) emphasizes it by deriving the first component of the name, *sāta*, from the root *san*, 'to give', and explaining the name as meaning "he by whom conveyances were given."⁶

¹ *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 8, p. 44, line 12.

² *Ibid.*, p. 33, line 14.

³ See p. 818 below, and note.

⁴ Except in the case of the Purāṇas and Vātsyāyana, I give *s* or *ś* just as it is in the texts, translations, etc., which I use. In the *Raghuvamśa*, 13. 38, mention is made of a saint whose name according to published texts was Sātakarṇi, with the palatal *ś*: but certainly Kālidāsa himself cannot have written it in that way; and S. P. Pandit in his edition noted a various reading giving the name as Māṇḍakarṇi, which, supported as it is by the Rāmāyaṇa, 3 (Āraṇya-k.), 11. 11 (Bombay text), seems much more probable.

⁵ Text, 6. 367; 7. 1283, 1732: see Stein's translation, vol. 1, pp. 266, 368, 402, and the table on introd., p. 145; but in the first passage the name was used in the clipped form Sātavāha (compare Śālivāhana, Śālivāha; see page 809 above, note 2). It appears that one manuscript gives the name in 6. 367 as Śālavāha, with *l* instead of *t*.

⁶ I quote this writer from V. N. Mandlik, loc. cit. as below, p. 132. Another fanciful derivation of the name is given in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (trans., vol. 1, p. 37), which explains it as meaning "he who rode on

Not only has the memory of these Sātavāhana-Sātakarṇi kings been preserved, under the name of the Andhras, in the Purāṇas, which give a list of thirty rulers in the dynasty,¹ but also it has lived in general literature:² thus:—

Vātsyāyana in his Kāmasutra tells of Kuntala, a Sātakarṇi, a Sātavāhana, who killed his queen Malayavati by striking her too hard with a pair of scissors by way of showing his love.³

Bāṇa in one of the introductory verses to his Harsha-charita (about A.D. 610) says:—"Sātavāhana made an immortal refined treasure [*kōśa*] of song, adorned with fine expressions of purest character like jewels," and speaks elsewhere in the same work of king Sātavāhana, "lord of the three oceans."⁴

(a *Yaksha* named) Sāta (in the form of a lion)." The real etymology is not known. If the two names are of Sanskrit origin, we should look for some meaning of *sāta* which will go with both *vāhana*, 'a conveyance, vehicle', and apparently *karṇa*, 'an ear'. But they may be Sanskritized forms of vernacular names: and it is perhaps worth noting that Alberūni (A.D. 1031), in a very short abstract of the story in the Kathāsaritsāgara, has the curious form "Samalvāhana, i.e. in the classical language Sātavāhana:" trans. by Sachau, vol. 1, p. 136.

¹ See Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kālī Age*, p. 36. The Purāṇas do not seem to mention the family-name Sātavāhana. They give the name Sātakarṇi with the palatal sibilant: but this cannot have been the form in the early texts.

² Regarding some of these literary references, see also remarks by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, op. cit. as above, p. 169 ff.

³ The passage is near the end of chapter 7; trans. (1883), p. 70. The words, as given by Bhandarkar (op. cit. as above, p. 172, note) from Aufrecht, are:—Kartaryā Kuntalaḥ Sātakarṇiḥ Sātavāhanō mahādēvīṁ Malayavatiṁ [jaghāna]. It is, however, not possible that Vātsyāyana himself can have used the palatal sibilant in these two names.

⁴ See the translation by Cowell and Thomas, pp. 2, 252. The reference to the three oceans in the second passage does not mean that Sātavāhana ruled Jambudvīpa, Plakṣadvīpa, and Sālmālidvīpa, as was understood by the translators, but, as we know from many inscriptional passages, implies that he reigned over the whole of Southern India to the shores of the eastern, the southern, and the western seas. In the first of these two passages, the text has the words *akārāt* = Sātavāhanaḥ (Kashmir ed., p. 10), where the *sandhi* (*śed*, not *chchhā*) marks the name

Sōmadēva in his *Kathāsaritsāgara* (about A.D. 1070) gives a story of king Sātavāhana of Pratiśthāna, "sovereign of the whole earth," whom he represents as a patron of literature and himself an author: at first, indeed, he did not know Sanskrit; but, incited to learn that language by one of his queens, eventually he wrote in it "the book named *Kathāpīṭha*", apparently embodying the adventures of Naravāhanadatta as told by Guṇādhyā in the Pāṣāṇī language in the *Bṛhat-Kathā*.¹

Mērutuṅga in his *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* (A.D. 1304-5) tells of king Sātavāhana of Pratiśthāna, also mentioned according to the published text as Śātavāhana, Śālavāhana, Śālivāhana, and Śālāhaṇa, who "devoted himself to collecting the compositions of all great poets and wise men: he bought four *gāthās* for forty million gold pieces, and had a book made, which was a treasury [*kōṣa*] of *gāthās* that he had collected, named Śālivāhana, containing seven hundred *gāthās*."²

Jinaprabhasūri in his *Kalpaprādīpa* (about A.D. 1300) tells of Sātavāhana, born at Pratiśthāna, who repulsed an invasion by king Vikrama of Ujjain, was anointed as king at Pratiśthāna, subjugated the whole country as far

clearly as having the dental *s*, not the palatal *ś*. A note by the translators tells us that there is here a various reading, giving the name as Śālivāhana: this, however, can only be a late substitute.

¹ See the translation by Tawney, vol. 1, pp. 36-49: for mention of king Sātavāhana, see also pp. 32, 51. The statement about the *Kathāpīṭha* (p. 49) seems not very intelligible: *Kathāpīṭha* is the name of the first book of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* itself, containing chaps. 1 to 8; the story of Sātavāhana is in chaps. 6 to 8; and the story of Naravāhanadatta does not begin till book 4, chap. 23 (trans., vol. 1, p. 190).

² See the translation by Tawney, pp. 14-16. In the text as given by Ramchandra Dinanatha (Bombay, 1888) the forms of the name are Śālivāhana, p. 24, l. 1, p. 26, l. 3; Sātavāhana, p. 24, l. 2; Śātavāhana, p. 24, l. 4, p. 25, ll. 5, 8; Śālavāhana, p. 24, l. 15; and Śālāhaṇa, in *Prākṛit* verses, p. 26, l. 7, p. 31, l. 2. The form Śālivāhana occurs in the title of the story, Śālivāhana-prabandha (against Sātavāhana-kathā in the story itself), and as the name of the anthology of *gāthās*. Incidental mention is made of probably the same king as Sātavāhana, text, p. 308, l. 15, or Sātavahana, trans., p. 194.

as the river Tapti, introduced his era, and became a convert to Jainism.¹

And one of these kings, Hāla by name, is thought to be the Hāla who is claimed as its author by a collection of verses, mostly of an erotic kind, written in the Mahārāshtri dialect of Prākṛit and known as the Śālivāhana-Saptaśati, which is very likely the work that Mērutunga had in mind, and possibly that, too, of which Bāṇa has spoken.²

Our conclusions, in the light of the evidence set out above, are as follows:—

The name of the supposed king Śālivāhana was introduced in connection with the Śaka era in imitation of the association of the name of the supposed king Vikrama with the era of B.C. 58.

The name is based on Sātavāhana as the family-name of a branch of the famous Satakarni kings of the Dekkan, who, however, had nothing to do with the foundation of the era, and commemorates perhaps the dynasty itself, vaguely, as a whole, or quite possibly some individual member of it, whether Hāla or another, who was a great patron of literature; but, in the latter case, of course without any effect of really placing him in or about A.D. 78.

The name was thus introduced in the first part of the fourteenth century by the Court Paṇḍits of the Kings of Vijayanagara, who rose to power, in the person of Harihara I, an elder brother of Bukkarāya I, closely about A.D. 1335.

¹ See the abstract of this story given by V. N. Mandlik in his paper "Śālivāhana and the Śālivāhana-Saptaśati," JBBRAS, vol. 10, p. 131 ff.

² About this work, see V. N. Mandlik, loc. cit. as above, p. 136; and Bhandarkar, op. cit. as above, p. 171.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

"PROFESSOR RIDGEWAY'S THEORY OF THE ORIGIN OF THE INDIAN DRAMA": A REPLY

Professor Keith's note on the Origin of the Indian Drama as discussed in my *Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races* may at once be described as a rearguard action of the cuttlefish type to cover the retreat of the Vegetationists. This he essays to accomplish by charging me with inaccuracy, want of scholarship, and by a series of misrepresentations not only of my views, but of my actual statements. I will first give a few samples of these and then proceed to deal with the real point at issue—Was Krishna (in whose cult Professor Keith, like other Sanskrit scholars, sees the origin of Indian drama) a vegetation spirit or some other abstraction, or was he, as all Hindu tradition declares, once a real human chieftain?

1. Dr. Keith (p. 335) says that "it is a fixed principle with Professor Ridgeway that all religion is to be traced to the reverence shown to the dead, and that all drama is born from such reverence". I have never held any such doctrine, and in everything that I have written or taught about religion I have most carefully guarded myself from any such charge, always pointing out that the Sky-God or All-Father must be carefully discriminated from the rest.

2. Next he represents (p. 337) me as denying "to the Aryans, of the *Rgveda* all contact with magic rites and beliefs". I challenge Professor Keith to point out any passage where I have done this. Dr. Keith when he wrote this statement knew very well that I accept

(*Dramas*, etc., p. 156) his own explanation of the Frog Hymn in the Rig-Veda as "a rain-spell", in other words as a piece of magic.

3. He says (p. 338) that when I develop my view that "the original home of Rāma was at Mathurā, where he was superseded by the aboriginal Kṛṣṇa"; "for this remarkable theory, on which much of the reasoning depends, not a scrap of evidence can be or had been adduced." In the first place, I nowhere state that the worship of Rama at Mathura (Muttra) has been ever "superseded" by that of Krishna. On the contrary, in more than one passage (p. 132, etc.) I emphasize its importance to this hour. In the next place, he strangely omits to combat my argument given on the very page (152) that he cites, that as the Brahmans of Mathura regard Rama as the seventh avatar and Krishna as the eighth avatar of Vishnu, they evidently hold Krishna to be later than Rama, not to speak of the fact that Krishna is not known to the Buddhist *sutras*. Dr. Keith is bound to explain why Krishna is made the eighth rather than the seventh avatar.

4. Again, he alleges that I make "all Indian drama grow out of performances in honour of the dead, such as Rāma or Kṛṣṇa". But I nowhere have stated that either in India or any other country "all drama" grew out of the cult of the dead. My appendix on the Origin of Comedy, which Dr. Keith has read, makes my position on that point perfectly clear. One side of comedy—the burlesque of tragedies on heroic themes—certainly has such an origin. But there is also that other and larger side of comedy which springs out of the natural love of mirth and scurrility.

5. He says that my theory "seems to be summed up at p. 172", and proceeds to deal with what is only a provisional stocktaking of the results up to a given point as if it were the complete summary of my views. But he

omits to deal with my real summary on pp. 206-11, where I give my arguments under fourteen heads.

6. Again, he characterizes my argument from the known back to the less known by working backwards from the dramas of modern India through mediaeval and so to the earliest period as "the most feeble argumentation possible", and urges that because "in the nineteenth century plays are performed with persons like Buddha, Viśvāmitra, Candragupta, and Aśoka as heroes, that in earlier days the same thing may have taken place, sheds no conclusive light on the origin of tragedy or drama" (p. 339). But once again he misrepresents vital parts of my arguments. I argue (1) that since in modern times the most popular dramas in India are those composed on real personages such as Nanda the pariah saint and Hakikat the young Hindu martyred in 1734, the same process has been going on right back to the earliest period, men even in their own lifetimes, such as the Chola emperor Rajaraja in the eleventh century, having their own exploits commemorated in dramatic performances; and (2) that as all attempts to popularize plays with non-historical characters have failed completely in modern India, and (3) that as when we work backward from the present day through the centuries, the most popular songs and dramas have been those based on historical personages such as Buddha, Asoka, Chandragupta, Visvāmitra, etc., we may justly infer that from the very beginning of drama its subjects, Krishna for instance, were also real human personages and not mere abstractions.

7. Dr. Keith proceeds: "No one doubts that the Indian drama after its first beginnings developed, like the Greek drama, a wide sphere of interest, and that it could treat of the lives and feats of famous persons." But Dr. Keith assumes with a delightful *naïveté* that his particular notion respecting the origin of Greek drama, even though opposed to all ancient Greek evidence, is one of the

eternal truths of nature. But to this we shall soon return.

8. He says that "no attempt is made to exhibit the principle [i.e. the worship of the dead] as being carried out in the early Indian dramas preserved to us, except in so far as it is asserted that, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa being really men, any plays based on their lives and deaths were really funeral plays in their ultimate origin". But I do not make an unsupported assertion, as Dr. Keith suggests, in holding that, Rama and Krishna were human beings. The whole of Hindu tradition is unanimous in stating that these two were real personages, and we shall soon find an interesting admission by Dr. Keith on this vital point.

9. Dr. Keith says that "it is suggested, without adducing any evidence other than some facts about funeral rites among the Tangkuls, that the actors originally were representatives of the spirits of the dead and performed the ceremony as a means of propitiating the dead. But such an idea is wholly unknown to Indian drama, and no trace of it is even suggested by Professor Ridgeway. This is an important matter" (pp. 339-40). Nothing could be more misleading. Not only do I cite the *mimus*, who at Roman funerals represented the dead man and imitated his gait and speech, but also the Veddas of Ceylon (p. 211), the mediums of the Burmese Nats (p. 231 sqq.), the actor who in the ancient Chinese ritual represented the ancestor, and the Japanese dancer in the Shinto ceremony in honour of the dead out of which Japanese tragedy arose, whilst (pp. 205-303) I do suggest that the same was the case in India on the ground that the actors in the religious dramas are regularly Brahmans because "for the time being they are taken to be equivalent to gods".

10. Again, Dr. Keith writes (p. 347): "It would be pleasant to hold that the primary thing is the belief in the immortality or durability of the soul, and that belief in

vegetation, tree, corn spirits, spirits of rocks, mountains, and rivers are all dependent on this primary belief [whilst in a footnote he admits 'that totemism is so dependent']. But unhappily the proofs offered by Professor Ridgeway are sadly lacking: it is idle to assure us that such a condition of religion as is now found in Uganda, according to the authority whom he adopts, explains all religion. This is the old fallacy of thinking that one modern tribe is a key to all religion, whereas modern tribes present us with most remarkably different religious pictures, apart from the fact that no two investigators ever agree in the view taken of the fundamental character of their beliefs." I can only assume that he has not read even the Contents of my book. So far from basing my doctrine that the belief in the immortality of the soul is primary, and that vegetation and other such spirits, as well as totemic phenomena, are secondary and dependent upon Uganda or any other single community, region, or continent, it is founded, as Dr. Keith well knows, if he has read my book, not only on the evidence of ancient Rome, Greece, and Egypt (respecting whose fundamental beliefs in this respect there is no dispute), but also on an examination of the beliefs of the modern populations of Western Asia, Hindustan, Burma, China, and Japan (respecting whose doctrines of the soul there is also no dispute), as well as on those of the great islands of the Indian Archipelago, Australia, Melanesia, Polynesia, West Africa, and North and South America. In other words, so far from my conclusions being based on the reported belief of a single tribe or community, ancient or modern, it is based on a worldwide induction, not one element of which Dr. Keith has dared to impugn.

11. Let us now turn to the vital matter in dispute—the origin of Hindu sacred drama. Professor Keith says (p. 339) that "no attempt is made to exhibit the principle [i.e. the propitiation of the dead as seen in such cases

as those of Nanda and Hakikat, *supra*] as being carried out in the early Indian dramas preserved to us, except in so far as it is asserted that, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa being really men, any plays based on their lives and deaths were really funeral plays in their ultimate origin." In the first place I have never termed them *funeral* plays, which would imply that such plays were performed at the actual funerals, whereas such plays are rather to be described as commemorative and propitiative. But I do not make an unsupported assertion, as Dr. Keith suggests, in holding that Rama and Krishna were human beings. The whole of Hindu tradition is unanimous in holding that these two personages were real human beings. Dr. Keith himself admits that "the view that Kṛṣṇa and Rāma were originally men was no doubt often held in some form or other in India", but he endeavours to break the force of this confession by adding that "the persons who held this view were quite unaware that performances of plays based on their history were in any way intended to appease their souls". But why are portions of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* recited or performed in temples at the great festivals of Rama and Krishna, just as plays are performed in China to please gods who were admittedly human beings? Moreover, it is useless for him to attempt to pooh-pooh the mass of facts on which Sir A. Lyall based his conclusion that with but very few exceptions all the members of the Hindu Pantheon were once human beings, amongst whom Rama, Krishna, and Siva undoubtedly fall.

But Professor Keith prefers to follow a doctrine which has no support either in India or anywhere else. It is that which has been evolved from no basis of fact by the Germans, and which has been adopted in various forms in this country by Sir James Frazer, Professor G. G. Murray, Dr. Farnell, Miss Harrison, and Mr. Cornford. Dr. Keith (p. 345) writes: "In the case of Kṛṣṇa we

have a real vegetation spirit ritual, the killing of a representative of the spirit of vegetation." What are his grounds for this simple and undoubting faith? His main, really his sole, argument, is the following: The slaying of Kansa by Krishna was the subject of the earliest dramatic performance recorded for us in Hindu literature. In this performance the Granthikas divided themselves into two parties, those representing the followers of Kansa, Krishna's uncle and persecutor, having their faces blackened; those of Krishna had their faces red (but be it remembered that their leader Krishna himself was black), and they expressed the feelings of both sides throughout the struggle from Krishna's birth to the death of Kansa. "The mention of the colour of the two parties," Dr. Keith writes, "is most significant; red man slays black man: the spirit of spring and summer prevails over the spirit of the dark winter. The parallel is too striking to be mistaken; we are entitled to say that in India as in Greece, this dramatic ritual, the slaying of winter, is the source whence drama is derived." But it is truly astonishing to find Krishna the black made "the spirit of spring and summer" that "prevails over the spirit of the dark winter", i.e. Kansa. Dr. Keith still shuts his eyes to the fact that red men led by black man slay black men, which on his own principle can only mean that winter aided by the spirit of spring and summer slays winter; in other words, winter is divided against himself and commits suicide. Now, as at the date of this, the earliest Hindu dramatic performance known to us, there were two elements in the population of Hindustan, the light-complexioned Aryan invaders and the dark-complexioned aborigines, I naturally suggested that in this historical fact (admitted by Dr. Keith himself) lies a simple explanation of the colours of the two sets of actors. Dr. Keith makes merry over certain difficulties

involved in this suggestion by the form of the story as known to us. But he forgets that in India, as in Greece, there were variants of the same story. Now, strange as it may seem, Dr. Keith himself dares not assume that the Hindus of the second century B.C. regarded this slaying of Kansa as a vegetation ritual. On the contrary, he admits that "it was a human drama to the actors understood in purely historical sense, the slaying by Kṛṣṇa of his wicked uncle". But as the actors, and we may presume the spectators, regarded the performance as purely historical, they evidently found no difficulty about the colours assigned to the actors. If they were satisfied with their historical accuracy and fitness, why should Dr. Keith be dissatisfied? They probably had one version of the story, Dr. Keith has access only to another.

Dr. Keith can find only two other supports for his theory, neither of which is Indian. He asserts that the Greek drama originated in a vegetation cult, though he knows perfectly well that this theory depends wholly on the assumption that from the earliest times at Eleusis there had been a dramatic representation of the marriage of Zeus and Demeter, an assumption which I have shown (p. 35), and which is now admitted by Sir James Frazer himself, to be without foundation, since Zeus does not appear at Eleusis until after the Christian era. Finally, he still clings with the clutch of despair to the paper of the German Usener, on which Dr. Farnell and Professor G. G. Murray have also based their particular modifications of the same theory. Because in that paper Usener cites some flimsy late folk-tales (not one of which is from India) in which there "occurs a mimic fight intended clearly to secure sunlight and proper vegetation", Dr. Keith imagines the slaying of Kansa to be a vegetation ritual. But as Dr. Keith has not been able to cite a single scintilla of evidence from either ancient or modern India to show that the Hindus ever regarded

Krishna as a vegetation spirit, and as he has admitted that the Hindus in the second century B.C. who acted the slaying of Kansa regarded Krishna and Kansa as purely historical persons, he has admitted the truth of the conclusions to which I was led by the various lines of evidence, that Krishna, whose cult plays so large a part in Hindu sacred drama, was a real historical person. So little, then, can sophistry avail against the Inductive Method.

WILLIAM RIDGEWAY.

SOME NOTES ON THE *PERIPLUS* OF THE
ERYTHRÆAN SEA

The writer of the *Periplus* was an Alexandrian sea-captain (he probably called himself a pilot, κυβερνήτης), who in the course of his voyaging up and down the Red Sea and to India did some trading on his own account. It was the custom not only of his time, but of all time until steam had banished sailing ships. The captains of our East Indiamen were entitled to so many tons of cargo, twenty or more, on their own account; and one of the officers who had accompanied Vasco da Gama round the Cape, on his return drew up a list of articles good for export to or import from India, precisely as our author does. To this goodly company of sailormen the author of the *Periplus* belonged. His object was purely practical. He notes the distances, the anchorages, the prevailing winds, and the seasons at which they blow; what articles are in demand at each port, and what it is good to buy; and he mentions various Eastern potentates, either because these gentlemen had a monopoly of the most valuable goods, or because, in the absence of a custom-house, it was necessary to secure permission to trade by means of a present. Thus his work is a handbook for the trade—half a sailing directory and half Baedeker. The language he uses is the common speech, not the literary language.

Of this common speech we have not many literary examples in Greek: none like the *Cena Trimalchionis* in Latin; the *Shepherd of Hermas* is perhaps the best. But the Greek inscriptions of Syria and Egypt supply a fair number of specimens, and I have jotted down a few instances which have their parallel in the *Periplus*.

1. Our author uses Latin words common in the trade. Fabricius has given a list of them in the Introduction to his edition of the *Periplus*.¹ Latin words in Greek inscriptions are not uncommon. The nameless Axumite king who set up the inscription copied by Cosmas at Adouli, gives us an example from the Red Sea. He uses the Latin *annonā*, ἀννῶνα, and ἀννῶνεύεσθαι as good Greek.²

2. In c. 23 the *Periplus* says that Charibael was a friend of the emperors, φίλος τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων. It was customary at one time to take the plural as an indication of the date, and to say that the *Periplus* could not be earlier than M. Aurelius and L. Verus. But in the *Decapolis* we have several inscriptions of the first century A.D., dedications in which the expressions ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Σεβαστῶν σωτηρίας and ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ σωτηρίας are used indifferently. In one instance we have both the singular and the plural applied to Tiberius.³

3. Agrippa I and Agrippa II were clients, or rather subjects, of Augustus—as Charibael was not—but they call themselves, or rather are called, φιλόκαισαρ and φιλορώμαιος.⁴

¹ p. 29 ad fin.

² Cosmas, ii, 143, Migne. Cf. Letronne, *Journal des Savans*, 1825, p. 265. M. V. de Saint-Martin says that these Greco-Egyptian sailors knew the constellation of Canopus by a Latin name.

³ Brünnow & Donaszewski, *Provincia Arabia*, iii, p. 308. Other examples pp. 309-10.

⁴ Op. cit., iii, pp. 308-10, for examples. I may remark that the expression φιλόκαισαρ supports the manuscript reading of καῖσαρ in c. 26. Agrippa II calls himself βασιλεὺς μέγας, the Axumite kings take the title "king of kings", and we have an Arab *strategos* under the Nabatean king Dabel (A.D. 75-105). Sakas, Kushans, Nabateans, Axumites, all

4. The reading *κοῦσαν* for *οὔσαν* in c. 47¹ is confirmed by a passage in Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiv, 2: "Malchus Podosacis nomine phylarchus Saracenorum assanitarum, famosi nominis latro, omni sævitia per nostros limites diu grassatus," etc., where it is proposed to read Ghassanidæ for Assanitæ.

5. *Ἐργασία* and *ἐργάζομαι* are the ordinary words in the *Periplus* for business dealings. In later times we have *πράγματα* and *πραγματεύτης* similarly used: *τοῖς Ρωμαίοις πραγματεύταις δοῦς αὐτονόμως οἰκεῖν τὴν νῆσον*.²

6. Traders and soldier adventurers in the East who go abroad to make their fortunes, usually come from certain towns or villages which maintain a regular connexion with them and keep up the supply. A town in the Shahjehanpur District (United Provinces A. and O.) has for generations supplied the Gwalior Army; Sir Aurel Stein found that the Indian traders in Kashgar came from one or two towns in Sind; Chang Kien observed that certain Bactrian villages kept up a constant supply of traders abroad; and we have an example of the same thing from the Hauran in the first century A.D. A funereal inscription from Sūr is in memory of a Sūr trader who had lived abroad thirty years; another a few years later (A.D. 69) records the death of another native of Sūr who died in command of the Gaulanite Horse.

7. Azania is said (*Periplus*, c. 16) to be "subject by some old standing right to the kingdom which has become the First Arabia": *κατά τι δίκαιον ἀρχαῖον ὑποπίπτουσιν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῆς πρώτης γινομένης Ἀραβίας*. Strabo³ uses a somewhat similar expression: *ἀρχὴ δὲ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἀπὸ*

living on the fringe of the Greek world, take their titles from the Greeks; and the Axumite *Βασιλεὺς τῶν Βασιλέων* is still perpetuated in the Abyssinian *Negus Negahî*.

¹ JRAS. 1913, p. 128. Cf. Dr. Thomas, *ibid.*, p. 420.

² Brunnnow & Donaszewski, *op. cit.*, iii, pp. 348-9. Cf. p. 320, *Σημεῖον πραγματευτῶν τῆς ἱερᾶς πλατεῖας*, in an inscription of the year A.D. 185.

³ Strabo, xvi, p. 767.

τῆς Βαβυλωνίας ἐστὶν ἡ Μαικήνη. At first sight we naturally incline to interpret the words the "First Arabia" as a geographical expression, and so it is usually interpreted. Fabricius says, for instance, that whereas the Egyptian fleet used formerly to go straight to Aden, the first port it now touched at was Muza.¹ But neither Aden nor Muza was a kingdom, βασιλεία; and c. 31 shows that by the "First Arabia" the Homerite kingdom is meant. We read there that Socotra was subject to the king of Hadramaut as Azania was to Charibael and his vassal of Maphar (Ma'âfir). Azania was a dependency of the Homerites, and the word γινομένης implies that the Homerites had risen to the hegemony of Southern Arabia no very long time before the days of the *Periplus*. But the expression is obscure.

8. C. 26 tells us that Aden had formerly been the place where ships from Egypt and India met; but that "Cæsar had destroyed it not very long before our times", and it was now a seaside village belonging to the Homerite Charibael.² As no other author mentions the destruction of Aden by a Roman fleet, the editors have supposed a mistake in the MS. Müller proposed to read Elisar; others read Charibael. Mommsen³ upholds the manuscript reading, and his arguments are sound. After Augustus had put down the pirates and policed the sea, the Romans took over the entire control of it. They had a custom-house at Leuke Kome (c. 19), and the story told by Pliny of the freedman of Annius Plocamus who was blown off the Arabian shore, and carried by the north-east monsoon in fifteen days to Taprobane, while collecting the

¹ pp. 135-6.

² Χαριβαήλ = Karib'il. Three kings of this name are known from their coins or inscriptions, and it is uncertain which is the Charibael of the *Periplus*. Hill, *Ancient Coinage of Southern Arabia*, p. 13.

³ Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, Eng. trans., vol. ii, p. 294, n. 1.

dues of the farmer of the revenue,¹ shows that the Imperial treasury levied duties on Roman traders even beyond the Straits of Bab el Mandeb. Ocelis, Aden, and Kane were the only trading stations on the southern coast of Arabia visited by Romans, according to the *Periplus*, before they stood across the bay. This freedman must therefore have been voyaging between one or other of these ports, when the wind caught him and carried him out to sea; and at these ports the Roman farmers must have taken toll from Roman subjects. The policing of the straits must always have been necessary for the security of the Indian trade; and a Roman fleet must have been maintained for police purposes. Sometimes a fleet was employed on a much larger scale. Trajan had reopened the old freshwater canal between the Nile and the Sinaitic Gulf,² and, according to a well-known story, Trajan said that had he been younger he would have visited India in person. He evidently took much interest in the Indian trade. Now Eutropius (8. 3), copying some older writer,³ says of him: "in mari rubro classem instituit ut per eam Indis fines vastaret." It is possible that the templum Augusti at Muziris mentioned in the Peutinger Tables may be a monument of this expedition, for the coast of India in the neighbourhood of Muziris was infested with pirates, and Trajan's expedition may have been sent to chastise

¹ Pliny, *H.N.* vi, 84: "Anni Plocami qui maris Rubri vectigal a fisco redemerat, libertus circa Arabiam navigans, Aquilonibus raptus præter Carmaniam, xv. die Hippuros portum ejus invectus," etc. This happened either in the reign of Claudius or immediately before, because the embassy from Ceylon, the first of its kind, came "Claudi principatu". It is important to note this because it proves that Hippalus had not yet made the direct passage from the straits to the Tamil coast.

² Letronne gives a full account of the Amnis Trajanus in his *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines de l'Égypte*. The canal was in full working order down to the time of Septimius Severus, and until Caracalla's massacre of the Alexandrians put an end to the direct trade between India and Egypt.

³ Jerome ad Euseb. *Chron.* 2118, repeats this statement verbatim. Evidently both Eutropius and Jerome used the same authority.

and put them down. Muziris (Cranganore) was not much frequented by Roman merchants, or a likely spot for a temple to the emperor except as a memorial of some such expedition. There is nothing surprising, therefore, in the destruction of Aden by a Roman fleet. Mommsen infers from Pliny, *H.N.* ii, 168, that Augustus sent a fleet to patrol the Arabian Gulf (Arabicum Sinum) when Gaius Cæsar was preparing to invade Arabia (B.C. 1); and he thinks Aden was destroyed then, or if not then, by one of Augustus' immediate successors. But the words of the *Periplus*, πρὸ οὐ πολλοῦ τῶν ἡμετέρων χρόνων, seem to imply something more recent. If a Roman fleet destroyed Aden, it did so in the interest of Roman trade. Now as long as Roman ships followed the coast from Bab el Mandeb to Syagros (Cape Fartak),¹ Aden was a necessary port of call, and its destruction would have been a great blow to the shipping. But when Hippalus had proved that India could be reached by a direct course from Bab el Mandeb, the importance of Aden was gone. And with this decline came the temptation to make it a pirate stronghold. I therefore think that the destruction of Aden must be put down to the end of the reign of Claudius, or to the time of Nero. Nor need we wonder that none of the formal historians of Rome notice it. Such an event, if known at all, would excite no more interest at Rome than the bombardment by English ships of a pirate nest in Borneo or Java excites in London. Charibael was anxious to keep on good terms with the Romans, and the reason may have been the lesson his tribesmen had received. For a similar reason an Indian embassy to Rome anticipated or followed on Trajan's punitive expedition."

¹ Pliny, *H.N.* vi, 101. Pliny tells us that the route was infested by pirates, and all the ships had to carry a guard of crossbowmen. "Quippe omnibus annis navigatur, sagittariorum cohortibus impositis, etenim piratæ maxime infestabant."

² It came in A.D. 107. πρὸς δὲ τὴν Τραιανὸν εἰς τὴν Ρώμην ἐλθόντα πλείσται Ἰσραὶ πρεσβεῖται παρὰ βαρβάρων ἄλλων τε καὶ Ἰνδῶν ἀφίκοντο. Dio Cassius, lxxviii, Trajanus (Xiphil. epitome), c. 15; cf. *ibid.*, c. 29: Πλοῖόν τι εἰς

9. The date of the *Periplus* was long a subject of dispute, and is a question of interest for Indian history. C. Müller put it between A.D. 80 and 89; Mommsen in the reign of Vespasian; and the general opinion now seems to be that it was written about A.D. 70. The chief clue is the mention of Malichos, whom the author of the *Periplus* (c. 19) calls the king of the Nabatæans. "King Maliku or Malchus, the successor of Aretas, fought under Nero and Vespasian in the Jewish War as a Roman vassal, and transmitted his dominion to his son Dabel, the contemporary of Trajan, and the last of these rulers." So says Mommsen.¹ A Nabatæan inscription from Dmër, on the road between Damascus and Palmyra, enables us to date the accession of Dabel or Zabel. The inscription "dates from the month Ijjar of the year 410 according to the Roman (i.e. Seleucid) reckoning, and the 24th year of king Dabel, the last Nabatæan one, and so from May, A.D. 99".² Dabel therefore succeeded his father in A.D. 75 or A.D. 76. This provides us with a limit before which the *Periplus* must have been composed.³ The anterior limit is much more vague. It was Hippalus, the pilot, says the *Periplus*, who first ventured to cross the ocean with the south-west

Ἰνδίας πλέον ἰδόν, εἶπεν ὅτι πάντως ἂν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς, εἰ νόος ἔτι ἦν, ἐπεραιώθην, Ἰνδοῦς τε γὰρ ἐνεόει, καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων πράγματα ἐπολυπραγµάνει, τὸν τε Ἀλέξανδρον ἐμακάριζε. The erection of a temple to the emperor at Muziris is a parallel to the altars erected by Alexander in the Panjāb.

¹ Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, Eng. trans., vol. ii, p. 161.

² Ibid. ii, p. 149, n. 1.

³ I formerly was inclined to date the *Periplus* after A.D. 80, chiefly on the ground that it must have been considerably later than Hippalus. But I had overlooked the inscription from Dmër, which settles the question. The dates given by Head, *Historia Numorum*, pp. 685-6, for the Nabatæan kings who issued coins are these: Malchus I, c. B.C. 145; Obodas I, c. B.C. 97-85; Aretas III (*Philhellen*), c. B.C. 85-62; Obodas II, c. B.C. 30(?) - 7; Aretas IV (*Philodemos*), c. B.C. 7-A.D. 39; Malchus III, c. A.D. 67; Zabel, date uncertain. Obodas II was the reigning king when Ælius Gallus made his unfortunate expedition in B.C. 24 against the Sabæans, and Malchus III is the king mentioned in the *Periplus*. He succeeded Aretas IV in A.D. 39 and reigned till A.D. 75 according to Mommsen's evidence; and the date of Dabel or Zabel is settled by the Dmër inscription.

monsoon; and both the *Periplus* and Pliny¹ tell us that this monsoon wind was locally called Hippalus. Hippalus must have been a man of mark on the quays of Myoshormos and Berenice, but our author had evidently never seen him. Probably he was dead before our author went to sea. We must therefore allow a considerable period to elapse—twenty-five or thirty years—between the first direct voyage across the Indian Ocean and the work of this retired sea-captain. Unfortunately, of Hippalus we know nothing further. But the story of Annius Plocamus' freedman shows that before the reign of Claudius (A.D. 41-53) the possibility of crossing the ocean with a monsoon wind had not occurred to anyone, otherwise the lucky termination of the freedman's adventure would not have created so much surprise. In Claudius' reign came the first embassy from Ceylon, and from his time we remark a notable increase in the great Indian trade. Dr. Vincent puts down Hippalus' exploit to c. A.D. 50. It may have been a few years earlier, and this would bring us to the years A.D. 70-75 for the composition of our *Periplus*.

The difficulty lies with the Indian data. We read in c. 38 that the lower Indus valley was ruled by Parthian chiefs, who were perpetually at feud with each other. This describes a state of things after the death of Gondophares, and the last known date of Gondophares is A.D. 46. So far everything is clear. Next we have the ruler of Ariake,² but the MS. is so illegible that it is impossible to restore his name with any confidence. It has been read as Manbaros, Mambaros, and Mambanos. Fabricius says that only the final letters (*ζαρον*) are

¹ *Periplus*, c. 57. Pliny, *H.N.* vi, 100, 104. Pliny does not mention Hippalus by name as the discoverer of the direct route. He simply says (101): "conpendia invenit mercator."

² MS. ἀραβικῆς, but the emendation 'Αριακῆς seems certain (*Periplus*, c. 41). For different readings of the name of the king v. Fabricius' notes to this chapter, p. 82.

certain. Boyer proposed to read Nambanos, and in an essay full of learning and acuteness¹ identified him with Nahapāna, who possibly came to the throne as a young man in A.D. 78. Nahapāna's predecessor was Bhumaka, but this also does not fit, and it is probable that we have here a dynastic or a tribal name, not a personal one.²

Glaser and others contend that Pliny must have used the *Periplus* in his immense undigested encyclopædia, the Natural History. Pliny finished his work in A.D. 77; he was probably at work on it when the *Periplus* was written. But that he had ever seen the *Periplus* seems to me a far-fetched idea. Pliny usually gives a list of his authorities, and he quotes "nostri negotiatores" for the Persian Gulf.³ There was no reason why he should have omitted to mention the *Periplus*, or at least its author, for the Erythræan Sea. And if he used it, he omitted all that was most striking and novel, the account of Axum and Azania, of the Homerites and Aden, the freshwater snakes seen swimming in the sea at the mouths of the Indus, the "bore" at the mouth of the river below Barygaza, and many other details. Where Pliny and the *Periplus* agree, they agree only in those well-known facts which were common property.

J. KENNEDY.

¹ Boyer, "Nahapāna et l'ère çaka": *Journal Asiatique*, July-August, 1897, pp. 120-51.

² The *Periplus* mentions four other Indian potentates: the elder Saraganos (Satakarni) and Sandanes in c. 52, and Kerebotros (Keraliputra) and Pandion in c. 54. With the exception of the unknown Sandanes none of these is a personal name, and we should therefore expect the ruler of Ariake to be mentioned by some general designation. The reading *Sandanes*, by the way, is certain.

³ Pliny, *H.N.* vi, 139: "Nostrique negotiatores qui inde venire," i.e. from Charax Pasinou. So in 146: "Nostri negotiatores dicunt [Dumatham] Characenorum regi parere."

THE NEW ASOKA EDICT AT MASKI

A discovery of great interest is that of the new Asoka edict at Maski, in the Raichūr District of the Nizam's Dominions. The fortunate discoverer is Mr. W. R. C. Beadon, F.G.S., a mining engineer, who came upon it in January last year while examining old gold workings in the village. But it was not fully cleared and exposed to view till July. It is engraved on a boulder, about 9×5 feet, lying at the mouth of a cavern, and contains eight lines. The services were obtained of Rao Sāhib H. Krishna Sāstri, who is acting as the Government Epigraphist, to examine and report upon it. This he has done in the *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*.

The inscription proves to be another version, somewhat curtailed, of those at Brahmagiri, Siddapur, and Jaṅga Rāmeśvara, discovered by me in the north of the Mysore State, and at Sahasrām, Rūpnāth, and Bairāt, in Bengal, Central Provinces, and Rājputāna. There are several gaps, due to the loss of letters, but on the whole it apparently bears the closest resemblance to the Rūpnāth and Sahasrām versions.

The distinctive feature of this inscription is that it sets at rest once for all any doubts as to the identity of Devānāmpiya, in whose name the majority of the edicts are issued. For the first line proclaims the record to be

Devānāmpiyasa Asokasa.

No other of the numerous edicts supplies this information.

Then follow the statements that "during the two years and a half that I was a lay disciple"—but the remainder of the sentence is effaced until we come to his joining (*upagate*) the Sangham with zeal. The result of which was that "those who were formerly (*pure*) gods in Jambūdvīpa have now become false (*misibhātā*)".

The record ends with the advice that this result may be obtained even by the lowly who applies himself to Dhama.¹

¹ Apparently spelt with one m.

Both small and great should be informed of this. Here follows a sentence containing the word *taṁbha*, pillar. It will thus endure and prosper, and increase one and a half times.

The edict does not proceed to the further exhortation given in the other versions, which is attributed to the Vyūtha, nor introduce the "256" used in connexion therewith. These figures and statements therefore receive no further elucidation here.

The expression *pure*, used with reference to the action of the king in regard to the gods in Jambūdvīpa, seems to imply that he was the first to prove them false. The various interpretations that have been proposed for the corresponding passages are too perplexing to be understood. And one cannot avoid the suspicion that translations that are unintelligible cannot really be correct. If the meaning be that those who were supposed to be gods (as the Brāhmans) had been found to be rather god and man "mixed" (the accepted rendering), this conveys some idea that can be grasped. But it is a question whether this can be regarded as so profound and vital a discovery as the king claims the credit for.

The locality in which the present inscription has been found, taken in connexion with the occurrence of the three in the north of the Mysore State, confirms the view that Asoka's empire extended over the Dekhan—in fact, over the province later known as Kuntala, which in at least four records, more than 700 years old, it is affirmed was ruled even by the Nandas, the predecessors of the Mauryas. The dispatch of Buddhist missionaries in Asoka's time to Mahisa-maṇḍala, or South Mysore, and to Vanavāsa, or Banavāsi, on the Mysore-Kanara frontier, equally bears witness to the southern and south-western boundaries of his empire.

PROPOSED ALPHABETICAL INDEX TO ARABIC BOOKS OF TRADITION

1. Whoever has occupied himself with the study of the Arabic books of tradition, will have experienced the difficulty of gathering from them with some completeness the traditions relating to any particular subject. In the different books of tradition the materials have been arranged according to different principles, none of which proves to be a sure guide for us when we have to consult these works.

2. The chief objection to the composition of a compendium containing the contents of tradition reduced to a smaller bulk by the omission of repetitions would be, that in such a work the copious *variæ lectiones*, which often possess great value, scarcely would occupy the place they deserve.

3. An alphabetical index would be the only adequate way of preparing the vast domain of Arabic tradition for scientific exploration. This index would have to contain all characteristic words occurring in the traditions, accompanied by so many of the preceding or following words as are necessary to characterize the subject. It goes without saying that the bulk of an index of this sort will be enormous and that its composition will require much time.

4. Moreover, it would be useful to prepare indices: (1) of the personal names in the *isnāds*; (2) of the personal names in the *matns*; (3) of the geographical names; (4) of the quotations from the *Ko'rān*.

The composition of an index of the personal names in the *isnāds*, however, involves so many difficulties that they seem to outweigh the utility promised by it. It seems therefore better to abandon the idea for the present.

5. The indices will have to include the six so-called canonical collections of tradition, the *Mosnad* of *Dārimī*, the *Mosnad* *Aḥmad*, the *Mowaṭṭa'*, and the old traditional

matter contained in the commentaries by Kaṣṭallānī, Nawawī, and Zorkānī.

6. Of the collections as far as printed, the following editions would have to be used: for Bokhārī the edition by Krehl, continued by Juynboll; for Moslim the text printed together with Nawawī's commentary (Cairo, 1283, 5 vols.); for Abū Dā'ūd, the text printed at Cairo, 1280, 2 vols.; for Tirmidhī the text printed at Cairo, 1292, 2 vols.; for Nasā'ī the text printed together with Soyūṭī's commentary (Cairo, 1312, 2 vols.); for Aḥmad the text printed at Cairo, 1313, 6 vols.; for the Mowatta' the text printed together with Zorkānī's commentary (Cairo, 1279, 4 vols.); for Kaṣṭallānī the text printed at Bulak, 1288, 10 vols.

As regards the works of Dārimī and Ibn Mādja, which have not, or not sufficiently, been printed, Professor Snouck Hurgronje has promised to edit them, if the attainable MSS. should prove to provide a sufficient basis for an edition.

7. The most practical way to quote the six canonical collections and the work of Dārimī would be according to the chapters and the numbers of the bābs, or traditions, as it is often done with Bokhārī. The other works would have to be quoted according to volumes, pages, and lines.

8. It would be advisable to use the same system of transcription as in the *Encyclopædia of Islām*.

9. Dr. Th. W. Juynboll has promised to undertake the fourth part of Bokhārī; the present writer will begin with the first part of this author. Probably other students of Semitic philology and religion will be found for other parts of the work.

10. The completion of the whole work will probably take some ten years. But as soon as the indices to any author are completed, they will be made available for consultation, on application to the compiler.

Remarks and suggestions relating to this communication will be gladly received by

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE HISTORY OF KATHIAWAD FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES.
By Captain WILBERFORCE-BELL. London: William
Heinemann, 1916.

Kathiawad, the ancient Saurashtra, is the peninsula on the west coast of India, between the Gulfs of Cutch (Kachh) and Cambay. It has an area, according to the Gazetteer, of 23,300 square miles, which is distributed among 193 Chiefs and the Gaekwar of Baroda. The Chiefs are independent of one another, with their own rules and traditions, a few wealthy and important, the majority insignificant. They have been divided by the British Government into seven classes with graduated powers. The Chiefs of the first and second classes, in number seven and six respectively, have unlimited civil jurisdiction, and almost unlimited criminal jurisdiction. All control entirely their revenue administration. The population is of mingled ancestry, the descendants of famous Rajput clans and of Mahomedan invaders, side by side with the Kathis, who are believed to be of Scythian origin, and the remnants of the aborigines.

To compile a readable account of a small province of the huge Indian Empire from a hotchpotch of material, so deficient in important particulars, so varied and diffuse in its stories and legends, is a task that might well have daunted an experienced historian. To have accomplished this in a short time and under circumstances of some difficulty is a remarkable achievement. Captain Wilberforce-Bell's *History of Kathiawad* is both an interesting book and a valuable work of reference, which will be appreciated by the chiefs and all friends of Kathiawad.

One may well ask the question why successive invaders were attracted to Saurashtra. There does not appear to

be an entirely satisfactory answer in these pages. The author points to the fertility of the soil and the value of the seaboard trade. Mr. Hill in his preface considers "this western promontory" to have been utilized as "the doorway to the promised land" of India. There seems to be an inaccuracy here. All the invasions into Kathiawad came from the north or east. The modern Gujerat, which in earlier days was included in Saurashtra, was and is undoubtedly fertile; parts of Kathiawad, too, are fertile, especially near Junagadh, but not by any means the whole. The trade with Southern India, with Persia and more distant countries was no doubt profitable, countries where the rich merchandise of the East would be readily absorbed. But the fame of the shrines of Saurashtra, Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain, their sanctity as well as their wealth, gripped the imagination, it is probable, and directed the movements of inland races more powerfully than tales of the sea. The earliest of these shrines were in existence, we may conjecture with some certainty, long before the reign of Asoka (B.C. 272-31).

The close connexion between Sind and the Saurashtra of early history is remarkable. Whether or not the stretch of inland water known as the "Nal" marks an outlet of the River Indus, as Captain Wilberforce-Bell suggests, it is well known that the great river once followed the direction of what is now the canalized Eastern Nara River in Sind, and it is possible that part of the flood from the melting of the Himalayan snows may have been carried beyond the outlet afforded by the Rann of Cutch, and through what is now the Nal to the Gulf of Cambay. A ship's anchor has been found embedded in the Nal. The desert which now intervenes between Gujerat and Sind was probably a less formidable obstacle to communication than it now appears. Even now a not inconsiderable trade passes between Cutch and Hyderabad, Sind, and cattle, often stolen property, are regularly brought from Thar

and Parkar in Sind into Kathiawad. The nomads from the Jaxartes who invaded Saurashtra in the first century, and established themselves with the title of Kshatrapas, probably followed the course of the Indus. The Arab horde which blotted out the Walabhi dynasty (approximately A.D. 500–800) seems to have had the same origin as the Marri tribe, which still inhabits the Sind–Baluch frontier. The Jethwas and Chaoras, Mers, Ahirs, Rubaris, and Chudasamas, who gradually entered the province during and after the Walabhi rule, all hailed from Sind. The principal chief in Kathiawad of the Jadeja clan, to which belong the ruler of Cutch and three first-class chiefs in Kathiawad, adopted 500 years ago the title of Jam, a title which is also held by the ruler of territory in Southern Baluchistan, and by a wealthy zemindar in Upper Sind. Jhalas were in Sind before settling in Rajputana, and thereafter in the north of Kathiawad, and the Gohels, too, perhaps, who occupy the southern corner.

It seems improbable that much more than is now known will ever be discovered regarding the origin of the Kathi people mentioned first in the eleventh century, from whom is derived the name of the province used by the Marathas. They appear to have been remarkably brave, but wholly unstable, and they have been slow in adapting themselves to the changed circumstances introduced by British rule. One Khachar Kathi Chief has a small compact State in the centre of the province which has been saved from disintegration by the adoption of the custom of primogeniture, entirely foreign to them and distasteful. The Wala Kathis occupy a tract of fertile country split up and subdivided amongst numerous petty Talukdars, their villages and shares of villages scattered and intermingled in inextricable fashion. A large and well-organized State might be formed if they would consent to place themselves under one authority.

It will be seen from the tables in the Appendices that

the founding of the principal States coincides roughly with the beginning of the sixteenth century. The history of Kathiawad since the time of Akbar is to a very great extent the narrative of the gradual evolution of these States. The Moghul Viceroyalty in Gujerat was a period of chaos out of which emerged three prominent men, who did much to raise the three principal States of Bhavnagar, Junagadh, and Jamnagar to their present eminence, though in position, character, and methods of procedure they were very unlike. With the rise of the Maratha power during the eighteenth century the Gaekwar, of Baroda obtained a footing in the province. The exercise of their authority by the Marathas otherwise consisted in sending an armed force annually, or as often as was convenient, to levy the tribute. The Mulkigiri Army, as it was termed, was an unmixed evil, leaving desolation in its wake. The prospect of its visitation kept land untilled, and made the accumulation of agricultural wealth impossible. If British intervention had effected nothing more in Kathiawad than the removal of this curse, it would have been welcomed.

With the establishment of British rule in Western India and the overthrow of the Marathas at the beginning of the nineteenth century the history of Kathiawad assumes a different aspect. Captain Wilberforce-Bell seems to have realized a difficulty in dealing with it. In 1807 a famous officer, Colonel Walker, was sent to Kathiawad as representative of the British Government with the Maratha army, to fix the tribute payable by the States, and to determine their boundaries. This difficult task he accomplished with great ability, so that Colonel Walker's settlement has become a date behind which it is inconvenient and not permissible to pry in case of disputes. A Political Agent was then appointed, and though a display of military force was occasionally necessary and outlaws from time to time gave trouble, the subsequent history is a peaceful

tale of the gradual adoption of improved methods of administration in the States, followed by the substitution of struggles in courts of justice for struggles in the field, a species of fighting for which the British judicial system afforded unrivalled facilities. It seems to the writer of this review that Captain Wilberforce-Bell might have devoted more space to explaining how and when the British Government found it necessary to interfere in the affairs of the province, and how part of it became merged in the Ahmedabad (or, as it was originally, the Kaira) District; and after specifying the immediate results of their intervention might with advantage have concluded his history at the Mutiny. This tremendous upheaval found Kathiawad so staunch that the briefest reference only is made to it.

The following mistakes in dates have been noticed: B.C. 201 (p. 12) and A.D. 1551 (p. 79) are from the context clearly erroneous, and like the date of the abolition of the Rajasthanik Court (p. 231), A.D. 1890 for A.D. 1899, may be due to printer's errors.

J. SLADEN.

INTERCOURSE BETWEEN INDIA AND THE WESTERN WORLD
FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE FALL OF ROME.

By H. G. RAWLINSON, M.A. Cambridge: University Press. 1916.

The object of this little book is set forth in the Preface; it is an attempt to furnish a succinct account of the intercourse between India and the Greco-Roman world—a subject which, Mr. Rawlinson says, has never been dealt with as a whole, so far as he knows, in any English work. The book, he adds, is "very largely based" on McCrindle's six volumes of translations from the classical authors; but he says that he has "in nearly every case" referred to the original text.

The subject of the book is one of perennial interest both to Hellenists and Orientalists; and much learning and ingenuity have been expended on it. For India the West means chiefly Persia; and Persian influence has always been the chief extraneous factor in the history of Indian civilization. But for the Greeks of Alexander's day the discovery of India was like the discovery of a new continent. Alexander had crossed the Indus, and erected his altars by the Hydaspes, where they stood to challenge competition with the exploits of Herakles and Dionysus; and his soldiers brought back wonderful tales of the strange habits of the people and the marvellous animals and plants to be found there. The kingdom of the Seleucids was coterminous with that of the Mauryas; and it was from the ambassadors of Seleucus Nikator and Ptolemy Philadelphus to the court at Palibothra that the ancients learnt whatever of accurate information they possessed regarding the lands east of the Ganges. But this intercourse was short. In the decline of the Seleucid power the Greco-Bactrians made themselves masters of the Indian borderlands and Northern India as far as the Jumna. But they were little better than military adventurers; and although Eukratides and perhaps some of the others had the good fortune to attract artists of genius from Athens (or more probably Asia Minor) to their court, they did nothing to promote a wider knowledge of India among the Greeks. The real work accomplished by Alexander and the Seleucids was, not the diffusion of knowledge, but, in Plutarch's phrase, the sowing of Asia with Greek colonies. The foundation of colonies went on even to Greco-Bactrian times; and after the foundation of royal colonies had stopped, the stream of immigrants to India did not entirely cease, as the story of Eudoxus, happily narrated by Mr. Rawlinson, shows. These colonies created a commercial intercourse between India and the West, which never ceased until the Arab

conquests ended it; and with this commercial intercourse Greek became the *lingua franca*, so that up to the commencement of our era Greek was understood in the bazars from the Straits of Hercules to the banks of the Jumna.

Next came the turn of Rome. From the annexation of Egypt by Augustus in 30 B.C. to the time of Caracalla (A.D. 211-17) Romans and Hindus carried on a lively commerce with each other by way of the sea and Alexandria. The trade was the most valuable in the empire. The largest ships were employed in it, and much Roman capital; while Rome and all her provinces formed the market. After Caracalla's time the intercourse was less direct, but it increased in importance, chiefly through the Christian communities of the Sassanian Empire and the visits of learned Brahmans and others to the West. It is this later period which was most fruitful in results. It came to an end with the Hunā invasion of North-Western India and the Arab conquest of Syria and of Egypt.

This is the story Mr. Rawlinson has undertaken to narrate. He has a facile pen and an agreeable style; also a *flair* for obscure and recondite subjects, and the courage to attack them. The result is a book which will give the general reader, for whom it is designed, a useful introduction to a little-known department of history. Unfortunately Mr. Rawlinson's courage is greater than his wealth of learning. His knowledge is deficient, but more especially in matters which lie outside India proper, and the book is disfigured by numerous mistakes. Some of these are doubtless mere slips, such as 329 B.C. for the date of Alexander's invasion of the Panjāb (p. 32). Others are more serious and cannot be accounted for thus. His ideas of geography are generally hazy. We are surprised to learn at the outset (p. 1), that Hekatompylos was between Ctesiphon and Antioch. It is still more surprising to learn on p. 147 that Adulis or Adule, the modern Massowah

and the chief port of the Axumite kingdom, was in Southern India. Had he studied his *Periplus*, a part of which he summarizes, with more care, he would have known better. Nor could Moses, the otherwise unknown Bishop of Adule, have been a Nestorian; he might have been an Arian; he was probably orthodox; but a Nestorian he could not have been. Chronology forbids. There are many other instances of similar mistakes in geography or history. I shall cite only one because it is less noticeable, and more likely therefore to mislead. On p. 116 he says that Aristotle knew much more of silk and its origin than Virgil did. This is an error exploded by Pardessus three-quarters of a century ago. Silk was unknown either in Parthia or Greece until the first century B.C.; and Pausanias is the first Greek to mention the silkworm.

The chapter on Megasthenes and the Mauryas seems to me the best in the book. Here, of course, the author had an excellent guide in Vincent Smith's *Early History*; but he has added fresh matter from later sources. Chapter i, which deals with the period before Darius Hystaspes, is the poorest. The author revives various etymological speculations which ought to have been consigned long ago to limbo. How could the Greeks have derived *κασσίτερος* from the Skt. *kastīra*, when India has no tin, and never had a Bronze Age? It passed directly from copper to iron. Ivory was known in Mesopotamia and Egypt centuries, or rather millenniums, before the Āryas entered the Panjāb. As late as the fifteenth century B.C. Thothmes III hunted the elephant on the banks of the Euphrates, and the figure of an elephant is a hieroglyphic sign. The West had no need to borrow from India in the matter. The idea that Homer's "blameless Ethiopians" were Indians is pure absurdity. Down to Herodotus' time the only Ethiopia the Greeks knew was Nubia; and the Ethiopians of whom vague rumours reached the Greek mariners of Menelaus and Odysseus were the "vile

Cush" whom the Egyptians habitually cursed. If the word Itiopyavan, by which the Abyssinians designated themselves, is derived from *atyob*, incense, as Glaser conjectures, it can have nothing to do with the Greek. But considering the strong Egyptian Greek element in Abyssinia, and the fact that the Abyssinians in the time of the Axumite kingdom were a congeries of tribes, it is possible, I suppose, for the Abyssinian name to have been derived from the Greek—otherwise the resemblance in sound must be accidental.

The book has no claim to original research, and the only two original suggestions thrown out by the author are unfortunate. He says (p. 167) that art was decadent in Syria in the time of Trajan and Hadrian, and he thinks that the Gandhara sculptures are the work of Syrian sculptors (p. 16), or artists from Asia Minor (p. 165), whom the Kushans of c. A.D. 100 fetched from the West. As Trajan and Hadrian employed Syrian artists for their greatest works, the bridge over the Danube, Trajan's Column, the Pantheon at Rome, and so forth, we can hardly call Syrian art decadent. And we now know since the publication of Mr. Minn's great work that the quasi-Roman elements so visible in Gandhara art are not Roman but Scythic.

The second suggestion of the author applies to a reading in the *Periplus*. The sole MS. of the *Periplus*, c. 26, says that the port of Aden was destroyed by Cæsar. As no other writer mentions this expedition, Müller and later editors and translators have conjecturally amended the name. Müller read Ilisar; others Eleazos; Schoff, following Schwanbeck, Charibael. Now Mr. Rawlinson says (p. 113, n. 1) that "the *Periplus* always reads *αὐτοκράτωρ*, never *καῖσαρ*, for the Roman emperor (e.g. § 23). Hence the reading *must* be corrupt". The italics are his. Now the *Periplus* only once uses the word *αὐτοκράτωρ*, and then in the plural to signify Roman emperors in

general (c. 23). There is therefore no "must" in the question. Nor need the reading necessarily be corrupt. Mommsen (*Provinces of the Roman Empire*, Eng. trans., vol. ii, p. 294, n. 1) defends the manuscript reading and adopts it, and most of us will attach weight to Mommsen's opinion in such a matter. In the same note Mr. Rawlinson informs us that Eleazos, "king of the *Αιβανωτοφόροι*," reigned A.D. 20-65. This is welcome intelligence, since Mr. Hill in a recent paper on the Himyaritic coinage, lamented that no fixed dates could yet be found for any of these Sabæan kings.

I am tempted here to turn aside for a little to remark on another liberty which some have taken with the text of the *Periplus*. The MS. habitually reads *Λιμυρικὴ* for the Tamil coast, while Ptolemy reads *Διμυρικὴ*. Now Dimirike, or Damirica as Schoff puts it, is undoubtedly the true name. But did the author of the *Periplus* write Limyrike or not? and if he did, is an editor or translator at liberty to correct his text? (the notes are another matter). The Greeks were bad linguists; their mistakes are often instructive; and Ptolemy (*Geog.*, i, c. 17, § 3, McCrindle, p. 29) gives a similar example from this coast. He says that the port called Timoula by the natives was called Simylla by the Greeks. It seems to me that in tampering with the text by way of bringing it up to date we lose a good deal of sidelight. If one were to amend all the dog Latin in the *Cena Trimalchionis*, what a mass of information regarding the growth of low Latin we should lose! We have nothing quite corresponding to this in Greek, but I hope that Sir G. Grierson will one day give to the world the result of his studies regarding the Greek transliteration of Indian words and names. In this matter Schoff is the worst offender: like a true American, he is anxious to bring everything up to date.

I am glad to see from Mr. Rawlinson's notes and

bibliography that Dr. Vincent's goodly volumes can be consulted in India. That portly and rubicund divine, whose portrait hangs in the Deanery of Westminster Abbey, is an admirable specimen of the learned Georgian prelate, in the days when Rennell and Sir W. Jones first attracted the attention of scholars to Indian questions; and his writings are pervaded by an air of courtly dignity and large and leisurely learning which makes it a pleasure to dip at will into his spacious and handsome tomes. For me they are redolent of salt breezes when mariners took months to round the Cape of Storms, and the coasts of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean were rarely visited and only half explored. Alas! our modern explorers have left no *terra incognita*, no land of imagination and romance, for the fancy of the stay-at-home Briton to dwell in. There is no longer any El Dorado or "fairy land forlorn"; our maps have no vacant spaces and empty seas to be filled with pictures of galleons and caravels and cannibals and inns; and the glamour has departed from Bokhara and Samarkand.

J. KENNEDY.

1. ŚĀSTRADARPAṆA OF AMALĀNANDA. Śrī Vānī Vilās Press, Śrīrangam, 1913.
2. ŚĀSTRADĪPIKĀ, with two Commentaries. Edited by DHARMADATTASŪRI. Nirṇayasāgar Press, Bombay, 1915.
3. TATTVAPRADĪPIKĀ OF CITSUKHA MUNI, with Commentary. Edited by Pandit KĀŚINĀTHA ŚĀSTRĪ. Bombay, 1915.

1. Students of the *advaitavāda* are well acquainted with the helpful series of commentaries—the *Bhāmātī*, *Kalpataṛu*, and *Parimala*—contributed by Vācaspati Miśra, Amalānanda, and Appai Dikṣita respectively; and they will therefore welcome the publication of the *Śāstradarpaṇa*, a hitherto unknown work on the same subject,

by the second of those three authors. A copy of it was brought to light by the late Śrī Jagadguru of Śringeri; and further inquiries led to the unearthing of additional palm-leaf MSS. of it in other libraries of South India. The book was eventually published in Śrirangam under the editorship, presumably, of Mr. J. K. Bālasubrahmanyam, the writer of the preface, who describes it as "an independent treatise on the Brahma Sūtras . . . a masterly treatise consisting of learned lectures on each adhikaraṇa, expounding forcibly its meaning and its purport in a way hitherto unrivalled in the field of Sanskrit literature". Turning, however, from this somewhat bombastic language to the author's own statement regarding his work, we find that so far from claiming originality for it he calls it a *reflection of the views of Vācaspati Miśra*. Here are his exact words:—

हरिहरलीलावपुषी परमेशौ व्यासशंकरौ नत्वा ।

वाचस्पतिमतिर्विवितमादर्शं प्रारभे विमलम् ॥

The worthy editor must have overlooked this. To quote the preface once more: "The author of this masterpiece has in the course of his lectures versified the substance of the Pūrvapakṣa and the Siddhānta of each adhikaraṇa into ślokaś, thereby showing how facile his pen was." There are 495 of these verses, but 20 of them are found also in his earlier work, the *Kalpataru*, whilst 76 were composed by Vācaspati Miśra for his own treatise. Amalānanda's indebtedness to the latter is unmistakably manifest throughout to anyone who has read the *Bhāmatī*; but though this extensive borrowing is in no case acknowledged, it is of course covered by the general statement in the opening verse. When reading Nārāyaṇa's commentaries on the Upaniṣads many years ago, I was surprised to find in some of them very numerous, but wholly unacknowledged, passages from the bhāṣyas of Śankarācārya; and it was not until the colophon was reached that I found

his acknowledgment of the debt in the expression *Śan-karoktyupajivin*. In other cases, when relying on his own resources, he styled himself *Śrutimātropajivin*. Though unable to use such rapturous language as Mr. Bālasubrahmanyam indulges in when describing the *Śāstradarpaṇa*, one must admit that it is a work of real value as a concise exposition of the doctrines of the *advaitavādins*. The get-up of the volume, too, is admirable.

2. "A thing of beauty is a joy for ever," says the poet, and those who possess the handsome tomes issued by the Nirṇayasāgar Press will endorse that sentiment. What a relief it was, for instance, to receive the two fine volumes of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* as a substitute for the four unwieldy oblong-shaped ones which were alone available up to that time! One of the latest issues is a beautifully printed edition of Pārthasārathi Miśra's *Śāstradīpikā*, accompanied by the *ṭikā Yuktisnehapūraṇī* on the first pāda, and the *Mayūkhamālikā* of Somanātha on the rest of the work. In addition to these, the original verses found at the head of each adhikaraṇa in the *Nyāyamālavistara* are inserted in the same position here. I believe that the two commentaries are now printed for the first time.

3. Another important work published last year by Mr. Tukārām Jāvajī was the *Tattvapradīpikā* (or *Citsukhī*), with the commentary *Nayanaprasādinī*. It was greatly needed, for though a first-rate edition was brought out in fragments in the *Pandit* during the years 1882-4, it was never reprinted in a separate volume, and was difficult of access. The new-comer, however, is extremely disappointing. As far as the printer's art is concerned the volume is excellent; it is the editor's part of the work that is at fault. In the old edition the *kārikās* and poetical quotations stand out clearly and boldly from the *vṛtti*; in the new, they are indistinguishable from the latter.

G. A. JACOB.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE GRAMMAR OF THE TIBETAN LANGUAGE. With the texts of *Situhi sum-rtags*, *Dag-je sal-wai mé-long*, and *Situhi shal-lün*. By SARAT CHANDRA DAS, C.I.E. 4to; pp. 12, xxvii, 62, 57, 88, 28, 35. Darjeeling, 1915.

The title of this work scarcely gives an adequate notion of the variety and extent of the contents. The introduction itself is based, as the author tells us, on the Grammar of Csoma de Kőrös, but the material which he has collected and edited is likely to be epoch-making in the history of Tibetan grammar.

The *Si-tuhi-sum-rtags* consists of the *Sum-cu-pa* and *Rtags-kyi-hjug-pa* of Thon-mi Sambhoṭa (the introducer of the alphabet and grammar into Tibet), together with a commentary on both works by Situ Panchen. The study of Tibetan grammar in the West began with an attempt to classify all the words of this agglutinative language according to the grammatical categories of Latin. This at first unavoidable method has gradually been relaxed, and the study of the native grammarians ought to free the grammar still more from the incongruous classifications imposed upon it; although, as Sambhoṭa learnt his grammar through Sanskrit, we cannot hope to find a grammatical system as free from foreign influence as we do in the case of Greek or Arabic.

The only previous study of the Tibetan grammarians appears to be Schiefner's *Tibetische Studien* in 1851,¹ and Foucaux's analysis of some of the verses of Sambhoṭa, based upon Schiefner's work.

The preface of Situ Panchen contains a passage of great interest in connexion with Dr. Hoernle's recent conclusions as to the particular country where Sambhoṭa acquired his alphabet.² This was in Kashmir from a Brahmin

¹ Bulletin de la classe hist.-philol. de l'Académie impériale des sciences de St.-Petersbourg, vol. viii, pp. 211 ff.

² *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan*, vol. i, pp. xvii ff.

named Li-byin, "Blessing of Khotan," and this means, says Dr. Hoernle, "that the alphabet, as introduced into Tibet, is the alphabet of Khotan, Li being the well-known Tibetan name of Khotan." But according to Situ Panchen the teachers of Sambhoṭa were the Paṇḍit *Lha-rig-paḥi-señ-ge* (Devavid Siṃha, according to Babu Sarat Chandra Das) and *bram-ze-li-bi-ka-ra*, "the Brahmin Lipikara." Evidently if *lipikara* is correct, whether it is a title or merely "writer", the evidence for Khotan becomes less complete. The Tibetan tradition that Sambhoṭa based the four vowels *āli* (*i, e, o, u*) on *a*, referred to by Dr. Hoernle (l.c., p. xx), can now be verified, as it occurs in one of the verses of the *Sum-cu-pa*.

The two other grammatical works in the volume are the *Dag-byed-gsal-baḥi-me-loṇ*, a metrical treatise on spelling, and *Si-tuḥi-ṣal-luṇ*, a simplification of the work of Situ Panchen by the Lama Dharma Bhadra. This last is in large type, but the *Si-tuḥi-sum-rtags* is in small type, which though clear is not nearly so satisfactory as that employed by the editor for the edition which was partly printed, though not finished or published, at Darjeeling in 1895. The delay was due, as the editor tells us, to the lack of a second copy to collate the text. This has been supplied by the Japanese scholar Ekai Kawaguchi, who has also compiled the index of grammatical terms in the present edition.

The value of the author's introduction is greatly increased by the use and explanation of the Tibetan grammatical terms, and by references to the text throughout. There are also ten appendices containing various documents with translations.

E. J. THOMAS.

ASSYRIAN PERSONAL NAMES. By KNUT L. TALLQVIST.
(Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicæ, tom. xliii,
No. 1.) 12 × 8½ inches. Helsingfors, 1914.

In all probability there is no more attractive subject in the Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions than an examination of the personal names which many texts contain; and there have been but few Assyriologists, in all likelihood, who have not been smitten with the study, but have found it impossible to make a complete list. The wide range of languages which the subject embraces, and the fact that the proper names in Assyro-Babylonian have contemporary vocalization at least roughly indicated, add greatly to their value. It is, therefore, interesting to note that the author details the way in which this companion to his *Babylonisches Namenbuch*, which was published in 1905, came to see the light. It was owing to the fact that the Rev. C. H. W. Johns, the Master of Catherine's College, Cambridge, passed on to Dr. Tallqvist the MS. of the Assyrian proper names which he had compiled. This, with the additions which Dr. Tallqvist was able to make, forms the nucleus of the work, which is very appropriately dedicated to the English Assyriologist. It is a matter of satisfaction that, though the volume was printed in Germany, the language in which the work is written is English.

For the general reader the Introduction will probably prove to be of greater interest than the book itself, as it not only gives, in the eighteen pages which it occupies, a description of the system used, but also speaks of the languages to which the non-Assyrian names belong, and the sound-changes and transliteration-methods noticeable therein. Especially interesting in this respect are Dr. Tallqvist's remarks upon Aryan names on pp. xx ff. His discussion of these elements is sufficiently long, and in the course of his remarks he mentions the work in that line of several members of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The question of the true nationality of the Aryan names in the Tel-al-Amarna tablets is dealt with, and the bearing of the Hittite, Mitannian, and Kassite names on the question of the languages of these nations is discussed. From what he says we see how needful it is that further texts should be made available, not only for the determining of the question, but also to furnish material for satisfactory renderings of the Mitannian and Hittite inscriptions in wedge-writing already known.

A classification of the elements of non-Semitic names done in the same way as in the Aryan section of the Introduction would have been a convenient, if not an important, addition. Also, in the matter of at least one name-list, the reference to *W. Asia Inscriptions*, vol. ii, where it is published, might have been inserted. Thus, for **Putranu** the only reference put is "K. 241, xii, 8, spec." (Where does the explanation of this last word occur?) Another example, from the same list, is "**Qal (?) -lu-su**, K. 241, xii, 2, spec.", but when one looks at *W. Asia Inscriptions*, vol. ii, pl. 64, one finds, in line 2 of the extreme left-hand column, not *Qal(?)lusu*, but *Ta-lu-su*. It would be useful to know why this suggested correction has been made. In line 5 of the same list of names Dr. Tallqvist rightly has the correction **It-tab-ši**, and he reads the character which follows, *iz*, as [*lišir*]. This is probable, as the whole (*Ittabši-lišir*) makes a good second and third component, the omitted first being the name of the deity to which these verbal forms refer—"he (it) exists, may he (it) prosper," or the like—but a word upon the reading seems to be needed. In col. iii of the same list, line 44, I have corrected, whether rightly or wrongly I know not, *Nabú-ammara-ulla*, "Nebo, I shall see the rejoicing (?)," instead of *Nabú-amkura-ulba*. In another list of names, of which I seem to have copied parts of two columns (twenty or thirty years ago), my copy has, in that corresponding with Tallqvist's col. iii

(see the first three lines on p. 105): (1) *Éribanni-ilu*, "God hath increased me," or the like; (2) *Išmanni-ilu*, "God hath heard me," and (3) *HAL-anni-ilu* (*HAL* is an ideograph, and the reading is uncertain—perhaps we may render the name as *Ibarānni-ilu*, "God watcheth over me," or the like). The names ending in *ilu* are all more or less interesting, and the author has greatly benefited the study in including them.

Dr. Tallqvist and the Rev. C. H. W. Johns are to be congratulated on the production of a most useful list.

T. G. PINCHES.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA: THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM
PUBLICATIONS OF THE BABYLONIAN SECTION. Vol. IV,
No. 1, Historical Texts; Vol. V, Historical and
Grammatical Texts; Vol. VI, No. 1, Grammatical
Texts. By ARNO POEBEL. $1\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Phila-
delphia, 1914.

Second Notice

The legendary and semi-historical inscriptions contained in this work were noticed in the *Journal* of the RAS, for April last, pp. 400 ff. After the King-lists, transcriptions of other interesting texts are given. The first is the History of the *Tummal* of Ninlil at Nippur, which is described as "a certain quarter of the city or of the sacred precinct of Nippur", as is implied by the determinative suffix *ki*. In all probability the district in question was that where the *viš tummal*, which is explained elsewhere as the *elippi Ninlilla*, "ship (ark or shrine) of Ninlil," was kept. If the reading be correct, and the word consist of the two roots *tum* and *mal*, it may, perhaps, be regarded as the place where "(pious) deeds were performed". The first person mentioned in the text, as now preserved, is the renowned hero Gilgames, who restored the shrine.

Passing over the inscriptions of En-šakus-anna, and the events of É-anna-du's reign, we come to the "Inscriptions of the Kings of Agadé". The first mentioned is Šarru-kin or Sargon the Ancient. Besides the title "king of Agadé", he calls himself "vicegerant(?) of Ištar, Anu's anointer, king of the land, and Enlil's great viceroy". He smote Erech, destroyed its wall, and battled with its people. He claims to have captured Lugal-zaggi-si, king of Erech, and battled "with the man of Ur" (*lu Uriwa-da*). When, in his victorious course, he reached the sea (apparently the Persian Gulf), he washed his weapons therein, in accordance with the common custom, and then routed "the men of Umma" (for the name, see *The Babylonian Tablets of the Berens Collection*, pp. vii, viii). He claims to have vanquished in all fifty viceroys (*iššakē*) of the land.

Many texts are included in the record, and the scribe, after reproducing those of Šarru-kin, presents the reader with the records of Uruwuš (identified by Professor Sayce with the Horus of Pliny), whose name Poebel reads as Rimuš. This king was victorious over Ur and Umma, and quelled a revolt at Kazallu. Among his other conquests were Barahši and Elam. The tablet, which is in twenty-eight narrow columns, finishes with an inscription of Man-istu-šu, king of Kiš, who smote Anšan and Širihum, and then, navigating the "lower sea", attacked the kings of the cities on the other side, defeating thirty-two of them. The colophon is a note by the compiler of the inscription stating what the contents of the tablet are.

Another and similar text has copies of the inscriptions of Uruwuš and Narām-Sin, the king of whose renown Nabonidus so often speaks. Unfortunately, the text here is too mutilated to give any real historical information.

Interesting and valuable notes on all these texts are appended, and the author translates his material well.

The photo-lithographic plates include, besides the Creation and Flood tablet, and the lists of kings, the history of the *Tummal*, some Sumerian epics, and the texts referring to the three and the two kings. There are also texts dealing with the reign of Samsu-iluna, the son of Hammurabi.

Of special importance in their way are the grammatical inscriptions published in Dr. Poebel's work, for these furnish material wherewith to improve our knowledge of the Akkadian and Sumerian languages, thereby rendering our knowledge of the literary works more thorough, and our comprehension thereof more perfect. Incidentally, too, they throw light on the nation (or nations) which produced them, and the grammatical analysis of which the scribes of 2,000 years B.C. or earlier were capable. It is not, probably, going too far to say that these tablets from Niffer are the oldest grammatical inscriptions in the world, and that the more they are studied the greater will their importance appear.

These, however, are by no means the first inscriptions of their kind which have come to our notice, as there is a large number of similar texts in the British Museum, some of which have already been treated of in the *Journal of the Society*, both by Sir H. C. Rawlinson, Mr. George Bertin (*JRAS*, vol. xvii, pt. 1, 1885), and myself (*ibid.*, vol. xvi, pt. 2, pp. 301 ff., 1884). In these the system had been already worked out, so that the new inscriptions do not furnish us with any really new view of the structure of the Sumerian language. The great value of the new material lies in the fact that it fills gaps in its grammar and gives many explanations of points and details which were obscure. Notwithstanding these additions, however, our knowledge does not by any means approach finality—we have still very much to learn.

What strikes the reader of these grammatical paradigms is the number of alternative forms which, in certain cases,

could be used. Thus the phrase which Poebel translates "it is (was) with this one that" the inscription numbered 152 gives the following forms: *lu-ne-da-kam*, *lu-ne-(n)i-mea-da*, *lu-ne-da-(n)i-mea*, and *ki-lu-ne-taám*. For the plural only two forms are given: *lu-ne-da-meš-am* and *lu-ne-maš-da-(n)i-mea*, but it may be supposed that some of the other combinations, with the addition of the plural element *meš*, could be used. For the simple phrase "to this" person or thing (Sem. *ana annim*), we have the following examples: *lu-ne-ra*, *lu-ne-ir*, *lu-ne-a*, and *lu-ne-šu*, plural *lu-ne-meš-ra*. Whether, upon the model of the other three, the Sumerians could also say *lu-ne-meš-ir*, *lu-ne-meš-a*, and *lu-ne-meš-šu*, the list does not indicate. The literal order and meaning in the above phrases, in the singular, is "man + these + to", but lower down another demonstrative, *e* for *ne*, "this," occurs: *lu-ne-a*, *lu-ne-ir*, and *lu-e-ra*, translated by the accusative *anniam*, plural *lu-e-meš-a* and *lu-ne-meš-ra*, translated by *annuutim*.

In connexion with the pronominal forms, certain very interesting particles are treated of—*nammu*, translated, doubtfully, "why"; *eše*, rendered "of course", or "thou grantest (thou hast granted)". *U*, prefixed to reduplicated pronouns, and rendered, in Semitic, by the lengthening of the final vowel of the second reduplication, is translated, with the same reserve, by "we (you, they), each of us (you, them)", or, perhaps, "we (etc.), one after the other," "we (etc.) one another." On p. 33 the interesting particle *gi(š)en*, Semitic *man*, in *mendé-gi(š)en*, *menzen-gi(š)en*, *enene-gi(š)-en*, is left untranslated, but appears, on p. 63, with the suggested meaning of "is it not". This negative rendering is apparently owing to the fact that it comes at the head of a list of negative particles; G. Bertin translated *lu-man*, which immediately follows, and renders the Sum. *nu-uš* by "no one". Applying Poebel's rendering of *man* to the bilingual proverb, where the

expression occurs twice, we should have the following rendering:—

Dialectic Sumerian.	Babylonian.	Rendering.
<i>Ganam ga-uggaennen</i>	<i>Piqā mān man</i>	Though one have to die,
<i>gi(š)-en ganku</i>	<i>lākul</i> ;	shall I not eat?
<i>ganam ga-tilinen</i>	<i>piqā balluṭ</i>	though one revive,
<i>gi(š)-en ganepgar</i>	<i>luškun</i> .	shall I not work?

Adopting an old idea of mine, that *man* means "still", "nevertheless", this would work out somewhat as follows:—

" Though mortal, nevertheless I must eat ;
though immortal, I must work."

It is noteworthy that *man* occurs in the Semitic rendering in the first section of the proverb only, and is understood in the second.

In view of the sufferings experienced by our troops in Babylonia on account of the heat, the phrases containing references to the cool hours of the day or night are interesting:

<i>še-še-dam</i>	<i>kazdattamma</i>	whilst it is (was) cool.
<i>ge-da-ta</i>	<i>ina kazaati^m</i>	during the cool time.
<i>a-ū-te-ge-ba</i>	<i>muš-kazdat</i>	during the cool time (of the night).
<i>ge-zal-šū</i>	<i>adi kazdati^m</i>	until the cool time (of the night).
<i>nim-si-bi</i>	<i>kazdatam ū liliatam</i>	during the cool time (of the morning) and during the evening.
<i>ū-MA-LUM-e-gia</i>	<i>kazdatu^m</i>	the cool (of the morning).

A paradigm of Sumerian verbal forms is given, and will be found useful on account of their classification according to the particles with which the roots are combined. Unfortunately the transcription does not indicate which portion of the strings of syllables composing many of the forms is the root—a point which is of much greater importance in the transcriptions than in the original

text-forms. The roots are indicated in the *Analysis of the Sumerian Verbal System* (pp. 92 ff.), but students will find this just as much needed in the tables as elsewhere, especially as LAL, "to weigh," "pay," appears as *la'* on pp. 70 ff. The classes of verbs included are the simple conjugation, without infixes, and with infixes (see the *Journal* of this Society, vol. xvi, 316 ff.); the same classes of the "*b*-conjugation", and the "*n*-conjugation". Why there should be the sub-heading "Theme (n)i-LAL" to the paradigms of the verbal root *zi(g)* (pp. 82 ff.) is not clear.

Notwithstanding want of contrast, which makes them exceedingly difficult to read in many cases, the photographs of these grammatical tablets in vol. v are exceedingly useful, and their defective preservation and writing in some cases (they seem to be students' exercises) show that Poebel has copied them with much acumen. An example of this occurs on pl. lxxii (col. 3, l. 10), where he gives *al-gar-gar* (the *al* is not very well reproduced) glossed by *ga-ga-ra*. Now according to the photograph of the original, this gloss, which is written low down and very small, is not very distinct; nevertheless his reading seems to be right. From it we learn that *al-gar-gar* was pronounced *al-gagara*. It is translated by the Babylonian *nupuh*, "it is kindled," and of course we have to read, in the succeeding lines, *nu-gagara*, "it is not kindled," *he-gagara*, "may it be kindled," and *nan-gagara*, "may it not be kindled." Poebel transcribes *gāgā* instead of *gagara*, however, throughout. Have we to neglect the indications of the glosses?

At a time like the present, when the War has so greatly disturbed communications, Dr. Poebel was unable, as is pointed out in Dr. Gordon's (the editor's) Prefaces, to revise the work. Had things been otherwise, defects would in all probability have been reduced and the work rendered more perfect. The above remarks must not,

therefore, be taken as criticisms, but simply as notes for the guidance of possible students. As to the work itself, it is to be noted that it is of the first importance, and as far as it has progressed it has been well done. If, as is hoped, Dr. Poebel is, safe and sound, he is to be congratulated upon what he has done, and the Babylonian Section of the University Museum of Pennsylvania deserves all thanks for the speedy publication of the texts notwithstanding the disadvantages under which they appear. May the continuation be under happier auspices for all.

T. G. PINCHES.

MAWERDI: LES STATUTS GOUVERNEMENTAUX OU RÈGLES DE DROIT PUBLIC ET ADMINISTRATIF. Traduits et annotés par E. FAGNAN. pp. xiii, 584. Alger: A. Jourdan. 1915.

This excellent translation of the *Ahkām Sultāniyya* will be of the greatest value to students of Moslem institutions, and it is a matter for congratulation that M. Fagnan should have held that any claim by Count Léon Ostrorog as translator of the work was barred by lapse of time. The second volume of his translation, *Traité de droit public musulman*, appeared as long ago as in 1906, and the two volumes covered but a quarter of the work; we now possess the whole in one conveniently sized volume. And some of Count Ostrorog's mistakes are rectified, e.g., his rendering of *dha 'iyāl*, vol. ii, p. 9, as "les malades", is here, p. 73, "avec enfants"; and the false prophet Tulaiha's imaginary victim "Wassab", ib., p. 116, is here, p. 113, "et avait fait des captifs" (*wa-sabā*). Nevertheless the subject of the work, constitutional law, is one that lends itself to some vagueness and uncertainty, apart from the inherent difficulty of correctly reproducing Arabic ideas, and M. Fagnan's rendering of one passage, p. 136, l. 3, seems

to be open to doubt. The appointment as *Kādi* of a person unskilled in the law, although sanctioned by Abu Hanifa on condition of his relying for his law on outside help, was generally held invalid. The reason given for so holding is, that for the purpose of applied law it is essential to adhere to a legal system, "ce qui ne peut exister valablement que chez le justiciable, et non chez celui qui a à faire respecter le droit."¹ This seems inconclusive, nor is it true to say that the person amenable to the law is subject in a greater degree to the tenets of the school to which he belongs than is the judge. May not the meaning be that one who submits to be bound by authority answers to the condition of following precedent (*taqlid*) better than one who originates rules. The process of *Ijtihād*, in fact, is needed only where there is no existing rule, and this is illustrated by the Prophet's dictum which follows in the text. As was to be expected, M. Fagnan considers the two forms of *ribā*, declared reprehensible in the *Hisba* chapter, to represent methods of procuring interest on money loans, a view which I have ventured to question, *supra*, p. 299. *Ribā al-naḥl* he renders (p. 541) "l'intérêt réalisé par suite de l'anticipation d'un paiement stipulé à terme", and *ribā al-nasī'a*, "l'usure par paiement différé," that is to say, that the former, viz. "the discounting a debt", is conducive to future payment of interest. The law-books, as I have endeavoured to show, do not seem to me to support these interpretations, and I have lately come across a statement by a Hanbali jurist which seems to bear on the question. Ibn Taimiyya deals with the *Hisba* jurisdiction in his *Kitāb ma'ārij al-wuṣūl* (ed. Cairo, 1323, printed with his *Majmū'-rasā'il*), and on p. 41 he

لأن التقليد في فروع الشرع ضرورة فلم يتحقق إلا في

gives a list of prohibited transactions of which the material part is appended.¹ It will be noticed that the

ويدخل في المنكرات ما نهى الله عنه ورسوله من العقود
 المحرمة مثل عقود الربا والميسر ومثل بيع الغرر وكحل الحبل
 والملامسة والمنازعة وربا النسيئة وربا الفضل وكذلك النجش
 (وهو ان يزيد في السلعة من لا يريد شراءها) وتصرية
 الدابة اللبون وسائر انواع التدليس وكذلك المعاملات
 الربوية سواء كانت ثنائية او ثلاثية اذا كان المقصود بها
 جميعها أخذ دراهم بدراهم اكثر منها الى أجل . فالثنائية ما
 يكون بين اثنين مثل ان يجمع الى القرض بيعاً أو اجارة
 او مساقاة او مزارعة وقد ثبت عن النبي صلعم انه قال :
 لا يحل سلف وبيع ولا شرطان في بيع ولا ربح ما لم يضمن
 ولا بيع ما ليس عندك . (قال الترمذى : حديث صحيح)
 ومثل ان يبيعه سلعة الى أجل ثم يعيدها اليه . وفي سنن
 ابى داود عن النبي صلعم قال : من باع بيعتين في بيعة فله
 أو كسهما أو الربا . والثلاثية مثل ان يدخلا بينهما محملاً
 للربا يشتري السلعة منه آكل الربا ثم يبيعها المعطى للربا الى
 أجل ثم يعيدها الى صاحبها بنقص دراهم يستفيدها المحلل

(Ibn Taimiyya, *Kitāb ma'drij al-wuṣūl*, p. 41, l. 8).

two forms of *ribā* are included, with other acts, such as forcing up market prices, etc., as being, all of them, forms of fraud. Ibn Taimiyya then proceeds to specify certain *ribawiyya* transactions which have the object of making money breed money, generally at a deferred date, the transaction being either between two parties only (*thunā'iyya*) or with an added intermediary (*thulāthiyya*), and the method being to combine with a loan (*kard*) the sale or letting of goods, or a stipulation for service. This is very much the same as the 'īna contract (see Lane, 2217^c, and also the *Mabsūt* of Sarakhsi, where it is declared to be a common trade practice),¹ but in the case of the intermediary it is not apparent that the "eater of *ribā*" gains any profit by the transaction. What does seem apparent from the passage is that Ibn Taimiyya regarded *ribā al-faḍl* and *ribā al-naṣī'a* as mere methods of overreaching, not as devices for procuring interest on loans.

In the Preface, p. viii, M. Fagnan deprecates the suggestion that Māwardi's presentment of the law is rather ideal than actual; he assimilates the work's authority to that of the Māliki law-book, the *Mukhtaṣar* of Sidi Khalīl. But the law of State administration must, as compared with that governing individuals, be deficient in precision, and deficient too in sanction, for *Quis custodiet custodes*. Some of Māwardi's rules for the proper working of the machinery of State can be tested

وصورة العينة ان يشتري عينا بالنسيئة باكثر من قيمته¹

ليبيعه بقيمته بالنقد فيحصل له المال وهذا من صنيع التجار

(*Mabsūt*, xi, 211, l. 10). Similarly, an agreement to accept part payment of a money claim in satisfaction of the whole is vitiated by a condition that the payment should take the form of a sale of goods or

hire of a house, انتهى النبي عن صفقتين في صفقة (ib. xx, 166).

by recorded instances of the machine at work—instances which, having regard to their comparatively recent date and to Māwardi's official eminence, may be taken to have been within his knowledge. For example, in describing the incidence of land-tax he lays down (p. 376, text 307) that a contract to farm out this tax is void, *bāṭil*, on the ground that its collection is a fiduciary act, and excludes the idea of personal liability, or of profit, in the contractor. This he illustrates by a story how Ibn 'Abbās, when 'Ali was Caliph, visited the mere offer to take such a contract with punishment. A less remote illustration was at hand in the careers of the notorious Barīdi brothers, the revenue farmers at Baṣra and Ahwāz, for they flourished in the generation preceding Māwardi's birth. Their doings fill a large space both in the annals of the declining Caliphate and in *adab* works of the period; in their contests with the Caliphs their farming contracts were repeatedly modified and renewed, but each renewal was made with the fullest official sanction, and it is evident that such contracts were ordinary acts of administration. The Barīdis' case represents actual practice; Ibn 'Abbās' antique virtue, if it ever was practice, had long passed into theory.

Again, in the chapter on the *Diwān*, p. 456, text 365, Māwardi defines the powers of an inspector of revenue, *mushrif*, over its collector, *āmil*, and says that, unlike the *ṣāhib al-barīd*, he is entitled to check a collector's wrongdoing. He gives no instance of an inspector at work, but Hilāl al-Ṣābi provides an instructive one (*Wuzarā*, 319–21).

Some half-century before Māwardi's birth the ex-vizier 'Ali b 'Isa was sent to Egypt as inspector of the revenue of which, since the recovery of the country from the Ṭālūn family, Abu Zunbūr al-Mādarā'i had been collector, (Kindi, ed. Guest, 257). One day 'Ali on returning from a ride alarmed his staff by exclaiming "robbery!" He

had passed by a bridge whose yearly upkeep he had put at ten dinars, whilst the sum officially charged for it he had found to be 60,000 dinars. Abu Zunbūr, who was present and invited to explain, kept silent, but later he told 'Ali privately that his silence had proceeded from consideration for himself. He went on to say that his monthly stipend was 3,000 dinars ('Ali himself had 2,000, see *Wuzarā*, 309, l. 8), whilst his outlay, apart from his establishment and the claims of hospitality, involved items for buying off the governor's interference, and for yearly gifts to the Caliph, his relatives, and high officials—including their viziers, something on their appointment, and something towards the fine laid on them when dismissed. 'Ali himself and his dependants had received certain sums (this 'Ali admitted with gratitude); moreover, 'Ali held land in Syria and Egypt on which the annual State dues were some 10,000 dinars: had these been paid? ('Ali professed his ignorance); then either he had the sum or his agents had robbed him, but at all events these various claims could scarcely be met by his 3,000 stipend. 'Ali agreed that in the case of high officials a good deal must be winked at, and he ceased all interference in revenue matters.

'Ali was admitted even by his enemies to be the honest statesman of the age; in the immediately preceding story in *Wuzarā* he detects an accounting official (also a revenue farmer) trying to bribe him by money concealed in a gift of fruit, rejects it, and enforces the official's liability to the full; but some complimentary presents he had received as of course, and these had now come home to roost.

H. F. A.

PIRKÈ DE RABBI ELIEZER (the Chapters of R. Eliezer the Great), according to the text of the MS. belonging to Abraham Epstein of Vienna. Translated and annotated with introduction and indices by GERALD FRIEDLANDER. pp. lvii and 490. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd.

This book is a welcome addition to the small budget of Jewish pseudepigraphical literature now available in English translation, and we certainly agree with the translator that it has a better claim to be translated than the so-called *Fragments of a Zadokite work*, round which many doubts still cling. If the "Chapters of R. Eliezer" secured a prominent place in Jewish literature for themselves, it is not because they were attached to a popular name, but on account of their intrinsic merit. This is strikingly illustrated by the fact that Maimonides, in his *Guide to the Perplexed*, devoted a whole chapter (ii, 26) to what he considered a puzzling philosophical utterance, but what was in reality but a homiletic metaphor. The whole book is a collection of homilies, allegories, and legends of a religious character. In his excellent Introduction Mr. Friedlander has given a survey of the sources upon which the author has apparently drawn, or with which he runs parallel, as well as of later works in which the "Chapters" are quoted. The most important question is that of the time in which the book was composed, a question which was first broadly discussed by Zunz, who did not think that it could have been written prior to the middle of the eighth century. Our translator gives the second or third decade of the ninth century as the approximate date, but admits that most of the material disposed of may belong to an earlier period. This seems to be the correct view, and is upheld by ch. xxx, which contains several references to conditions prevailing in the empire of the Abbaside Caliphs towards

the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth centuries. The author alludes to the conquest of Palestine by the Arabs in *The Abrogation of the Mosaic Law*. The allusion to paper calls to our mind that just at this period rag-paper was introduced into the Moslim empire (see the article in this Journal 1903, p. 663 seq.). There are also other points of contact with matters Arabic. The description of woman as a field occurs in the Qorān, ii, 223. The remark that "sword signifies only war" (p. 222), with the reference to Isaiah xxi, 15, is peculiarly illustrated by the fact that the same word which stands for "sword" in Hebrew means "war" in Arabic. A large mass of legendary material was transmitted to the Hadith literature by converted Jews, of whom several are known by name. A collection of such legends is given in Weil's *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*, as well as in Rehatsek's translation of Mirkhond's *Rawzat-as-Safā* (Oriental Translation Fund, 1892). A certain amount of material is also to be found in al-Tha'ālibi's *معارج الذهب* (Cod. Brit. Mus. Add. 9558), which is a kind of encyclopædia of aphorisms. The earlier part of the work (which deserves to be edited in full) deals with Biblical subjects as far as they are mentioned in the Qorān, supplemented by legendary embellishments. Jewish influence is visible in the legends handed down on behalf of Wahb b. Munabbih, a converted Jew who lived in the earlier half of the eighth century. He transmitted that Noah lived a thousand years, conveying his message to his people at the age of 950 years, as stated in Qor. xxix, 13. There is apparently no trace of this in any Jewish source, and it is also at variance with Gen. ix, 28. Other passages in al-Tha'ālibi's work speak of "the fire of Abraham", i.e. the legendary furnace into which he was cast, the wolf which was alleged to have devoured Joseph, and of Moses smiting the angel of death who approached to take away his soul. The last-named legend is to be found in

the Midrash Rabbah, v, 11, but there Moses chases Sammael away with his staff on which the name of God was written.

In his discussion of the relation of the "Chapters" to other pseudepigraphical and apocryphical books Mr. Friedlander inclines to the opinion that the Palestinian Targum known as Pseudo-Jonathan as well as Targum ii to Esther were dependent on them. As these Targums, especially the latter, are strongly agadic, the points of contact with the "Chapters" are naturally numerous. It is, however, highly probable that these Targums are of older date. Possibly they all drew upon a common source, using the same material independently, and this view is even strengthened by our translator's theory—which we may readily adopt—that the "Chapters" are likewise of Palestinian origin.

Mr. Friedlander's digest of the parallels of the "Chapters" with the Talmud, the various Midrashim, the Jewish liturgy, the Book of Jubilees, the two Books of Enoch, the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Fourth Ezra, the Books of Wisdom, and Adam and Eve is exhaustive and correspondingly valuable. Even patristic literature is not forgotten. The student of all these relics of a great spiritual movement who is not readily conversant with the original language of the "Chapters" will derive much help from the translation for comparative research. The translation reads fluently; the notes are full and show how deeply the translator is versed in agadic literature as well as in other works which have even a remote bearing on the subject. The very elaborate indexes render the finding of any detailed topic an easy task. The text is also singularly free from misprints. In fine, the translator has earned the ungrudging thanks of theological students of every denomination.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

A VOLUME OF THE BOOK OF PRECEPTS BY HEFEŞ B. YAŞLIAH.

Edited from an Arabic MS. in the library of the Dropsie College, translated into Hebrew, and provided with critical notes and an introduction by B. HALPER, M.A., Ph.D. pp. 278. Philadelphia, 1915.

Most ancient literatures contain names of authors who are only known through being quoted occasionally by other writers, and it is always a triumph of research when the whole or part of such long-lost work is suddenly brought to light. A feat of this kind is the publication to which these lines are devoted, and the author is to be congratulated on his achievement. He has discovered a large fragment of an Arabic "Book of Commandments" by Hefeş b. Yaşliah, who he believes lived at the turn of the eleventh century.

Conflicting theories, however, cling round the names of this author, and even this fragment of his work does not remove the doubts as to his personality. In 1895 the late Dr. Neubauer published an article on Hafs al Qūtī (REJ. xxx, p. 65 seq.), the supposed author of a rhymed Arabic version of the Book of Psalms. While Steinschneider maintained the identity of Hefeş and Hafs (the one being the Hebrew, the other the Arabic forms of the name), Neubauer separated them, averring that Hafs was an Arab or Syrian Christian, basing his opinion in an *'urjāza* handed down on behalf of Hafs. Unless we assume that this line is an interpolation, these names seem to belong to two different persons, and Dr. Halper, who does not seem to have noticed Neubauer's article, rightly leaves the question open.

Equally complicated is the question as to the time when our author flourished, because no indication concerning it is to be found in the fragment. His *terminus ad quem* is given in quotations from his writings by authors of the earlier half of the eleventh century. It is not, however, advisable to regard him as a contemporary of

Sa'adyāh. Dr. Halper refuses to commit himself in this respect, and rightly also leaves this question undecided. He places passages of Hefes' Arabic Pentateuch translation side by side with such of Sa'adyāh to show the great similarity which exists between them, but this would rather prove that the latter was the earlier translator. We must agree with Dr. Halper that Sa'adyāh's was not the first Arabic version of the Bible. There exists positive evidence that the Jews in Medina interpreted the Qorān in Arabic (Bokhāri, ed. Krehl, iii, p. 198). If this be so they must also have had some translation for the instruction of the young. Not only Jewish but also Christian translators had a share in early versions, as we gather from the MSS. brought to Europe by Tischendorf (see ZDMG., vol. viii). There exists in the British Museum a large fragment of an Arabic translation of the Book of Job, written in Arabic characters, dating from the ninth century (see Fleischer in ZDMG., xviii, p. 288 seq.). When Sa'adyāh set to work on his own translation he must have had ample material before him, and it is very likely that he (chiefly as regards the Pentateuch) embodied the traditional translations in his work, while yet finding sufficient scope for the display of that originality by which his work is distinguished. The treasures of the Genizah contain numerous fragments of Arabic Bible versions which obviously are not Sa'adyāh's. These may have been the work of Qaraite translators who took pains to make their translations differ as much as possible from that of their hated opponent. These, as Salmon b. Jerōham, Yepheth, and others, are later than Sa'adyāh. Further investigation of this matter is sure to yield interesting results.

Now as regards Hefes, he simply adopted Sa'adyāh's standard translation without much demur, because he merely wanted it as a fulcrum for legal discussions. Here I should like to mention another point of some importance,

viz. that Hefes, as far as I can ascertain, is never referred to by Yepheth. We may gather from this that Hefes was a younger contemporary of his. Had his book been in evidence it would have offered much scope for polemics to this prolific and pugnacious Qaraite.

In Judah b. Barzillai's commentary on the *Book of Creation* we find a long quotation from Hefes' work which secured him a place among early Jewish philosophers. Dr. Halper has done well to reproduce this passage (which is missing in his fragment) in the original as well as in the English translation. On the basis of this quotation Hefes is credited with having influenced Bahyāh b. Baqūdah's proof of the existence of God, derived from the order of the four elements. Both, however, were in this respect forestalled by Sa'adyāh, who, in his Pentateuch commentary and elsewhere, argues the existence of God on the basis of the "firmly established" arrangement of the four elements (see JQR., N.S., vi, p. 361 seq.). Dr. Halper himself points out that no treatise on philosophy by Hefes is known, and it is therefore probable that he simply borrowed his theory from Sa'adyāh.

Dr. Halper gives a careful description of the MS. used by him. It shares the characteristics both of style and spelling of most Jewish-Arabic MSS., characteristics frequently taken for mistakes and injudiciously corrected by editors. Now, although the case endings are regularly dropped the *tanwīn* is frequently expressed by ن , or even ان for all cases. Thus צֶרֶפָּא (fol. 4b, l. 20) stands for ظرف , היואנא (fol. 12b, l. 12) for حيوان , משרא (fol. 15a, l. 14) for مشير , זמאנא מחרורא (fol. 17b, l. 22) for زمان محدود , נארא (fol. 4b, l. 14) for نار , ממתנעא (fol. 21a, l. 23) for ممتنع , תאבתא (fol. 22a, l. 11) for ثابت , בקרבאנא (fol. 3b, l. 25) is قربان . Thus נארא (fol. 14a, l. 23) is not a mistake, but stands for قربان .

and not in *status constr.* (see Mufasssal, p. 47). In פֶּרֶץ (fol. 18a, l. 20) the *nūn* is not radical, but the word stands for פֶּרֶץ (stone of a wild date). Finally כִּמְרָא (fol. 29b, l. 4) is خَمْرٌ. A classical instance of the freedom with which the final *nūn* was treated occurs in Qor. xevi, 15, لَنْسَعَنَّ for لَنْسَعَنَّ. In Jewish-Arabic texts we also find the *tanwin* expressed by a detached אֵן for all cases, e.g. פֶּרֶחַת אֵן for فَرْحَةٌ (see my *Chrestomathy*, p. 17, l. 7). On fol. 286, l. 21, אֵל is not آل but the definite article, although standing at the end of a line. This is very frequent (see JQR., l.c., p. 365, three times). In אֵלְצוּאֵפִי (fol. 16b, l. 13) the ' is *mater lectionis* to mark the genitive. The word should be الصَّوَاب.

In his treatment of the text Dr. Halper displays a sound knowledge of the Arabic language, albeit he only had one MS. at his disposal, and the loose spelling as well as the numerous vulgarisms require an extensive experience in dealing with them. Placed between the dilemma of reproducing the text as he found it, or furnish it with diacritical points, he chose the former style. It seems to me, however, that he would have been well advised to provide them. Editors of ancient texts owe it to the readers to render the reading as smooth as possible. In a mixed text such as this, less experienced readers will find it difficult always to distinguish Arabic passages from the Hebrew ones. There exist many MSS. in Arabic characters in which the diacritical points are sparsely provided. It is therefore desirable that they should be added by editors because the omission is frequently due to external reasons. On the other hand, Dr. Halper was right not to tamper with the grammatical peculiarities, which are not the exclusive property of Jewish authors, but are also found in works on philosophy

and medicine by Arab authors. Dr. Halper's introduction is thorough and instructive, his notes are ample and clear up most of the difficulties in a satisfactory manner. He has added a Hebrew version for the benefit of many readers interested in the work who are not acquainted with Arabic. On a later occasion he might do well to provide an English translation. The work is an eloquent testimony to his erudition both in Arabic and Rabbis, and its elegant get up does great credit to the author as well as to the institution under whose auspices it was published.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

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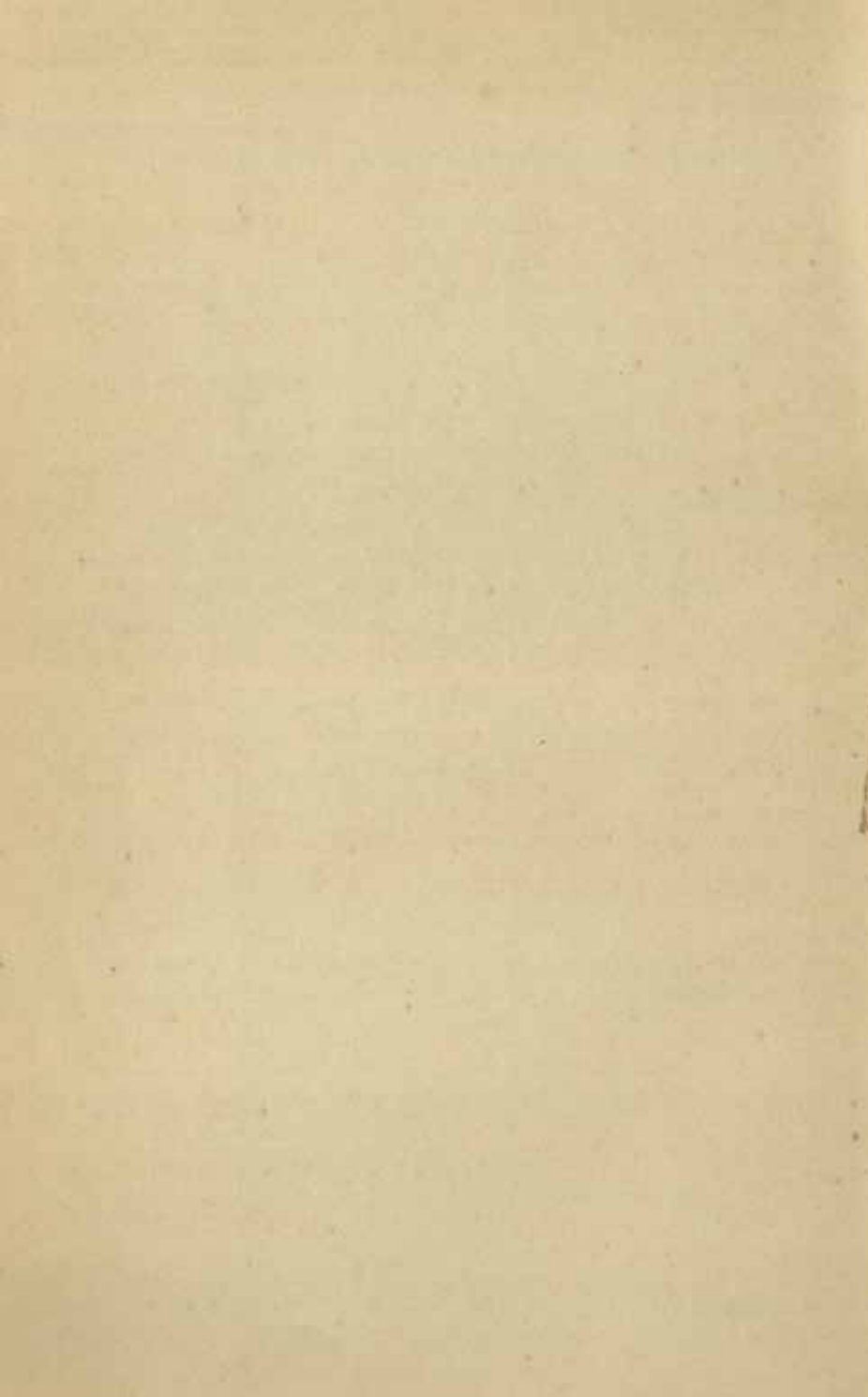
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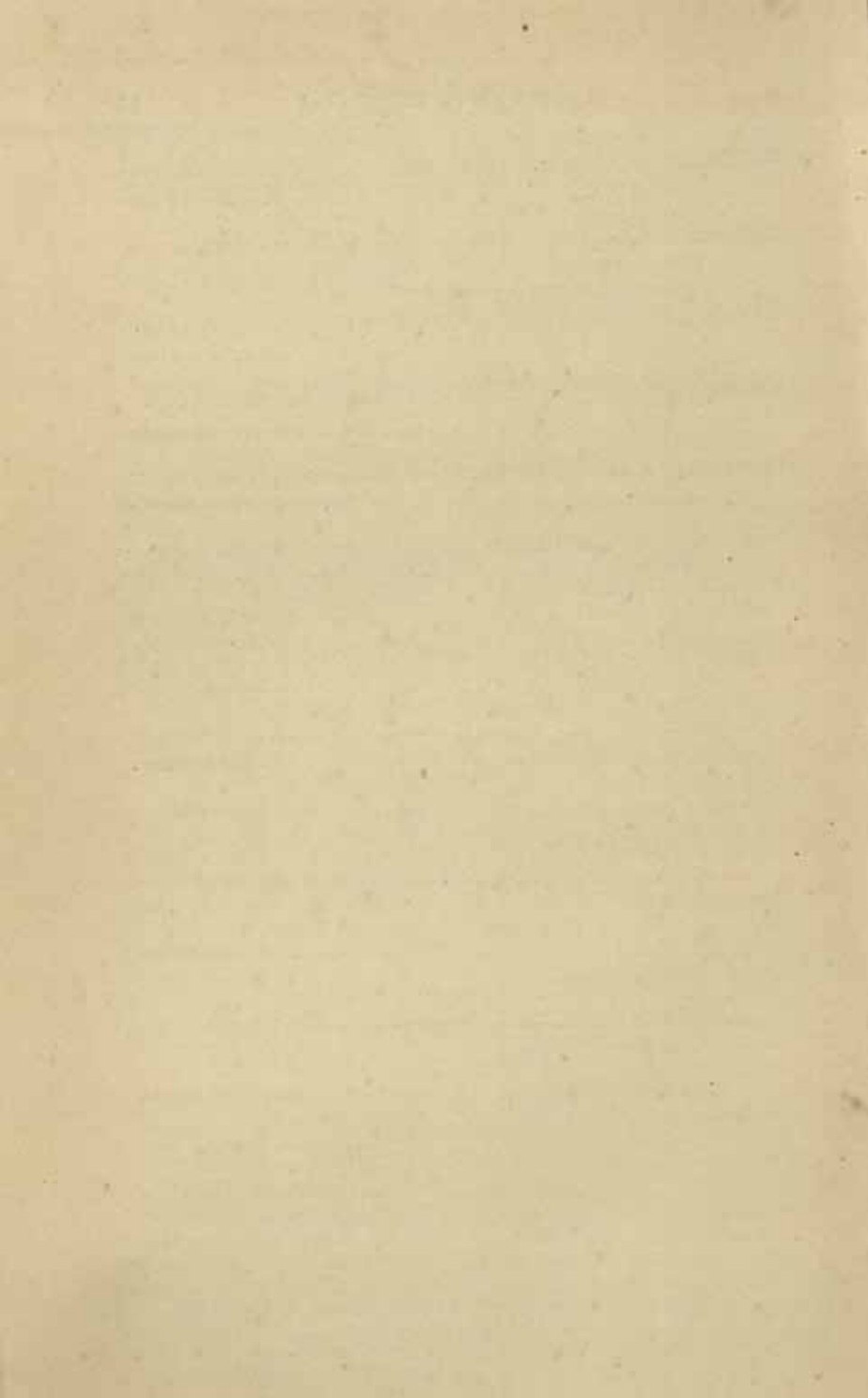


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For facility of reference this Appendix will be published with
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TRANSLITERATION
OF THE
SANSKRIT, ARABIC,
AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given overleaf is almost identical with that approved of by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894; and, in a Resolution, dated October, 1896, the Council of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY earnestly recommended its adoption (so far as possible) by all in this country engaged in Oriental studies, "that the very great benefit of a uniform system" may be gradually obtained.

I.

SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

अ a	ओ o	ट ṭ	व v
आ ā	औ au	ठ ṭh	भ bh
इ i	क k	ड ḍ	म m
ई ī	ख kh	ढ ḍh	य y
उ u	ग g	ण ṇ	र r
ऊ ū	घ gh	त t	ल l
ऋ ṛ	ङ ṅ	थ th	व v
ॠ ṝ	च c	द d	श ś
ऌ ḷ	छ ch	ध dh	ष ṣ
ॡ ḹ	ज j	न n	स s
ए e	झ jh	प p	ह h
ऐ ai	ञ ñ	फ ph	ळ ḷ

◌̣ (Anustāra) . . . ṃ

◌̤ (Anunāsika) . . m̤

◌̥ (Visarga) . . . ḥ

x (Jihvāmūliya) . . ḥ̣

x (Upadhmaniya) . . ḥ̤

◌̇ (Acagraha) . . . ˙

Udātta ˘

Svarita ˙

Anudātta ˘̣

II.

ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

ا at beginning of word omit; elsewhere . . . <u>ا</u> or <u>آ</u>	ک k	آ a
ب b	ل l	ی i
ت t	م m	و u
ث t or <u>th</u>	ن n	DIPHTHONGS.
ج j or <u>dj</u>	و w or v	
ح h	ه h	آی ai
خ h or <u>kh</u>	ی y	آو au
د d	VOWELS.	wasla '̣
ذ d or <u>dh</u>		hamza <u>ا</u> or <u>آ</u>
ر r	ا a	silent t h
ز z	آ i	letter not pro- nounced ّ
	ا u	

ADDITIONAL LETTERS.

PERSIAN, HINDI, AND PAKHTŪ.	TURKISH ONLY.	HINDI AND PAKHTŪ.	PAKHTŪ ONLY.
پ p	ک when pro- nounced as g k	ت or پ t	ت ts
چ c or <u>ch</u>		د or د d	د g
ژ z or <u>zh</u>		ر or ر r	ن n
گ g	ن n̄		ش <u>ksh</u>

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I.

SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

अ a	ओ o	ट ṭ	व v
आ ā	औ au	ठ ṭh	भ bh
इ i	क k	ड ḍ	म m
ई ī	ख kh	ढ ḍh	य y
उ u	ग g	ण ṇ	र r
ऊ ū	घ gh	त t	ल l
ए e	ङ ṅ	थ th	व v
ऐ ai	च c	द d	श ś
	छ ch	ध dh	ष ṣ
	ज j	न n	स s
	झ jh	प p	ह h
	ञ ñ	फ ph	ऊ ṛ

◌̣ (Anusvāra) m

◌̣ (Avagraha) ˆ

◌̣ (Anunāsika) ṁ

Udātta ˆ

◌̣ (Visarga) ḥ

Svarita ˆ

◌̣ (Jihvāmūliya) ḥ

Anudātta ˆ

◌̣ (Upadhmānīya) ḥ

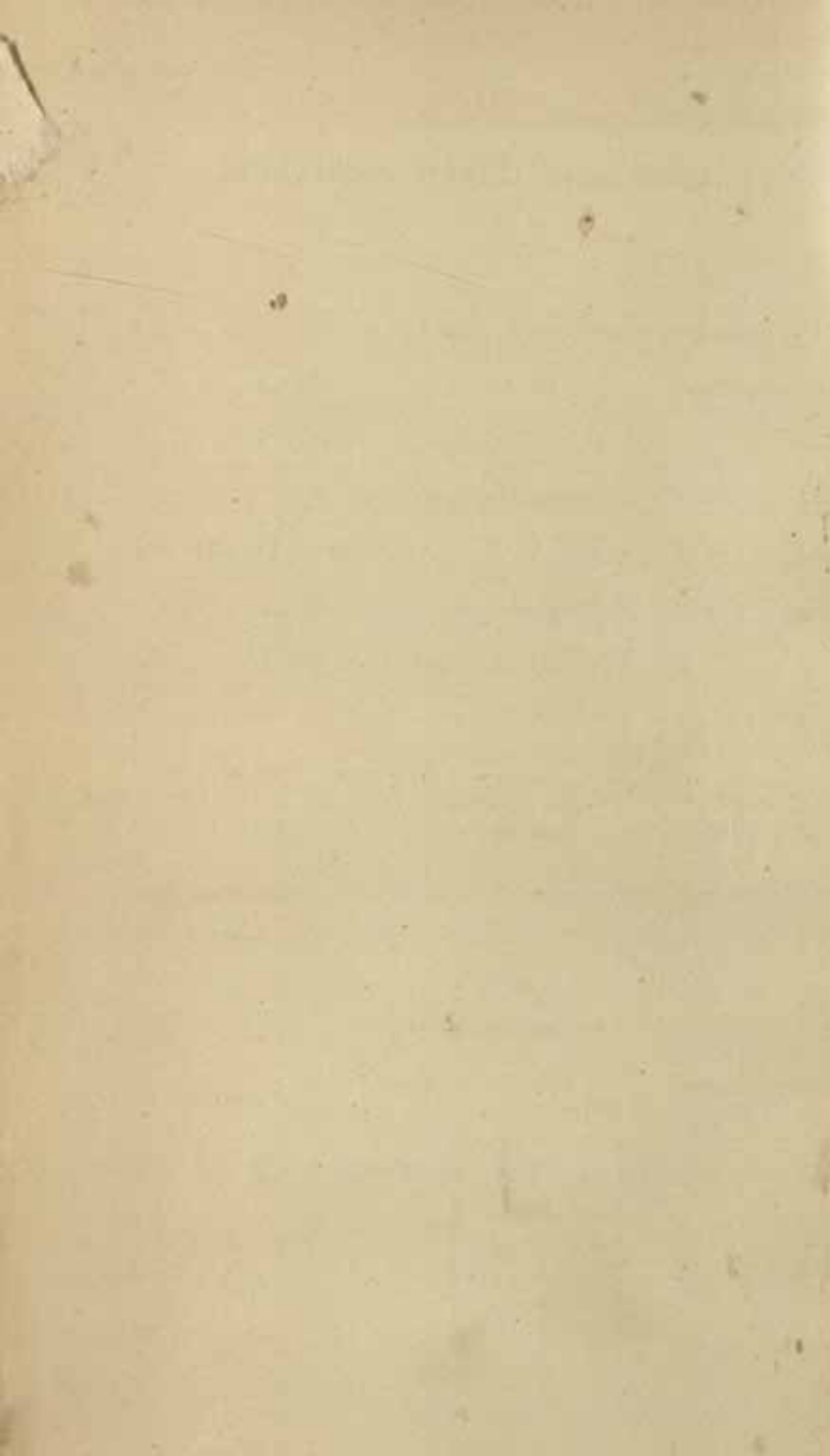
II.

ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

ا at beginning of word omit;	ك k	ا a
elsewhere <u>ا</u> or <u>و</u>	ل l	ي i
ب b	س s	م m
ت t	ش s or sh	ن n
ث t or th	ص s or z	و w or v
ج j or dj	ض d, dz, or z	ه h
ح h	ط t	ي y
خ h or kh	ظ z	و au
د d	ع ʿ	wasla ʾ
ذ d or dh	غ g or gh	VOWELS. hamza <u>ا</u> or <u>و</u>
ر r	ف f	silent t h
ز z	ق q	letter not pronounced —

ADDITIONAL LETTERS.

PERSIAN, HINDI, AND PAKHTŪ.	TURKISH ONLY.	HINDI AND PAKHTŪ.	PAKHTŪ ONLY.
پ p	ک when pronounced as g k	پ or پ t	پ ts
چ c or ch		چ or چ d	چ g
ژ z or zh		ژ or ژ r	ن n
گ g	ن ñ		ک ksh



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